Q. HORATI FLACCI EPISTVLAE.

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EPISTLES OF HORACE

EDITED WITH NOTES

BY

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COLLEGAE SPECTATISSIMO

DE ACADEMIA NOSTRA MANCVNIENSI

EGREGIE MERITO

ADAVLFO GVILELMO WARD,

LITTERARVM LEGVMQVE DOCTORI,

QVI MIHI SEDECIM HIS ANNIS

AVXILIVM DOCTRINAM CONSILIVM PETENTI

NVNQVAM DEFVIT

D. D. D.

PREFACE.

THE need of a new edition of Horace's Epistles with English notes will not be denied by any one, who knows what important contributions to the criticism of this work are still inaccessible to English readers. The difficulty of the task has made itself more and more felt during every year which has been spent upon the preparation of the present edition. I will only say that, had not the excellent notes of Mr Yonge been constructed on a different scale from those here offered, or had there been any hope of the early appearance of Mr Wickham's long-promised second volume, the present work would not have been undertaken.

The notes to the present edition may seem to some too full and lengthy. For this fulness there are three main reasons. (1) There are Latin and Greek authors, whose works may properly be provided with brief dogmatic notes, suited to students who are not ripe for critical discussions.

Horace, at least in his Epistles, does not appear to me to be among this number. I do not think that these can be read with profit by one who is not prepared at least to follow the arguments which have been advanced to support different interpretations, and to understand why the preference is to be given to one rather than to another. Besides, much may be learnt from critics like Bentley, even when their conclusions are not accepted. I have therefore thought it necessary to give not only decisions but also discussions on almost every point of difficulty. (2) Parallel passages have usually been transcribed, and not merely referred to. School-boys will never, more advanced students will very rarely, look up references: yet these furnish a most valuable part of a commentary: and space is of less importance than time under the present conditions of classical learning. I may remark that with very few exceptions every passage quoted has been transcribed from the original context. This adds immensely to the labour of an editor: but it is necessary if he is to be more than a compiler. In this way many false references, handed down from one edition to another, have been removed; many traditional parallels have been found to be illegitimate, when taken as they stand in their surroundings. (3) The Epistles abound in references to persons, places, customs and the like. In such cases I have

usually endeavoured to give sufficient information to explain the language of the text, leaving further details to be sought in the ordinary books of reference. But as a rule no statement has been made without a reference to one of the best and most recent authorities to support it. These are intended as a protection to the reader, not as an additional burden. Few students have escaped the annoyance of finding in notes statements which they are quite unable to verify, and which often are only repetitions of current errors. Much attention has been given to questions of orthography and etymology. There is so much bad spelling and false philology to be found in text-books of wide circulation, that it seems worth while even to intrude upon the student sounder views, as occasion offers: and hints and references are not always thrown away, even upon the teacher. A reference to Mr Roby's excellent grammars has often removed the need for a fuller note upon constructions.

For reasons stated in the Introduction, there is no complete critical commentary. But the variations of some of the principal editors are noted at the foot of the text. Bentley's readings have been given as a tribute to his unrivalled eminence as a scholar: Munro's as representing the soundest critical judgment which has been brought to bear upon Horace. The readings of Orelli's third edition may be regarded as

those of the text most widely current, although in many cases they are inferior to those of the sixth (minor) edition just issued by Hirschfelder. Keller's decisions are those of a scholar intimately acquainted with the MS. and other authorities for the text of Horace, but not always using them on sound critical principles.

The editions, which I have found of most service, are those of Bentley, Orelli, Dillenburger, Ritter, Krüger and Schütz, with Keller's Epilegomena, and Conington's verse translation: but others have been consulted, as occasion has offered. For Acron and Porphyrion I have used Hauthal's edition: for the Scholiast of Cruquius the edition of 1597, kindly lent me by Chancellor Christie. I have rarely mentioned Macleane, except to differ from him. This makes it the more imperative a duty to acknowledge the service, which in spite of serious deficiencies in accuracy and in scholarship, and views in many respects now antiquated, his vigorous common sense and manly judgment have rendered to the study of Horace in England. In 1853 his work was in some respects as much before the time as in 1885 it is behind it.

Two of our most distinguished scholars, Professor Arthur Palmer, and Mr J. S. Reid, have done me the favour of revising the proof sheets. Their more important contributions

appear with their names attached : but I am further indebted to them for minor suggestions and corrections, which could not be so acknowledged. They are of course not responsible for anything that appears here, but I trust that their kind revision has not left any serious errors. That all such should have been avoided is hardly to be expected, where almost every line of the commentary gives opportunity for a slip in facts or in judgment.

MANCHESTER,
February, 1885.

ADDENDA.

Ep. I. 1, 19. Dr Maguire in *Hermathena* No. XI. p. 336 says: 'the first clause is Epicurean—I make the world suit me: the second is Stoic—I make myself suit the world, the end of the Stoic.' This is a more correct view.

Ep. I. 7, 31. *foras* is used in Plaut. Rud. 170 for 'out' of a boat.

Ep. I. 10, 48. Dr Maguire (l. c.) '*tortum* is not twisted in strands, but strained by the pull taut. Cp. *tortos incidere funes* (Verg. A. IV. 575) as the ships were riding at anchor.'

Ep. I. 13, 4. Prof. Nettleship in the *Academy* (Oct. 17, 1885) suggests that *ne sis* is a standing exception to the general rule that *ne*, with the 2 pres. subj. is not used in an imperative sense. We have *ne fueris* in I. 6, 40.

Ep. I. 14, 6. *pietas* is often used by Ovid in the Tristia and Pontic Epistles for the loyal devotion of friends. I cannot accept Mr Verrall's ingenious argument as proving that Lamia was the name of the steward (*Studies in Horace*, pp. 126 ff.).

Ep. I. 20, 24. The compounds of *prae* are well discussed by P. Langen (*Plaut. Krit.* p. 244).

Ep. II. 1, 47. It would have been more exact to say that *acervus* = σωρός: σωρείτης = *acervalis argumentatio*.

Ars Poet. 128. *communis* is not identical with *volgaris* in rhetoric: cp. Cic. de Invent. I. 26 *volgare est quod in plures causas potest accommodari, ut convenire videatur: commune quod nihilo minus in hanc quam in contrariam partem causae potest convenire* (quoted by Nettleship l.c.).

Ars Poet. 172. Prof. Nettleship most appositely quotes Seneca *Epist.* 32, 4 *O quando illud videbis tempus quo scies tempus ad te non pertinere! quo tranquillus placidusque eris et crastini negligens, et in summa tui satietate! Vis scire quid sit, quod faciat homines avidos futuri? Nemo sibi contigit.*

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. *Date of the Epistles.*

That the First Book of the Epistles of Horace was published as a whole seems to be shown by the introductory character of Ep. i. and still more plainly by the language of Ep. xx. Such a course would be, as Bentley proved, quite in accordance with the practice of Horace himself, and of contemporary poets. The date of publication appears at first sight to be given precisely by the closing lines of the last Epistle.

> Forte meum si quis te percontabitur aevum,
> me quater undenos sciat implevisse Decembres,
> collegam Lepidum quo duxit Lollius anno.

Lollius was consul in B.C. 21, and the other consulship, at first intended for Augustus himself, was ultimately filled up by the appointment of Aemilius Lepidus. Hence it would seem as if we might with confidence assume that Ep. xx., which is plainly intended as an epilogue to the whole collection, was written in that year, or at all events that Horace's last

preceding birthday fell in that year, and that therefore no letter in this book can have a later date. But it must be noticed that (1) Horace's purpose would be as well served if he employed to indicate his age a date removed by several years from the actual date of publication: (2) Horace may have wished to bring in incidentally a compliment to his friend Lollius (cp. Carm. iv. 9, and Ep. i. 2, 1 note): (3) the consuls of the next two or three years do not appear to have been men of mark, and in some cases, at least, there would have been metrical difficulties in introducing their names. Hence there is nothing to preclude us from looking further for indications of the date of publication. Now in Ep. i. 12, 26—28 we have

> Cantaber Agrippae, Claudi virtute Neronis
> Armenius cecidit: ius imperiumque Prahates
> Caesaris accepit genibus minor.

This is a clear reference to the successful issue of the campaign of Agrippa against the Cantabrians in B.C. 20, and of the 'promenade in force' of Tiberius Claudius, the step-son of Augustus, which in the same year resulted in the restoration of Tigranes to the throne of Armenia, and in the cession of the standards won from Crassus by the Parthians. The same bloodless triumph of Rome is again referred to in Ep. i. 18, 55, 56, where we find mention of the *dux*

> qui templis Parthorum signa refigit
> nunc, et si quid abest Italis adiudicat armis.

These two letters then must have been written in

B.C. 20. Is there anything to point to a later date than this? In the Epistles themselves there seems to be nothing. It is a very doubtful conjecture which finds in Ep. i. 17, 33—35 a reference to the triumphs of Augustus and Agrippa in B.C. 19. But we have also to take into consideration the relation of the Epistles to the Odes. It seems pretty well established that the first three books of the Odes were published together, before any of the Epistles; indeed, the language which Horace uses in Ep. i. 1, and the reference to imitators in Ep. i. 19, alike force us to the assumption of a tolerably long interval between the publication of the Odes and that of the Epistles. Now the date of the publication of Odes i.—iii. does not admit of exact determination. There are arguments which seem to point very strongly to B.C. 24 or 23: there are others which have been considered to point to B.C. 19 (cp. Wickham's *Introduction* to the Odes, Christ's *Fastorum Horatianorum Epicrisis*, Kirchner's *Quaestiones Horatianae*, and Franke's *Fasti Horatiani*). But on the whole the evidence for the earlier year decidedly preponderates. It is therefore probable that we may assume B.C. 20, or at the latest B.C. 19, as the date of the publication of the first book of the Epistles[1].

[1] If we are to accept Mr Verrall's very ingenious, but not very convincing argument for the publication of Odes i.—iii. in B.C. 19, it is not necessary perhaps to alter the date of the publication of the Epistles; but it would affect the interpretation of two or three passages in them.

Of the individual epistles, Ep. i. 13 was evidently contemporaneous with the publication of Odes i.—iii. Of the others all those whose date can be assigned with any certainty, appear to belong to B.C. 20. But it is probable that Horace was engaged with this style of composition more or less at various times during the five years B.C. 24—20, that is to say from the fortieth to the forty-fifth year of his age.

The conclusions to which we are thus brought are practically the same as those maintained by Franke, and supported by the weighty approval of Lachmann. Bentley in his preface assigned a slightly later date, and needlessly limited the time of composition to two years (B.C 20—19); Ritter holding that Odes i—iii. were published in B.C. 19 is compelled to postpone the publication of the first Book of the Epistles to B.C. 18.

The time of the publication of the Second Book and of the *Ars Poetica* is open to more doubt. But the dates of composition, which on the whole seem most probable, are for Ep. ii. 1 about B.C. 13, for Ep. ii. 2 about B.C. 19, and for the *Ars Poetica*, B.C. 20 or 19. The reasons which lead us to these conclusions will be found in the Introductions to the several Epistles. If they are sound, Book II. was published in B.C. 13, and the *Ars* may have been issued earlier and separately.

The view, which till recently has been the most generally accepted, assigns Ep. ii. 1, 2 to a period

after B.C. 13, and regards the *Ars Poetica* as unfinished, and not published by Horace himself.

§ 2. *The Composition of the Epistles.*

Born in B.C. 65, Horace was studying at Athens at the time of the death of Caesar in B.C. 44. He joined Brutus, and was made military tribune, thus occasionally at least taking the command of a legion. In B.C. 43 he appears to have been with Brutus in Asia (Sat. i. 7, 18): in B.C. 42 he took part, though not a very distinguished part, in the battle of Philippi. His return to Rome probably followed in the next year; but some time must be supposed to have elapsed before his talents can have won for him the friendship of Vergil and Varius, and warranted them in introducing him to Maecenas. After the first introduction, nine months passed before Maecenas admitted him to his circle (Sat. i. 6, 61). Hence we cannot well assign to this an earlier date than B.C. 39. With this date correspond the indications of Satire i. 5, apparently to be ascribed to B.C. 37, and of Sat. ii. 6, 40, written, as it seems, in B.C. 31, when the friendship had already lasted seven or eight years. In the latter year Horace was already in possession of his Sabine estate: there is no clear evidence to show when he received it, but apparently it was not long before this time. During the time covered by the Satires (about B.C. 40—30) Horace does not appear

at all on terms of intimacy with Augustus—at this time Caesar Octavianus. References to him are but slight; and there is still a tone of antagonism, if not to Augustus himself, at least to his favourite poets and musicians. Maecenas is always spoken of in language of grateful affection, but the poet evidently minimises the character of their intimacy, and takes great pains to show that he aimed at no influence over his politics or patronage. He writes as a dependent, although at the same time, as one who meant to bear as little as possible of the restraints or the burdens of dependence. But during the period in which the first three books of the Odes were produced (B.C. 31—24) Horace takes a decidedly higher position. He feels that his poetical powers are recognised. He must have been conscious that, like Vergil in his way, he was welcomed by the Emperor as contributing from the side of literature to that revival of conservative and religious feeling, to which so much of the policy of Augustus was directed. At the same time he must have been brought more frequently into immediate personal relations with Augustus, though probably these still fell far short of intimacy. But the lyrical genius of Horace, exquisite as it was in the finish of his art, was far from spontaneous, or copious. When he had wedded the songs of Greece to the Latin lyre, and had given to the world his perfect adaptations or imitations of Sappho and Alcaeus, clothing in language of unequalled felicity his commonplace re-

flexions on a narrow range of topics, there was no inspiration to prompt him to further utterance. Hence the comparative silence of the following years. His earlier illusions had left him. Love had never been for him more than a pastime, suited to the years of youthful passion, but unbecoming to his maturer manhood. In wine he had a genuine but a quiet enjoyment, with no Anacreontic enthusiasm to make him its lyrist. The military triumphs of the Empire were not inspiring, although when the call was made upon him, he succeeded in celebrating them in odes which rise to the requisite loftiness of tone. His real interest at this time doubtless lay, as he tells us himself, in the study of philosophy. But with him it was no passion for the attainment of speculative truth which prompted him. He felt the unsatisfying nature of his life; he was vexed at the constant weakness of will which led him often into the failings and vices, of which there was no keener critic than himself, and he set himself to try to discover in the precepts of the philosophers the secret which might deliver from 'the random weight of chance desires.'

We can see how his nature mellowed and ripened in the search. He was far from finding all that he desired; and sometimes half jestingly, sometimes (as in Ep. i. 8) in all sad seriousness he confesses that his quest has been a failure. But the quiet reading and reflexion of those days at the Sabine farm

b 2

have left deep traces on his later writings, and have done not a little to lend them their inexhaustible charm.

The Epistles are generally recognised as the most attractive portion of the works of Horace. In their form, if they do not attain to the finished art of the better odes, there is a negligent grace which is hardly less rare, and certainly not less delightful. The verse, which even in the Satires is a vast improvement on the jolting hexameters of Lucilius, and which there, though it never rises so high as the best of Lucretius, never falls so low as his worst, has here achieved an easier flow. The diction has discarded the few archaisms and vulgarisms still to be found in the Satires, and is as pure a specimen of *urbanitas* as the comedies of Terence, and the lighter letters of Cicero. As to the substance, Horace shows here more than anywhere that he belongs to that most delightful class of writers, who can be egotistic without ever becoming wearisome or offensive. As he says himself of Lucilius:

> ille velut fidis arcana sodalibus olim
> credebat libris, neque si male cesserat umquam
> decurrens alio, neque si bene: quo fit ut omnis
> votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella
> vita senis.

And what a charming character it is which is thus revealed to us! Not without serious faults of temper and self-indulgence. Measured by any high standard of lofty aim or strenuous endeavour Horace often

falls short of the ideal. But how frank he is, how courteous, how kindly! How happily he adapts his tone to the character and position of those whom he is addressing! He never falls into the vice of preaching at his friends. It is but rarely that he begins with moral disquisitions: he rather allows himself to pass. into them from some personal confession or reflexion. The ripe results of his observation of men and manners are not given forth pedantically, but in a tone of friendly confidence, often accompanied by a little gentle irony. The polemical literary criticism of the Satires, as a rule sound enough, but sometimes narrow and unsympathetic, and often set forth in a manner which must have gained him many enemies, is entirely wanting in the 1st Book of the Epistles: and appears only in a modified form in the Second.

Horace was not the first to employ epistles in verse as a form of literature. In Greece the earliest satirist Archilochus is said to have practised this among other forms of composition. In B.C. 146 a certain Mummius, probably the brother of L. Mummius, the general in command, wrote home from Corinth, *epistolas versiculis facetis ad familiares missas* (Cic. ad Att. xiii. 6, 4). Lucilius undoubtedly often used the epistolary form in his satires, though the traces which remain of it are but slight. It may be noticed too that letter-writing was a branch of literature which had reached high perfection at this time. We

can form a clear conception of the standard generally reached from the numerous letters of Cicero's friends, included in the *Epistolae ad Familiares*. The literary finish of many of them is such that it would have been no very great step to take, even without precedent, for Horace to give a metrical form to such occasional letters of daily life as Ep. i. 8, 9 or 13.

The name of *sermones* given by Horace himself to the Epistles (Ep. ii. 1, 250) as well as to the Satires (Ep. i. 4, 1) fitly describes the conversational tone maintained throughout. Here too his style and thoughts are *sermoni propiora* (Sat. i. 4, 42). The various epistles differ of course very widely in the degree of elaboration, as in the nature of their themes. But everywhere we find a complete absence of rhetoric. Horace's horror of public recitations did him good service in preserving him from the faults into which the practice led most of his contemporaries and followers, with results fatal to the freshness and simplicity of later Latin poetry. He avoids, it is true, the fluent negligence of his predecessors: but he escapes equally the strained epigram and contorted rhetoric of his successors. For combined ease and finish there is no Latin poet worthy to be placed beside him, and he well deserves the place which he has ever held close to the *exemplaria Graeca*, which he studied so lovingly.

His rhythm and metre fitly answer to the general tone of his work. Less cunning and subtle in their

harmonies than the exquisite verses of Vergil, his lines have an easy grace of their own, not marred by an occasional grateful negligence. The wonderful variety of effects to which the dactylic hexameter lends itself —not less ductile in the hands of a master than our own blank verse, and with even greater possibilities of varied music within its compass—had been shown already both on Greek and on Latin soil. But it is not too much to say that the full range of its capacity would have remained unknown, if Horace had not written his Epistles.

§ 3. *The Text of the Epistles.*

The textual criticism of the Epistles affords many problems not easy of solution. There is no extant MS. which holds an unquestioned place of paramount authority, and which gives us a sure starting-point, like the Ambrosian palimpsest (where it is legible) for Plautus, or the Codex Bembinus for Terence. The oldest MSS. are by no means so ancient or so accurate as those of Vergil. Even in the best of them there are many evident errors, and the most conservative critic cannot always avoid deserting their authority in favour of conjecture. What is of even more importance, it is by no means easy to determine their mutual relations, or to construct a table of their various lines of descent from the archetype.

An attempt to divide them into classes—the first step towards a scientific treatment of their evidence—

has been made by Keller and Holder, the laborious editors of the most complete conspectus of MS. readings as yet in existence. The main lines of their classification may be stated thus.

Class I. includes a group of MSS. which seem to be free from systematic alterations, although their common source may have been less good than that of the other groups.

The chief representatives of this class are, for the Epistles,

A Parisinus 7900 a (saec. x).

a Avenionis (i.e. of Avignon), now Ambrosianus O 136 (saec. x).

γ Parisinus 7975 (saec. xi).

E Emmerammensis, now Monacensis 14685 (saec. xii).

This class comes for the most part from Germany.

Class II. includes those MSS. which give indications of being derived from the 'Mavortian recension', especially in the Odes, but also in the Satires and Epistles. About the middle of the sixth century, a recension of the text of Horace was undertaken by Vettius Agorius Mavortius, consul A. D. 527. This recension, as Keller thinks, was based upon a MS. of great excellence, but already marked by some distinctive readings, and many others were introduced by its reviser, ingenious and plausible in themselves, but not from the pen of Horace. Hence he argues

that little weight is to be given to the readings of this class, where they differ from those of both the others.

To this class Keller and Holder assign

B Bernensis 363, probably the oldest of all extant MSS. of Horace, written by an Irish monk in the eighth or ninth century, as is proved by some Irish glosses in the margin. Unfortunately it ends at Sat. i. 134, thus including the *Ars Poetica* (except vv. 440—476), but omitting all the Epistles.

V the vetus codex Blandinius (see below).

g the codex Gothanus, apparently derived from V, and giving all the Epistles, but not the *Ars Poetica* (saec. xv).

C Monacensis 14685, closely agreeing with B, and hence only available for the *Ars Poetica*.

Class III. derived from a very carelessly written original, and marked by all kinds of errors, but with traces of a good tradition, and as a rule very good in orthography.

To this class belong

ϕ Parisinus 7974 (saec. x).

ψ Parisinus 7971 (saec. x). The assumed common source of these two is denoted F.

l Leidensis Sat. 28 (saec. x).

λ Parisinus 7972 (saec. x): these two are combined as λ′.

δ Graevianus (Harley MSS. in British Museum 2725): (saec. ix—x).

z Leidensis Vossianus 21 (saec. xii). These two = δ′.

ε Einsidlensis 361 (saec. x).

There are also two important MSS. which Keller generally denotes as the Rπ family:

R Romanus (Vaticanus reginae Christinae 1703) of saec. ix or x.

π Parisinus 10310 (saec. x—xi), with which goes

L Lipsiensis (saec. x), to give the readings of an assumed π′.

This third class Keller traces for the most part to Lorraine.

On the basis of this classification Keller lays down the principle that the agreement of any two classes in a reading is to weigh very heavily as against the reading of the third; and he confirms his position by a tabular statement from which it would appear that out of 623 variations, in 582 cases two classes agree in the right reading, in 41 they agree in the wrong one.

Unfortunately this system of classification, promising as it appears, has by no means met with the unanimous approval of recent scholars. In the first place Keller is compelled to admit that the lines of

demarcation cannot always be drawn very definitely. Many MSS. vary between two or even three classes, and there is not a single MS. which can be regarded as always a faithful representative of the class to which he assigns it. Thus A and E often give the readings of Class II. rather than Class I., while F sometimes falls into Class I., and the Rπ family constantly wavers between them. An even more serious objection is taken to the estimate which Keller forms of Class II., and to the weight which he gives to V. In an edition of Horace, published in 1578, Jacobus Cruquius, professor at Bruges, frequently quoted the readings of four MSS., which he said he had collated in the Benedictine monastery at Blankenburgh (Mons Blandinius) near Ghent, but which were shortly afterwards (before the publication of his edition) destroyed by fire during the civil wars. These MSS. were thought by Cruquius to be about 700 years old; and would therefore belong to the ninth century: one, known as *vetustissimus*, he considered to be decidedly older, perhaps by 200 years. The reading of these MSS. differs in many places from the received text, and it has always been a moot point among scholars what weight is to be attached to them. Bentley set a very high value upon their evidence, especially where the *vetustissimus* was expressly quoted. His doctrine on this point, as on Horatian criticism generally, is accepted by the 'Berlin school', represented by Lachmann, Meineke, Haupt and Lucian Müller.

On the other hand Keller and Holder place these MSS. along with B in the interpolated class, and consequently rate them comparatively low. Keller's arguments are set forth in his Epilegomena, pp. 800—803: they have been replied to by Dillenburger, Mewes and most fully by Hoehn in a dissertation published at Jena in 1883 (pp. 55). The conclusion, to which a careful consideration of the readings of V in the Epistles has brought me, is given more than once in the notes, and is identical with that which Professor Palmer expresses in the Preface to his edition of the Satires (p. xxxi): 'I am disposed to regard this famous codex as an interpolated descendant of a better archetype than that from which the Horatian MSS. are descended.' At the same time, it seems to be evident that its antiquity was overstated by Cruquius, and that, as it was written in minuscules, it could not have been earlier than the tenth century.

With regard to the Epistles Hoehn's conclusion is that in Book I. out of 117 recorded readings, 80 are certainly right, 19 wrong, 18 doubtful: in Book II. of 38, 22 are right, 5 wrong, 11 doubtful; in the *Ars Poetica* of 32, 23 are right, 1 wrong, 8 doubtful. These figures may be on some points open to question; in particular, some of the readings noted as doubtful are either almost certainly right, or point to the true reading. But the general result is to show how much better V stands such a test than any

extant MS. could; and at the same time to prove how little any one MS. can be taken as the basis of our text.

The text given in the present edition is on the whole a conservative one, following as a rule the evidence of the best MSS.: but this course has not been adopted because I have any great faith in the trustworthiness of our traditional text, but only because it seems the safest course not to print any conjectural emendation, except where the reading of the MSS. is plainly indefensible, and where a conjecture approaches to certainty. If I have erred here, I have erred with one of the safest of guides, Dr H. A. J. Munro, who writes: 'I feel sure that many passages yet need alteration, though I am not satisfied with any that has been proposed.'

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

B.C.	AGE OF HORACE.	
31	34	C. Julius Caesar Octavianus III. and M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus consuls. Battle of Actium.
30	35	Death of Antonius and Cleopatra. Octavianus winters at Samos.
29	36	Octavianus returns to Rome, and triumphs on Aug. 6th, 7th, 8th. The temple of Janus is closed.
28	37	The temple of Apollo on the Palatine is dedicated.
27	38	Ti. Caesar takes the *toga virilis* (aet. xv). Octavianus receives the title *Augustus:* and leaves Rome for Gaul and Spain.
26	39	Augustus enters on his eighth consulship at Tarraco. War against the Cantabri and Astures.
25	40	Augustus continues the war against the Cantabri and Astures, but falls sick at Tarraco. His lieutenants subdue these tribes, and A. Terentius Varro destroys the Salassi. Augusta Emerita (Merida) and Augusta Praetoria (Aosta) founded. The temple of Janus closed.
24	41	Augustus returns to Rome in January. An altar is erected to Fortuna Salutaris. The Cantabri and Astures rebel, and are defeated by L. Aemilius.
23	42	Augustus lays down his eleventh consulship, and receives *imperium proconsulare* and *tribunicia*

B.C.	AGE OF HORACE.	
		potestas perpetua. Augustus is cured of a dangerous illness by Antonius Musa. M. Marcellus dies. Ti. Caesar quaestor.
22	43	The conspiracy of Fannius Caepio and Licinius Murena is detected and punished. Augustus goes to Sicily.
21	44	Lollius consul. Augustus declines the other consulship. After some delay and disturbances at Rome Lepidus is elected consul. M. Agrippa marries Julia. Augustus winters at Samos.
20	45	Augustus visits Asia and Syria. Prahates king of the Parthians sends back the prisoners and standards taken from Crassus. Tigranes is restored to the kingdom of Armenia by Tiberius. Agrippa finally subdues the Cantabri. Augustus again winters at Samos.
19	46	Augustus returns to Rome on Oct. 12. An altar is erected to Fortuna Redux. Death of Vergil.
18	47	Lex Julia *de maritandis ordinibus.* Tiberius governor of Gaul.
17	48	Ludi Saeculares. Agrippa leaves for the East.
16	49	Defeat of Lollius by German tribes. Tiberius (praetor) accompanies Augustus to Gaul.
15	50	Augustus in Gaul. Tiberius and his brother Drusus defeat the Raeti and Vindelici. Peace made with the Germans.
14	51	Defeat of the Pannonians.
13	52	Tiberius consul. Augustus returns from Gaul to Rome on July 4th. Altar erected to Pax. Drusus left in charge of Gaul. Agrippa returns from the East.
12	53	Augustus becomes Pontifex Maximus. Death of Agrippa. Tiberius, governor of Illyricum, defeats the Pannonians. Drusus sails down the Rhine, subdues the Frisians and defeats the Chauci.

B.C.	AGE OF HORACE.	
11	54	Tiberius marries Julia, and carries on war with the Dalmatians and Pannonians. Drusus erects forts in Germany, and returns to Rome to take the praetorship.
10	55	Augustus visits Lugdunum (Lyons). An altar erected to him there on July 1. Tiberius and Drusus carry on war.
9	56	Augustus returns to Rome on Jan. 30. Tiberius has an *ovatio* for his successes. Drusus dies from an accident.
8	57	Tiberius governor of Gaul. Death of Maecenas, and of Horace on Nov. 27, a few days before he had completed his 57th year.

α = Keller's 1st class. α', α'' divided evidence of this class.
β = „ 2nd class. β', β'' „ „ „
γ = „ 3rd class. γ', γ'' „ „ „
ω, all MSS. ω' the great majority of good MSS. ϛ some MSS.

B = Bentley: O = Orelli.
K = Keller[2]: M = Munro.

Q. HORATI FLACCI

EPISTULARUM

LIBER PRIMUS.

I.

Prima dicte mihi, summa dicende Camena,
spectatum satis et donatum iam rude quaeris,
Maecenas, iterum antiquo me includere ludo.
Non eadem est aetas, non mens. Veianius, armis
Herculis ad postem fixis, latet abditus agro,
ne populum extrema totiens exoret harena.
Est mihi purgatam crebro qui personet aurem,
'solve senescentem mature sanus equum, ne
peccet ad extremum ridendus et ilia ducat.'
Nunc itaque et versus et cetera ludicra pono:
quid verum atque decens curo et rogo et omnis in hoc sum:
condo et compono quae mox depromere possim.
Ac ne forte roges quo me duce, quo lare tuter,
nullius addictus iurare in verba magistri
quo me cumque rapit tempestas deferor hospes.
Nunc agilis fio et mersor civilibus undis,

I.—6. *exoret* αβγ′: *exornet* γ′. 14. *addictus* β′γ: *adductus* αβ″. 16. *mersor* ω′: *versor* Aldus, Obbarius etc.

virtutis verae custos rigidusque satelles,
nunc in Aristippi furtim praecepta relabor
et mihi res non me rebus subiungere conor.
Ut nox longa quibus mentitur amica diesque
longa videtur opus debentibus, ut piger annus
pupillis quos dura premit custodia matrum,
sic mihi tarda fluunt ingrataque tempora quae spem
consiliumque morantur agendi naviter id quod
aeque pauperibus prodest, locupletibus aeque,
aeque neglectum pueris senibusque nocebit.
Restat ut his ego me ipse regam solerque elementis.
Non possis oculo quantum contendere Lynceus,
non tamen idcirco contemnas lippus inungui;
nec, quia desperes invicti membra Glyconis,
nodosa corpus nolis prohibere cheragra.
Est quadam prodire tenus, si non datur ultra.
Fervet avaritia miseroque cupidine pectus:
sunt verba et voces quibus hunc lenire dolorem
possis et magnam morbi deponere partem.
Laudis amore tumes: sunt certa piacula quae te
ter pure lecto poterunt recreare libello.
Invidus, iracundus, iners, vinosus, amator,
nemo adeo ferus est ut non mitescere possit,
si modo culturae patientem commodet aurem.
Virtus est vitium fugere et sapientia prima
stultitia caruisse. Vides, quae maxima credis
esse mala, exiguum censum turpemque repulsam,
quanto devites animi capitisque labore;
inpiger extremos curris mercator ad Indos,

28. *oculo* ω' OKM : *oculos* B. 32. *quadam* α'β'γ' OKMB : *quodam* α''β''γ''.

per mare pauperiem fugiens, per saxa, per ignis:
ne cures ea, quae stulte miraris et optas,
discere et audire et meliori credere non vis?
Quis circum pagos et circum compita pugnax
magna coronari contemnat Olympia, cui spes,
cui sit condicio dulcis sine pulvere palmae?
Vilius argentum est auro, virtutibus aurum.
'O cives, cives, quaerenda pecunia primum est;
virtus post nummos:' haec Ianus summus ab imo
prodocet, haec recinunt iuvenes dictata senesque
laevo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto.
Est animus tibi, sunt mores, est lingua fidesque,
sed quadringentis sex septem milia desunt:
plebs eris. At pueri ludentes 'rex eris' aiunt,
'si recte facies.' Hic murus aeneus esto,
nil conscire sibi, nulla pallescere culpa.
Roscia, dic sodes, melior lex an puerorum est
nenia quae regnum recte facientibus offert,
et maribus Curiis et decantata Camillis?
Isne tibi melius suadet qui, rem facias, rem,
si possis, recte, si non, quocumque modo rem,
ut propius spectes lacrimosa poemata Pupi,
an qui Fortunae te responsare superbae
liberum et erectum praesens hortatur et aptat?
Quodsi me populus Romanus forte roget cur
non ut porticibus sic iudiciis fruar isdem,
nec sequar aut fugiam quae diligit ipse vel odit,
olim quod volpes aegroto cauta leoni

48. *discere* $\alpha\beta$: *dicere* γ. 56. *hunc versum habent codices omnes.* 58. *milia* ω. *desunt* $\alpha\beta\gamma'$ KM : *desint* γ''B. 72. *aut* $\alpha\beta$: *et* γ', *ac* γ''. 73. *volpes* γ': *vulpes* $\alpha\beta\gamma''$.

respondit referam: 'quia me vestigia terrent,
omnia te adversum spectantia, nulla retrorsum.'
Belua multorum es capitum. Nam quid sequar aut quem?
pars hominum gestit conducere publica; sunt qui
frustis et pomis viduas venentur avaras,
excipiantque senes quos in vivaria mittant;
multis occulto crescit res fenore. Verum
esto aliis alios rebus studiisque teneri:
idem eadem possunt horam durare probantes?
'Nullus in orbe sinus Baiis praelucet amoenis'
si dixit dives, lacus et mare sentit amorem
festinantis eri: cui si vitiosa libido
fecerit auspicium, cras ferramenta Teanum
tolletis, fabri. Lectus genialis in aula est:
nil ait esse prius, melius nil caelibe vita:
si non est, iurat bene solis esse maritis.
Quo teneam voltus mutantem Protea nodo?
Quid pauper? ride: mutat cenacula, lectos,
balnea, tonsores, conducto navigio aeque
nauseat ac locuples quem ducit priva triremis.
Si curatus inaequali tonsore capillos
occurro, rides; si forte subucula pexae
trita subest tunicae vel si toga dissidet impar,
rides: quid, mea cum pugnat sententia secum,
quod petiit spernit, repetit quod nuper omisit,
aestuat et vitae disconvenit ordine toto,
diruit, aedificat, mutat quadrata rotundis?

78. *frustis* ω' K: *crustis* BMO. 85. *eri* ω'. 95. *occurri* ω' KM: *occurro* B. 97. *secum* αβγ': *mecum* γ''.

Insanire putas sollemnia me neque rides,
nec medici credis nec curatoris egere
a praetore dati, rerum tutela mearum
cum sis et prave sectum stomacheris ob unguem
de te pendentis, te respicientis amici.
Ad summam, sapiens uno minor est Iove, dives,
liber, honoratus, pulcher, rex denique regum,
praecipue sanus, nisi cum pituita molesta est.

II.

Troiani belli scriptorem, Maxime Lolli,
dum tu declamas Romae, Praeneste relegi:
qui quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non,
planius ac melius Chrysippo et Crantore dicit.
Cur ita crediderim, nisi quid te distinet, audi.
Fabula, qua Paridis propter narratur amorem
Graecia barbariae lento collisa duello,
stultorum regum et populorum continet aestus.
Antenor censet belli praecidere causam.
Quid Paris? Ut salvus regnet vivatque beatus,
cogi posse negat. Nestor componere litis
inter Peliden festinat et inter Atriden:
hunc amor, ira quidem communiter urit utrumque.
Quicquid delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi.
Seditione, dolis, scelere atque libidine et ira

101. *sollemnia* ω′. 105. *respicientis* ω: *suspicientis* B.
II.—1. *Maxime* KM: *maxime* O etc. 4. *planius* aβ KM: *plenius* γβ. 5. *distinet* a′γ′ K: *detinet* a″β M. 8. *aestus* aβ KM: *aestum* γ. 10. *quid* aβ KM: *quod* γB.

Iliacos intra muros peccatur et extra.
Rursus quid virtus et quid sapientia possit,
utile proposuit nobis exemplar Ulixen,
qui domitor Troiae multorum providus urbis
et mores hominum inspexit latumque per aequor,
dum sibi, dum sociis reditum parat, aspera multa
pertulit, adversis rerum immersabilis undis.
Sirenum voces et Circae pocula nosti:
quae si cum sociis stultus cupidusque bibisset,
sub domina meretrice fuisset turpis et excors,
vixisset canis inmundus vel amica luto sus.
Nos numerus sumus et fruges consumere nati,
sponsi Penelopae nebulones, Alcinoique
in cute curanda plus aequo operata iuventus,
cui pulchrum fuit in medios dormire dies et
ad strepitum citharae cessatum ducere curam.
Ut iugulent hominem surgunt de nocte latrones:
ut te ipsum serves non expergisceris? Atqui
si noles sanus, curres hydropicus; et ni
posces ante diem librum cum lumine, si non
intendes animum studiis et rebus honestis,
invidia vel amore vigil torquebere. Nam cur
quae laedunt oculum festinas demere, siquid
est animum differs curandi tempus in annum?
Dimidium facti qui coepit habet: sapere aude:
incipe. Qui recte vivendi prorogat horam,

18. *Ulixen* αγ: *Ulixem* β. 23. *Circae* ς. 31. *cessatum* KMO: *cessantem* ς B. *curam* αβ′γ KMO: *somnum* β″ VB. 32. *hominem* ς BKM: *homines* O. 34. *noles* ς. *curres* αβ: *cures* γ. 38. *oculum* α′βγ BOKM: *oculos* α″. 41. *qui recte vivendi* γ″ BOMK(?): *vivendi qui recte* αβγ′.

rusticus exspectat dum defluat amnis: at ille
labitur et labetur in omne volubilis aevum.
Quaeritur argentum puerisque beata creandis
uxor et incultae pacantur vomere silvae.
Quod satis est cui contingit, nihil amplius optet.
Non domus et fundus, non aeris acervus et auri
aegroto domini deduxit corpore febris,
non animo curas: valeat possessor oportet,
si comportatis rebus bene cogitat uti.
Qui cupit aut metuit, iuvat illum sic domus et res
ut lippum pictae tabulae, fomenta podagram,
auriculas citharae collecta sorde dolentis.
Sincerum est nisi vas, quodcumque infundis acescit.
Sperne voluptates: nocet empta dolore voluptas.
Semper avarus eget: certum voto pete finem.
Invidus alterius macrescit rebus opimis:
invidia Siculi non invenere tyranni
maius tormentum. Qui non moderabitur irae,
infectum volet esse dolor quod suaserit et mens,
dum poenas odio per vim festinat inulto.
Ira furor brevis est: animum rege; qui nisi paret,
imperat: hunc frenis, hunc tu compesce catena.
Fingit equum tenera docilem cervice magister
ire viam qua monstret eques: venaticus, ex quo
tempore cervinam pellem latravit in aula,
militat in silvis catulus. Nunc adbibe puro
pectore verba puer, nunc te melioribus offer.

46. *contingit aβγ'* BOKM: *contigit is* V. 48. *febris γ', febres βγ'': febrem a.* 52. *podagram ω'* KOM: *podagrum* B. 59. *irae aβγ': iram γ''.* 63. *catena aγ: catenis β.* 65. *qua* BOKM: *quam ω'.*

Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem
testa diu. Quodsi cessas aut strenuus anteis,
nec tardum opperior nec praecedentibus insto.

III.

Iuli Flore, quibus terrarum militet oris
Claudius Augusti privignus, scire laboro.
Thracane vos Hebrusque nivali compede vinctus,
an freta vicinas inter currentia turres,
an pingues Asiae campi collesque morantur?
Quid studiosa cohors operum struit? Hoc quoque curo.
Quis sibi res gestas Augusti scribere sumit?
Bella quis et paces longum diffundit in aevum?
Quid Titius, Romana brevi venturus in ora?
Pindarici fontis qui non expalluit haustus,
fastidire lacus et rivos ausus apertos.
Ut valet? Ut meminit nostri? Fidibusne Latinis
Thebanos aptare modos studet auspice Musa,
an tragica desaevit et ampullatur in arte?
Quid mihi Celsus agit? monitus multumque monendus,
privatas ut quaerat opes et tangere vitet
scripta Palatinus quaecumque recepit Apollo,
ne, si forte suas repetitum venerit olim
grex avium plumas, moveat cornicula risum
furtivis nudata coloribus. Ipse quid audes?
Quae circumvolitas agilis thyma? Non tibi parvum
ingenium, non incultum est et turpiter hirtum:

III.—4. *turres* ς OKM: *terras* VB. 22. *et* aβγ′ BOKM: *nec* γ″.

seu linguam causis acuis, seu civica iura
respondere paras, seu condis amabile carmen,
prima feres hederae victricis praemia. Quodsi
frigida curarum fomenta relinquere posses,
quo te caelestis sapientia duceret, ires.
Hoc opus, hoc studium parvi properemus et ampli,
si patriae volumus, si nobis vivere cari.
Debes hoc etiam rescribere, sit tibi curae
quantae conveniat Munatius. An male sarta
gratia nequiquam coit et rescinditur, ac vos
seu calidus sanguis seu rerum inscitia vexat
indomita cervice feros? Ubicumque locorum
vivitis, indigni fraternum rumpere foedus,
pascitur in vestrum reditum votiva iuvenca.

IV.

Albi, nostrorum sermonum candide iudex,
quid nunc te dicam facere in regione Pedana?
Scribere quod Cassi Parmensis opuscula vincat,
an tacitum silvas inter reptare salubris,
curantem quicquid dignum sapiente bonoque est?
Non tu corpus eras sine pectore: di tibi formam,
di tibi divitias dederunt artemque fruendi.
Quid voveat dulci nutricula maius alumno,
qui sapere et fari possit quae sentiat, et cui

30. *sit* ω' KM : *si* BO. 32. *ac* ς BKM : *at* O. 33. *seu—seu* BOKM : *heu—heu* ς.

IV.—5. *bonoque* αβγ' : *bonumque* γ''. 6. *eras* ω. 7 *dederunt* αγ BOKM : *dederant* β. 9. *qui* α'γ BOKM : *quam* α''.

gratia, fama, valetudo contingat abunde,
et mundus victus, non deficiente crumena?
Inter spem curamque, timores inter et iras
omnem crede diem tibi diluxisse supremum:
grata superveniet quae non sperabitur hora.
Me pinguem et nitidum bene curata cute vises,
cum ridere voles, Epicuri de grege porcum.

V.

Si potes Archiacis conviva recumbere lectis
nec modica cenare times holus omne patella,
supremo te sole domi, Torquate, manebo.
Vina bibes iterum Tauro diffusa palustris
inter Minturnas Sinuessanumque Petrinum.
Si melius quid habes, arcesse; vel imperium fer.
Iandudum splendet focus et tibi munda supellex.
Mitte levis spes et certamina divitiarum
et Moschi causam: cras nato Caesare festus
dat veniam somnumque dies; impune licebit
aestivam sermone benigno tendere noctem.
Quo mihi fortunam, si non conceditur uti?
Parcus ob heredis curam nimiumque severus
adsidet insano. Potare et spargere flores
incipiam patiarque vel inconsultus haberi.
Quid non ebrietas dissignat? Operta recludit,

11. *et mundus* αβγ': *et modus et* γ'': *et domus et* B. *crumena* β BOM: *crumina* αγ K.

V.—6. *si* ω. 11. *aestivam* ω' BOK: *festivam* M Meineke. 12. *quo* ς: *quid. fortunam* α'β'γ BOK: *fortuna* α''β'' M. 16. *dissignat* codd. opt. KM: *designat* BO.

spes iubet esse ratas, ad proelia trudit inertem,
sollicitis animis onus eximit, addocet artis.
Fecundi calices quem non fecere disertum?
contracta quem non in paupertate solutum?
Haec ego procurare et idoneus imperor et non
invitus, ne turpe toral, ne sordida mappa
corruget naris, ne non et cantharus et lanx
ostendat tibi te, ne fidos inter amicos
sit qui dicta foras eliminet, ut coeat par
iungaturque pari. Butram tibi Septiciumque
et nisi cena prior potiorque puella Sabinum
detinet adsumam. Locus est et pluribus umbris:
sed nimis arta premunt olidae convivia caprae.
Tu quotus esse velis rescribe et rebus omissis
atria servantem postico falle clientem.

VI.

Nil admirari prope res est una, Numici,
solaque quae possit facere et servare beatum.
Hunc solem et stellas et decedentia certis
tempora momentis sunt qui formidine nulla
imbuti spectent. Quid censes munera terrae?
quid maris extremos Arabas ditantis et Indos?
ludicra quid, plausus et amici dona Quiritis?
quo spectanda modo, quo sensu credis et ore?
Qui timet his adversa, fere miratur eodem

17. *inertem* β'γ BOKM: *inermem* aβ''. 19. *fecundi* a'β'γ' BOKM: *facundi* a''β''γ''. 26. *Butram...Septiciumque* ς BOKM: *Brutum Septimiumque*. 28. *adsumam* BOKM: *ad summam* ω'.

quo cupiens pacto: pavor est utrobique molestus,
improvisa simul species exterret utrumque.
Gaudeat an doleat, cupiat metuatne, quid ad rem,
si, quicquid vidit melius peiusque sua spe,
defixis oculis animoque et corpore torpet?
Insani sapiens nomen ferat, aequus iniqui,
ultra quam satis est virtutem si petat ipsam.
I nunc, argentum et marmor vetus aeraque et artis
suspice, cum gemmis Tyrios mirare colores;
gaude quod spectant oculi te mille loquentem;
navus mane forum et vespertinus pete tectum,
ne plus frumenti dotalibus emetat agris
Mutus et (indignum, quod sit peioribus ortus)
hic tibi sit potius quam tu mirabilis illi.
Quicquid sub terra est, in apricum proferet aetas,
defodiet condetque nitentia. Cum bene notum
porticus Agrippae et via te conspexerit Appi,
ire tamen restat Numa quo devenit et Ancus.
Si latus aut renes morbo temptantur acuto,
quaere fugam morbi. Vis recte vivere: quis non?
Si virtus hoc una potest dare, fortis omissis
hoc age deliciis. Virtutem verba putas et
lucum ligna: cave ne portus occupet alter,
ne Cibyratica, ne Bithyna negotia perdas;
mille talenta rotundentur, totidem altera, porro et
tertia succedant, et quae pars quadrat acervum.

VI.—11. *exterret* ω: *externat* Jacobsius. 13. *peiusve* ς BOK: *peiusque* M. 16. *petat* ς BOKM: *petet* a. 20. *navus* ς OKM: *gnavus* B. 22. *Mutus et* ς BOKM: *Mucius.* 31. *putas* ω' OK: *putes* BM. *et* ω' BOKM: *ut.* 35. *quadrat* aβ' OKM: *quadret* β''γ B.

Scilicet uxorem cum dote fidemque et amicos
et genus et formam regina Pecunia donat
ac bene nummatum decorat Suadela Venusque.
Mancipiis locuples eget aeris Cappadocum rex:
ne fueris hic tu. Chlamydes Lucullus, ut aiunt,
si posset centum scaenae praebere rogatus,
'qui possum tot?' ait: 'tamen et quaeram et quot habebo
mittam.' Post paullo scribit sibi milia quinque
esse domi chlamydum; partem vel tolleret omnis.
Exilis domus est ubi non et multa supersunt
et dominum fallunt et prosunt furibus. Ergo
si res sola potest facere et servare beatum,
hoc primus repetas opus, hoc postremus omittas.
Si fortunatum species et gratia praestat,
mercemur servum qui dictet nomina, laevum
qui fodicet latus et cogat trans pondera dextram
porrigere: 'hic multum in Fabia valet, ille Velina;
cui libet hic fascis dabit eripietque curule
cui volet inportunus ebur.' Frater, pater adde;
ut cuique est aetas, ita quemque facetus adopta.
Si bene qui cenat bene vivit, lucet, eamus
quo ducit gula, piscemur, venemur, ut olim
Gargilius, qui mane plagas, venabula, servos,
differtum transire forum populumque iubebat,
unus ut e multis populo spectante referret
emptum mulus aprum. Crudi tumidique lavemur,
quid deceat quid non obliti, Caerite cera

48. *primus aβ* BOKM : *primum γ*. 50. *laevum* BOKM : *saevum ς*. 51. *fodicet ς* BOKM : *fodiat*. 53. *hic aβγ'* OKM : *is γ''* B. 59. *populumque ω* OKM : *Campumque* B.

digni, remigium vitiosum Ithacensis Ulixi,
cui potior patria fuit interdicta voluptas.
Si, Mimnermus uti censet, sine amore iocisque
nil est iucundum, vivas in amore iocisque.
Vive, vale. Siquid novisti rectius istis,
candidus imperti; si non, his utere mecum.

VII.

Quinque dies tibi pollicitus me rure futurum,
Sextilem totum mendax desideror. Atqui,
si me vivere vis sanum recteque valentem,
quam mihi das aegro, dabis aegrotare timenti,
Maecenas, veniam, dum ficus prima calorque
dissignatorem decorat lictoribus atris,
dum pueris omnis pater et matercula pallet,
officiosaque sedulitas et opella forensis
adducit febris et testamenta resignat.
Quodsi bruma nivis Albanis illinet agris,
ad mare descendet vates tuus et sibi parcet
contractusque leget: te, dulcis amice, reviset
cum zephyris, si concedes, et hirundine prima.
Non quo more piris vesci Calaber iubet hospes
tu me fecisti locupletem. 'Vescere sodes.'
'Iam satis est.' 'At tu quantum vis tolle.' 'Benigne.'
'Non invisa feres pueris munuscula parvis.'
'Tam teneor dono quam si dimittar onustus.'

64. *patria* $\alpha\beta\gamma'$ BOKM: *patriae* γ''. 68. *si non* ς BOM: *si nil* K.

VII.—2. *atqui* β' BOKM: *atque* $\alpha\beta''\gamma$. 6. *dissignatorem* KM: *designatorem* BO.

'Ut libet: haec porcis hodie comedenda relinques.'
Prodigus et stultus donat quae spernit et odit:
haec seges ingratos tulit et feret omnibus annis.
Vir bonus et sapiens dignis ait esse paratus:
nec tamen ignorat quid distent aera lupinis.
Dignum praestabo me etiam pro laude merentis.
Quodsi me noles usquam discedere, reddes
forte latus, nigros angusta fronte capillos,
reddes dulce loqui, reddes ridere decorum et
inter vina fugam Cinarae maerere protervae.
Forte per angustam tenuis volpecula rimam
repserat in cumeram frumenti, pastaque rursus
ire foras pleno tendebat corpore frustra.
Cui mustela procul 'si vis' ait 'effugere istinc,
macra cavum repetes artum, quem macra subisti.'
Hac ego si compellor imagine, cuncta resigno;
nec somnum plebis laudo satur altilium, nec
otia divitiis Arabum liberrima muto.
Saepe verecundum laudasti, rexque paterque
audisti coram, nec verbo parcius absens:
inspice si possum donata reponere laetus.
Haud male Telemachus, proles patientis Ulixi,
'non est aptus equis Ithace locus, ut neque planis
porrectus spatiis nec multae prodigus herbae:
Atride, magis apta tibi tua dona relinquam.'
Parvum parva decent: mihi iam non regia Roma,
sed vacuum Tibur placet aut inbelle Tarentum.

19. *relinques* ς BOKM: *relinquis.* 22. *paratus* α'βγ BOKM: *paratum* α''β''. 29. *volpecula* ω: *nitedula* B. 34. *compellor* ς: *compellar.* 40. *patientis* ς: *sapientis.* *Ulixi* α'β' M: *Ulixei* γ OB. 41. *Ithace* ς KOBM: *Ithacae.*

Strenuus et fortis causisque Philippus agendis
clarus, ab officiis octavam circiter horam
dum redit atque foro nimium distare Carinas
iam grandis natu queritur, conspexit, ut aiunt,
adrasum quendam vacua tonsoris in umbra
cultello proprios purgantem leniter unguis.
'Demetri' (puer hic non laeve iussa Philippi
accipiebat), 'abi, quaere et refer, unde domo, quis,
cuius fortunae, quo sit patre quove patrono.'
It, redit et narrat, Volteium nomine Menam,
praeconem, tenui censu, sine crimine, notum
et properare loco et cessare et quaerere et uti,
gaudentem parvisque sodalibus et lare certo
et ludis et post decisa negotia campo.
'Scitari libet ex ipso quodcumque refers: dic
ad cenam veniat.' Non sane credere Mena,
mirari secum tacitus. Quid multa? 'Benigne'
respondet. 'Neget ille mihi?' 'Negat improbus et te
neglegit aut horret.' Volteium mane Philippus
vilia vendentem tunicato scruta popello
occupat et salvere iubet prior. Ille Philippo
excusare laborem et mercennaria vincla,
quod non mane domum venisset, denique quod non
providisset eum. 'Sic ignovisse putato
me tibi, si cenas hodie mecum.' 'Ut libet.' 'Ergo
post nonam venies: nunc i, rem strenuus auge.'
Ut ventum ad cenam est, dicenda tacenda locutus

50. *adrasum* ω' : *abrasum*. 51. *purgantem* ω' : *resecantem* Mavort. 56. *notum* ω' : *natum* B. 58. *certo* ω' : *curto* B. 63. *neget* β'γ BOKM : *negat* aβ''. 67. *mercennaria* ω' KM : *mercenaria* BO.

tandem dormitum dimittitur. Hic ubi saepe
occultum visus decurrere piscis ad hamum,
mane cliens et iam certus conviva, iubetur
rura suburbana indictis comes ire Latinis.
Inpositus mannis arvum caelumque Sabinum
non cessat laudare. Videt ridetque Philippus,
et sibi dum requiem, dum risus undique quaerit,
dum septem donat sestertia, mutua septem
promittit, persuadet uti mercetur agellum.
Mercatur. Ne te longis ambagibus ultra
quam satis est morer, ex nitido fit rusticus atque
sulcos et vineta crepat mera, praeparat ulmos,
inmoritur studiis et amore senescit habendi.
Verum ubi oves furto, morbo periere capellae,
spem mentita seges, bos est enectus arando,
offensus damnis media de nocte caballum
arripit iratusque Philippi tendit ad aedis.
Quem simul adspexit scabrum intonsumque Philippus,
'durus' ait, 'Voltei, nimis attentusque videris
esse mihi.' 'Pol me miserum, patrone, vocares,
si velles' inquit 'verum mihi ponere nomen.
Quod te per genium dextramque deosque Penatis
obsecro et obtestor, vitae me redde priori.'
Qui semel adspexit quantum dimissa petitis
praestent, mature redeat repetatque relicta.
Metiri se quemque suo modulo ac pede verum est.

93. *ponere* *aβ* BOMK: *dicere* *γ*. 96. *semel* BOMK: *simul* *ω'*.

VIII.

Celso gaudere et bene rem gerere Albinovano
Musa rogata refer, comiti scribaeque Neronis.
Si quaeret quid agam, dic multa et pulchra minantem
vivere nec recte nec suaviter: haud quia grando
contuderit vitis oleamque momorderit aestus,
nec quia longinquis armentum aegrotet in agris;
sed quia mente minus validus quam corpore toto
nil audire velim, nil discere, quod levet aegrum;
fidis offendar medicis, irascar amicis,
cur me funesto properent arcere veterno;
quae nocuere sequar, fugiam quae profore credam;
Romae Tibur amem ventosus, Tibure Romam.
Post haec, ut valeat, quo pacto rem gerat et se,
ut placeat iuveni percontare utque cohorti.
Si dicet 'recte', primum gaudere, subinde
praeceptum auriculis hoc instillare memento,
'ut tu fortunam, sic nos te, Celse, feremus.'

VIIII.

Septimius, Claudi, nimirum intellegit unus,
quanti me facias. Nam cum rogat et prece cogit
scilicet ut tibi se laudare et tradere coner,
dignum mente domoque legentis honesta Neronis;

VIII.—3. *quaeret* ς BOMK: *quaerit* ς. 5. *oleamque* ω OMK: *oleamve* B. 12. *ventosus* ς BOMK: *venturus* vet. Bl. 14. *percontare* ω.
IX.—1. *intellegit* ω.

munere cum fungi propioris censet amici;
quid possim videt ac novit me valdius ipso.
Multa quidem dixi cur excusatus abirem;
sed timui mea ne finxisse minora putarer,
dissimulator opis propriae, mihi commodus uni.
Sic ego, maioris fugiens opprobria culpae,
frontis ad urbanae descendi praemia. Quodsi
depositum laudas ob amici iussa pudorem,
scribe tui gregis hunc et fortem crede bonumque.

X.

Urbis amatorem Fuscum salvere iubemus
ruris amatores. Hac in re scilicet una
multum dissimiles, at cetera paene gemelli,
fraternis animis, quidquid negat alter, et alter,
adnuimus pariter: vetuli notique columbi,
tu nidum servas, ego laudo ruris amoeni
rivos et musco circumlita saxa nemusque.
Quid quaeris? vivo et regno, simul ista reliqui
quae vos ad caelum fertis rumore secundo,
utque sacerdotis fugitivus liba recuso,
pane egeo iam mellitis potiore placentis.
Vivere naturae si convenienter oportet
ponendaeque domo quaerenda est area primum,
novistine locum potiorem rure beato?
Est ubi plus tepeant hiemes, ubi gratior aura
leniat et rabiem canis et momenta leonis,

X.—3. *at* BOMK: *ad* ω'. 9. *fertis* ω' BOK: *effertis* v. M. 13. *ponendaeque* ω' BOMK: *ponendaque* V Sauppe.

cum semel accepit solem furibundus acutum?
Est ubi divellat somnos minus invida cura?
Deterius Libycis olet aut nitet herba lapillis?
Purior in vicis aqua tendit rumpere plumbum,
quam quae per pronum trepidat cum murmure rivum?
Nempe inter varias nutritur silva columnas,
laudaturque domus longos quae prospicit agros.
Naturam expelles furca, tamen usque recurret
et mala perrumpet furtim fastidia victrix.
Non qui Sidonio contendere callidus ostro
nescit Aquinatem potantia vellera fucum,
certius accipiet damnum propiusve medullis
quam qui non poterit vero distinguere falsum.
Quem res plus nimio delectavere secundae,
mutatae quatient. Siquid mirabere, pones
invitus. Fuge magna: licet sub paupere tecto
reges et regum vita praecurrere amicos.
Cervus equum pugna melior communibus herbis
pellebat, donec minor in certamine longo
imploravit opes hominis frenumque recepit.
Sed postquam victo ridens discessit ab hoste,
non equitem dorso, non frenum depulit ore.
Sic qui pauperiem veritus potiore metallis,
libertate caret, dominum vehet inprobus atque
serviet aeternum, quia parvo nesciet uti.
Cui non conveniet sua res, ut calceus olim,
si pede maior erit, subvertet, si minor, uret.

18. *divellat βγ* BOMK: *depellat aβ'*. 24. *expelles ω'* BMK: *expellas* O. 25. *fastidia ς* BOMK: *fastigia ς*: *uestigia ς* Stallbaum. 37. *victo ridens* M: *victor violens* *ω* OK: *violens victo* B. 40. *vehet ω'* KM: *vehit* BO.

Laetus sorte tua vives sapienter, Aristi,
nec me dimittes incastigatum, ubi plura
cogere quam satis est ac non cessare videbor.
Imperat aut servit collecta pecunia cuique,
tortum digna sequi potius quam ducere funem.
Haec tibi dictabam post fanum putre Vacunae,
excepto quod non simul esses, cetera laetus.

XI.

Quid tibi visa Chios, Bullati, notaque Lesbos,
quid concinna Samos, quid Croesi regia Sardis,
Zmyrna quid et Colophon? Maiora minorave fama,
cunctane prae campo et Tiberino flumine sordent?
An venit in votum Attalicis ex urbibus una,
an Lebedum laudas odio maris atque viarum?
'Scis Lebedus quid sit. Gabiis desertior atque
Fidenis vicus: tamen illic vivere vellem,
oblitusque meorum, obliviscendus et illis,
Neptunum procul e terra spectare furentem.'
Sed neque qui Capua Romam petit, imbre lutoque
adspersus, volet in caupona vivere; nec qui
frigus collegit, furnos et balnea laudat
ut fortunatam plene praestantia vitam;
nec si te validus iactaverit Auster in alto,
idcirco navem trans Aegaeum mare vendas.
Incolumi Rhodos et Mytilene pulchra facit quod
paenula solstitio, campestre nivalibus auris,

XI.—2. *Sardis* ω BOMK : *Sardes.* 3. *Zmyrna* ω' MK : *Smyrna* BO. *minorave* ω' OMK : *minorane* B. 17. *Rhodos* ω': *Rhodus.*

per brumam Tiberis, Sextili mense caminus.
Dum licet ac voltum servat Fortuna benignum
Romae laudetur Samos et Chios et Rhodos absens.
Tu quamcumque deus tibi fortunaverit horam
grata sume manu, neu dulcia differ in annum;
ut, quocumque loco fueris, vixisse libenter
te dicas. Nam si ratio et prudentia curas,
non locus effusi late maris arbiter aufert,
caelum, non animum, mutant qui trans mare currunt.
Strenua nos exercet inertia; navibus atque
quadrigis petimus bene vivere. Quod petis hic est,
est Ulubris, animus si te non deficit aequus.

XII.

Fructibus Agrippae Siculis, quos colligis, Icci,
si recte frueris, non est ut copia maior
ab Iove donari possit tibi. Tolle querellas:
pauper enim non est cui rerum suppetit usus.
Si ventri bene, si lateri est pedibusque tuis, nil
divitiae poterunt regales addere maius.
Si forte in medio positorum abstemius herbis
vivis et urtica, sic vives protinus ut te
confestim liquidus Fortunae rivus inauret,
vel quia naturam mutare pecunia nescit,
vel quia cuncta putas una virtute minora.
Miramur si Democriti pecus edit agellos
cultaque, dum peregre est animus sine corpore velox;

23. *neu* ω : *nec*.
XII.—3. *ab Iove* ω. *querellas* ω' MK: *querelas* BO.
8. *protinus* ω : *protenus* B.

cum tu inter scabiem tantam et contagia lucri
nil parvum sapias et adhuc sublimia cures,
quae mare conpescant causae, quid temperet annum,
stellae sponte sua iussaene vagentur et errent,
quid premat obscurum lunae, quid proferat orbem,
quid velit et possit rerum concordia discors,
Empedocles an Stertinium deliret acumen.
Verum seu piscis seu porrum et caepe trucidas,
utere Pompeio Grospho et, siquid petet, ultro
defer: nil Grosphus nisi verum orabit et aequum.
Vilis amicorum est annona, bonis ubi quid deest.
Ne tamen ignores quo sit Romana loco res,
Cantaber Agrippae, Claudi virtute Neronis
Armenius cecidit; ius imperiumque Prahates
Caesaris accepit genibus minor; aurea fruges
Italiae pleno defundit Copia cornu.

XIII.

Ut proficiscentem docui te saepe diuque,
Augusto reddes signata volumina, Vini,
si validus, si laetus erit, si denique poscet;
ne studio nostri pecces odiumque libellis
sedulus inportes opera vehemente minister.
Si te forte meae gravis uret sarcina chartae,
abicito potius quam quo perferre iuberis
clitellas ferus inpingas Asinaeque paternum
cognomen vertas in risum et fabula fias.
Viribus uteris per clivos, flumina, lamas.

27. *Prahates* ω K: *Phrahates* M: *Phraates* BO. 29. *defundit* ς BOKM: *defudit*.

Victor propositi simul ac perveneris illuc,
sic positum servabis onus, ne forte sub ala
fasciculum portes librorum ut rusticus agnum,
ut vinosa glomus furtivae Pyrria lanae,
ut cum pilleolo soleas conviva tribulis.
Ne volgo narres te sudavisse ferendo
carmina quae possint oculos aurisque morari
Caesaris. Oratus multa prece, nitere porro.
Vade, vale; cave ne titubes mandataque frangas.

XIV.

Vilice silvarum et mihi me reddentis agelli,
quem tu fastidis habitatum quinque focis et
quinque bonos solitum Variam dimittere patres,
certemus, spinas animone ego fortius an tu
evellas agro et melior sit Horatius an res.
Me quamvis Lamiae pietas et cura moratur,
fratrem maerentis, rapto de fratre dolentis
insolabiliter, tamen istuc mens animusque
fert et amat spatiis obstantia rumpere claustra.
Rure ego viventem, tu dicis in urbe beatum.
Cui placet alterius, sua nimirum est odio sors.
Stultus uterque locum immeritum causatur inique:
in culpa est animus, qui se non effugit umquam.
Tu mediastinus tacita prece rura petebas,
nunc urbem et ludos et balnea vilicus optas:

XIII.—14. *glomus* ω: *glomos. Pyrria* ω. 15. *pilleolo* ω KM: *pileolo* BO. 16. *ne* ω OKM: *neu* B.

XIV.—1. *Vilice* ω OKM: *Villice* B. 9. *amat* ω: *avet* B.

me constare mihi scis et discedere tristem
quandocumque trahunt invisa negotia Romam.
Non eadem miramur: eo disconvenit inter
meque et te. Nam quae deserta et inhospita tesqua
credis, amoena vocat mecum qui sentit, et odit
quae tu pulchra putas. Fornix tibi et uncta popina
incutiunt urbis desiderium, video, et quod
angulus iste feret piper et tus ocius uva,
nec vicina subest vinum praebere taberna
quae possit tibi, nec meretrix tibicina, cuius
ad strepitum salias terrae gravis: et tamen urgues
iam pridem non tacta ligonibus arva bovemque
disiunctum curas et strictis frondibus exples:
addit opus pigro rivus, si decidit imber,
multa mole docendus aprico parcere prato.
Nunc age, quid nostrum concentum dividat audi.
Quem tenues decuere togae nitidique capilli,
quem scis inmunem Cinarae placuisse rapaci,
quem bibulum liquidi media de luce Falerni,
cena brevis iuvat et prope rivum somnus in herba.
Nec lusisse pudet, sed non incidere ludum.
Non istic obliquo oculo mea commoda quisquam
limat, non odio obscuro morsuque venenat:
rident vicini glaebas et saxa moventem.
Cum servis urbana diaria rodere mavis;
horum tu in numerum voto ruis: invidet usum
lignorum et pecoris tibi calo argutus et horti.
Optat ephippia bos, piger optat arare caballus.
Quam scit uterque, libens, censebo, exerceat artem.

19. *tesqua* ω BKM: *tesca* O. 23. *tus* ω' BKM: *thus* O. 39. *glaebas* KM: *glebas* ω' BO. 40. *diaria* ω': *cibaria* Mavort.

XV.

Quae sit hiemps Veliae, quod caelum, Vala, Salerni,
quorum hominum regio et qualis via (nam mihi Baias
Musa supervacuas Antonius, et tamen illis
me facit invisum, gelida cum perluor unda
per medium frigus. Sane murteta relinqui
dictaque cessantem nervis elidere morbum
sulpura contemni vicus gemit, invidus aegris
qui caput et stomachum supponere fontibus audent
Clusinis Gabiosque petunt et frigida rura.
Mutandus locus est et deversoria nota
praeteragendus equus. 'Quo tendis? Non mihi Cumas
est iter aut Baias' laeva stomachosus habena
dicet eques: sed equis frenato est auris in ore);
maior utrum populum frumenti copia pascat;
collectosne bibant imbris puteosne perennis
iugis aquae (nam vina nihil moror illius orae.
Rure meo possum quidvis perferre patique:
ad mare cum veni, generosum et lene requiro,
quod curas abigat, quod cum spe divite manet
in venas animumque meum, quod verba ministret,
quod me Lucanae iuvenem commendet amicae);
tractus uter pluris lepores, uter educet apros;
utra magis piscis et echinos aequora celent,
pinguis ut inde domum possim Phaeaxque reverti,

XV.—1. *hiemps* ω M : *hiems* BOK. 5. *murteta* ω. 7. *sulpura* KM : *sulphura* O : *sulfura* B. 10. *deversoria* ς BOKM : *diversoria*. 13. *equis* BM : *equi* ω OK. 16. *iugis* αβ'γ BOKM : *dulcis* β'.

scribere te nobis, tibi nos accredere par est.
Maenius, ut rebus maternis atque paternis
fortiter absumptis urbanus coepit haberi
scurra, vagus, non qui certum praesepe teneret,
inpransus non qui civem dinosceret hoste,
quaelibet in quemvis opprobria fingere saevus,
pernicies et tempestas barathrumque macelli,
quicquid quaesierat, ventri donabat avaro.
Hic ubi nequitiae fautoribus et timidis nil
aut paullum abstulerat, patinas cenabat omasi,
vilis et agninae, tribus ursis quod satis esset;
scilicet ut ventres lamna candente nepotum
diceret urendos correctus Bestius: idem
quidquid erat nactus praedae maioris, ubi omne
verterat in fumum et cinerem, 'non hercule miror'
aiebat 'si qui comedunt bona, cum sit obeso
nil melius turdo, nil volva pulchrius ampla.'
Nimirum hic ego sum. Nam tuta et parvola laudo,
cum res deficiunt, satis inter vilia fortis:
verum ubi quid melius contingit et unctius, idem
vos sapere et solos aio bene vivere, quorum
conspicitur nitidis fundata pecunia villis.

XVI.

Ne perconteris fundus meus, optime Quincti,
arvo pascat erum an bacis opulentet olivae,

32. *donabat* aβ'γ OKM : *donarat* β'' : *donaret* B. 37. *correctus* ς K : *correptus* ς : *corrector* BOM. 38. *quicquid* ω' OKM : *si quid* B.

XVI.—1. *Quincti* v. KM : *Quinti* ω' BO. 2. *erum* aβ KM : γ *herum* BO. *bacis* ω' OKM : *baccis* B.

pomisne an pratis an amicta vitibus ulmo,
scribetur tibi forma loquaciter et situs agri.
Continui montes, ni dissocientur opaca
valle, sed ut veniens dextrum latus aspiciat sol,
laevum discedens curru fugiente vaporet.
Temperiem laudes. Quid, si rubicunda benigni
corna vepres et pruna ferant? si quercus et ilex
multa fruge pecus, multa dominum iuvet umbra?
Dicas adductum propius frondere Tarentum.
Fons etiam rivo dare nomen idoneus, ut nec
frigidior Thracam nec purior ambiat Hebrus,
infirmo capiti fluit utilis, utilis alvo.
Hae latebrae dulces etiam, si credis, amoenae
incolumem tibi me praestant Septembribus horis.
Tu recte vivis si curas esse quod audis.
Iactamus iam pridem omnis te Roma beatum:
sed vereor ne cui de te plus quam tibi credas,
neve putes alium sapiente bonoque beatum,
neu, si te populus sanum recteque valentem
dictitet, occultam febrem sub tempus edendi
dissimules, donec manibus tremor incidat unctis.
Stultorum incurata pudor malus ulcera celat.
Siquis bella tibi terra pugnata marique
dicat et his verbis vacuas permulceat auris,
'tene magis salvum populus velit an populum tu,
servet in ambiguo qui consulit et tibi et urbi

3. *an pratis* β BM: *et pratis* αγ OK. 5. *ni* γ BOM: *si* αβ K. 7. *discedens* ω' OK: *descendens* ς: *decedens* BM. 8. *benigni* ω' BOKM: *benignae*. 9. *ferant—iuvet* ω OKM: *ferunt—iuvat* B. *si* βγ BOKM: *et* α. 14. *utilis, utilis* ω' BOKM: *aptus et utilis*. 15. *etiam si credis* ω OKM: *et* (*iam si credis*) B. 22. *febrem* ω BKM: *febrim* O.

Iuppiter,' Augusti laudes agnoscere possis:
cum pateris sapiens emendatusque vocari,
respondesne tuo, dic sodes, nomine? 'Nempe
vir bonus et prudens dici delector ego ac tu.'—
Qui dedit hoc hodie, cras, si volet, auferet, ut si
detulerit fascis indigno, detrahet idem.
'Pone, meum est' inquit: pono tristisque recedo.
Idem si clamet furem, neget esse pudicum,
contendat laqueo collum pressisse paternum,
mordear opprobriis falsis mutemque colores?
Falsus honor iuvat et mendax infamia terret
quem nisi mendosum et medicandum? Vir bonus est quis?
'Qui consulta patrum, qui leges iuraque servat,
quo multae magnaeque secantur iudice lites,
quo res sponsore et quo causae teste tenentur.'
Sed videt hunc omnis domus et vicinia tota
introrsum turpem, speciosum pelle decora.
'Nec furtum feci nec fugi' si mihi dicat
servus, 'Habes pretium, loris non ureris' aio.
'Non hominem occidi.' Non pasces in cruce corvos.
'Sum bonus et frugi.' Renuit negitatque Sabellus.
Cautus enim metuit foveam lupus accipiterque
suspectos laqueos et opertum milvus hamum.
Oderunt peccare boni virtutis amore.
Tu nihil admittes in te formidine poenae:
sit spes fallendi, miscebis sacra profanis.

30. *pateris* α'γ BOKM : *poteris* α'' : *cupias* β. 40. *medicandum* ω' BOKM : *mendacem*. 43. *res sponsore* VBOKM : *responsore* ω'. 45. *introrsum* αβ OK : *introrsus* BM : *hunc prorsus*. 46. *dicat* ω' OK : *dicit* BM. 49. *negitatque* αβ BOKM : *negat atque* γ.

Nam de mille fabae modiis cum surripis unum,
damnum est, non facinus, mihi pacto lenius isto.
Vir bonus, omne forum quem spectat et omne tribunal,
quandocumque deos vel porco vel bove placat,
'Iane pater' clare, clare cum dixit 'Apollo,'
labra movet metuens audiri 'pulchra Laverna,
da mihi fallere, da iusto sanctoque videri,
noctem peccatis et fraudibus obice nubem.'
Qui melior servo, qui liberior sit avarus,
in triviis fixum cum se demittit ob assem,
non video. Nam qui cupiet, metuet quoque; porro
qui metuens vivet, liber mihi non erit umquam.
Perdidit arma, locum virtutis deseruit, qui
semper in augenda festinat et obruitur re.
Vendere cum possis captivum, occidere noli:
serviet utiliter: sine pascat durus aretque,
naviget ac mediis hiemet mercator in undis,
annonae prosit, portet frumenta penusque.
Vir bonus et sapiens audebit dicere 'Pentheu,
rector Thebarum, quid me perferre patique
indignum coges?' 'Adimam bona.' 'Nempe pecus, rem,
lectos, argentum. Tollas licet.' 'In manicis et
compedibus saevo te sub custode tenebo.'
'Ipse deus, simul atque volam, me solvet.' Opinor
hoc sentit, 'moriar.' Mors ultima linea rerum est.

61. *iusto sanctoque* ς BOKM: *iustum sanctumque* ς. 66. *vivet* ω OKM: *vivit* B. 72. *penusque* ω BOKM: *penumque*.

XVII.

Quamvis, Scaeva, satis per te tibi consulis et scis
quo tandem pacto deceat maioribus uti,
disce, docendus adhuc quae censet amiculus, ut si
caecus iter monstrare velit; tamen adspice siquid
et nos quod cures proprium fecisse loquamur.
Si te grata quies et primam somnus in horam
delectat, si te pulvis strepitusque rotarum,
si laedit caupona, Ferentinum ire iubebo.
Nam neque divitibus contingunt gaudia solis,
nec vixit male, qui natus moriensque fefellit.
Si prodesse tuis paulloque benignius ipsum
te tractare voles, accedes siccus ad unctum.
'Si pranderet holus patienter, regibus uti
nollet Aristippus.' 'Si sciret regibus uti,
fastidiret holus qui me notat.' Utrius horum
verba probes et facta doce, vel iunior audi
cur sit Aristippi potior sententia. Namque
mordacem Cynicum sic eludebat, ut aiunt:
'Scurror ego ipse mihi, populo tu: rectius hoc et
splendidius multo est. Equus ut me portet, alat
rex,
officium facio: tu poscis vilia, verum
dante minor, quamvis fers te nullius egentem.'
Omnis Aristippum decuit color et status et res,
temptantem maiora, fere praesentibus aequum.
Contra, quem duplici panno patientia velat,
mirabor, vitae via si conversa decebit.

XVII.—8. *laedit* *β'* OKM : *ω'* *laedet* B. 21. *vilia rerum* BOM : *vilia, verum* *ω'* : vilia, verums *ς* K.

Alter purpureum non exspectabit amictum,
quidlibet indutus celeberrima per loca vadet,
personamque feret non inconcinnus utramque:
alter Mileti textam cane peius et angui
vitabit chlamydem; morietur frigore si non
rettuleris pannum. Refer et sine vivat ineptus.
Res gerere et captos ostendere civibus hostis,
attingit solium Iovis et caelestia temptat.
Principibus placuisse viris non ultima laus est.
Non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum.
Sedit qui timuit ne non succederet: esto.
Quid? qui pervenit, fecitne viriliter? Atqui
hic est aut nusquam quod quaerimus. Hic onus horret,
ut parvis animis et parvo corpore maius:
hic subit et perfert. Aut virtus nomen inanest,
aut decus et pretium recte petit experiens vir.
Coram rege sua de paupertate tacentes
plus poscente ferent. Distat sumasne pudenter
an rapias: atqui rerum caput hoc erat, hic fons.
'Indotata mihi soror est, paupercula mater,
et fundus nec vendibilis nec pascere firmus'
qui dicit, clamat 'victum date.' Succinit alter
'et mihi!' dividuo findetur munere quadra.
Sed tacitus pasci si posset corvus, haberet
plus dapis et rixae multo minus invidiaeque.
Brundisium comes aut Surrentum ductus amoenum
qui queritur salebras et acerbum frigus et imbris,
aut cistam effractam et subducta viatica plorat,
nota refert meretricis acumina, saepe catellam,

30. *angui* Priscian BM: *angue* ω OK. 43. *sua* BM: *suo* ω OK.

saepe periscelidem raptam sibi flentis, uti mox
nulla fides damnis verisque doloribus adsit.
Nec semel inrisus triviis attollere curat
fracto crure planum. Licet illi plurima manet
lacrima, per sanctum iuratus dicat Osirim
'credite, non ludo: crudeles, tollite claudum:'
'quaere peregrinum' vicinia rauca reclamat.

XVIII.

Si bene te novi, metues, liberrime Lolli,
scurrantis speciem praebere, professus amicum.
Ut matrona meretrici dispar erit atque
discolor, infido scurrae distabit amicus.
Est huic diversum vitio vitium prope maius,
asperitas agrestis et inconcinna gravisque,
quae se commendat tonsa cute, dentibus atris,
dum volt libertas dici mera veraque virtus.
Virtus est medium vitiorum et utrimque reductum.
Alter in obsequium plus aequo pronus, et imi
derisor lecti, sic nutum divitis horret,
sic iterat voces et verba cadentia tollit,
ut puerum saevo credas dictata magistro
reddere vel partis mimum tractare secundas:
alter rixatur de lana saepe caprina,
propugnat nugis armatus: 'scilicet ut non
sit mihi prima fides et vere quod placet ut non
acriter elatrem? pretium aetas altera sordet.'
Ambigitur quid enim? Castor sciat an Docilis plus;

XVIII.—15. *rixatur* ω BOM: *rixator* Muret K. *caprina, et* B. 19. *Docilis* ω BK: *Dolichos* OM.

Brundisium Minuci melius via ducat an Appi.
Quem damnosa Venus, quem praeceps alea nudat,
gloria quem supra vires et vestit et unguit,
quem tenet argenti sitis importuna famesque,
quem paupertatis pudor et fuga, dives amicus,
saepe decem vitiis instructior, odit et horret,
aut, si non odit, regit ac veluti pia mater
plus quam se sapere et virtutibus esse priorem
volt et ait prope vera: 'meae (contendere noli)
stultitiam patiuntur opes: tibi parvola res est.
Arta decet sanum comitem toga: desine mecum
certare.' Eutrapelus cuicumque nocere volebat,
vestimenta dabat pretiosa: 'beatus enim iam
cum pulchris tunicis sumet nova consilia et spes,
dormiet in lucem, scorto postponet honestum
officium, nummos alienos pascet, ad imum
Thraex erit aut holitoris aget mercede caballum.'
Arcanum neque tu scrutaberis illius umquam,
commissumque teges et vino tortus et ira.
Nec tua laudabis studia aut aliena reprendes,
nec, cum venari volet ille, poemata panges.
Gratia sic fratrum geminorum Amphionis atque
Zethi dissiluit, donec suspecta severo
conticuit lyra. Fraternis cessisse putatur
moribus Amphion: tu cede potentis amici
lenibus imperiis, quotiensque educet in agros
Aetolis onerata plagis iumenta canesque,
surge et inhumanae senium depone Camenae,

36. *Thraex* ς KM: *Thrax* ω O: *Threx* B. 37. *illius* γ BOKM: *ullius* aβγ''. 46. *Aetolis* ω BOKM: *Aeoliis* Mein.

cenes ut pariter pulmenta laboribus empta;
Romanis sollemne viris opus, utile famae
vitaeque et membris; praesertim cum valeas et
vel cursu superare canem vel viribus aprum
possis; adde virilia quod speciosius arma
non est qui tractet: scis quo clamore coronae
proelia sustineas campestria; denique saevam
militiam puer et Cantabrica bella tulisti
sub duce qui templis Parthorum signa refigit
nunc, et siquid abest Italis adiudicat armis.
Ac ne te retrahas et inexcusabilis absis,
quamvis nil extra numerum fecisse modumque
curas, interdum nugaris rure paterno:
partitur lintres exercitus; Actia pugna
te duce per pueros hostili more refertur;
adversarius est frater, lacus Hadria; donec
alterutrum velox victoria fronde coronet.
Consentire suis studiis qui crediderit te,
fautor utroque tuum laudabit pollice ludum.
Protinus ut moneam (siquid monitoris eges tu),
quid de quoque viro et cui dicas, saepe videto.
Percontatorem fugito: nam garrulus idemst,
nec retinent patulae commissa fideliter aures,
et semel emissum volat inrevocabile verbum.
Non ancilla tuum iecur ulceret ulla puerve
intra marmoreum venerandi limen amici,
ne dominus pueri pulchri caraeve puellae
munere te parvo beet aut incommodus angat.
Qualem commendes etiam atque etiam adspice, ne mox

56. *refigit* ω BOKM: *refixit*. 58. *absis* ω OKM: *abstes* B. 61. *lyntres* ς K: *lintres* ς BOM.

incutiant aliena tibi peccata pudorem.
Fallimur et quondam non dignum tradimus: ergo
quem sua culpa premet, deceptus omitte tueri,
ut penitus notum si temptent crimina, serves
tuterisque tuo fidentem praesidio: qui
dente Theonino cum circumroditur, ecquid
ad te post paullo ventura pericula sentis?
nam tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet,
et neglecta solent incendia sumere vires.
Dulcis inexpertis cultura potentis amici:
expertus metuit. Tu, dum tua navis in alto est,
hoc age, ne mutata retrorsum te ferat aura.
Oderunt hilarem tristes tristemque iocosi,
sedatum celeres, agilem gnavumque remissi,
[potores bibuli media de nocte Falerni]
oderunt porrecta negantem pocula, quamvis
nocturnos iures te formidare tepores.
Deme supercilio nubem: plerumque modestus
occupat obscuri speciem, taciturnus acerbi.
Inter cuncta leges et percontabere doctos,
qua ratione queas traducere leniter aevum,
num te semper inops agitet vexetque cupido,
num pavor et rerum mediocriter utilium spes,
virtutem doctrina paret naturane donet,
quid minuat curas, quid te tibi reddat amicum,
quid pure tranquillet, honos an dulce lucellum
an secretum iter et fallentis semita vitae.

80. *ut* ω OKM: *at* B. 81. *fidentem* ω OKM: *fidenter* B. 90. *navumque* ω OKM: *gnavumque* B. 91. *potores —Falerni*, non habent codices melioris notae. 93. *tepores* ω BKM: *vapores* O.

Me quotiens reficit gelidus Digentia rivus,
quem Mandela bibit, rugosus frigore pagus,
quid sentire putas, quid credis, amice, precari?
'Sit mihi quod nunc est, etiam minus, ut mihi vivam
quod superest aevi, siquid superesse volunt di:
sit bona librorum et provisae frugis in annum
copia, neu fluitem dubiae spe pendulus horae.
Sed satis est orare Iovem, quae ponit et aufert,
det vitam, det opes; aequum mi animum ipse parabo.'

XIX.

Prisco si credis, Maecenas docte, Cratino,
nulla placere diu nec vivere carmina possunt
quae scribuntur aquae potoribus. Ut male sanos
adscripsit Liber satyris faunisque poetas,
vina fere dulces oluerunt mane Camenae.
Laudibus arguitur vini vinosus Homerus:
Ennius ipse pater numquam nisi potus ad arma
prosiluit dicenda. 'Forum putealque Libonis
mandabo siccis, adimam cantare severis.'
Hoc simul edixi, non cessavere poetae
nocturno certare mero, putere diurno.
Quid? siquis voltu torvo ferus et pede nudo
exiguaeque togae simulet textore Catonem,
virtutemne repraesentet moresque Catonis?
Rupit Iarbitam Timagenis aemula lingua,

107. *ut* ς K: *et* ς OBM. 110. *neu* ς OBKM: *ne*.
111. *quae ponit* ς M: *qui ponit* ς M: *quae donat* ς OK.
XIX.—10. *edixi* βγ BOKM: *edixit* a.

dum studet urbanus tenditque disertus haberi.
Decipit exemplar vitiis imitabile. Quodsi
pallerem casu, biberent exsangue cuminum.
O imitatores, servum pecus, ut mihi saepe
bilem, saepe iocum vestri movere tumultus!
Libera per vacuum posui vestigia princeps,
non aliena meo pressi pede. Qui sibi fidet,
dux reget examen. Parios ego primus iambos
ostendi Latio, numeros animosque secutus
Archilochi, non res et agentia verba Lycamben.
Ac ne me foliis ideo brevioribus ornes
quod timui mutare modos et carminis artem,
temperat Archilochi musam pede mascula Sappho,
temperat Alcaeus, sed rebus et ordine dispar,
nec socerum quaerit quem versibus oblinat atris,
nec sponsae laqueum famoso carmine nectit.
Hunc ego, non alio dictum prius ore, Latinus
volgavi fidicen. Iuvat immemorata ferentem
ingenuis oculisque legi manibusque teneri.
Scire velis, mea cur ingratus opuscula lector
laudet ametque domi, premat extra limen iniquus:
non ego ventosae plebis suffragia venor
impensis cenarum et tritae munere vestis,
non ego nobilium scriptorum auditor et ultor
grammaticas ambire tribus et pulpita dignor.
Hinc illae lacrimae. 'Spissis indigna theatris
scripta pudet recitare et nugis addere pondus'
si dixi, 'rides' ait 'et Iovis auribus ista
servas: fidis enim manare poetica mella
te solum, tibi pulcher.' Ad haec ego naribus uti

22. *fidit—regit* BOM: *fidet—reget* ω K.

formido et, luctantis acuto ne secer ungui,
'displicet iste locus' clamo et diludia posco.
Ludus enim genuit trepidum certamen et iram,
ira trucis inimicitias et funebre bellum.

XX.

Vertumnum Ianumque, liber, spectare videris,
scilicet ut prostes Sosiorum pumice mundus.
Odisti clavis et grata sigilla pudico,
paucis ostendi gemis et communia laudas,
non ita nutritus. Fuge quo descendere gestis:
non erit emisso reditus tibi. 'Quid miser egi?
quid volui?' dices ubi quid te laeserit; et scis
in breve te cogi cum plenus languet amator.
quodsi non odio peccantis desipit augur,
carus eris Romae donec te deserat aetas:
contrectatus ubi manibus sordescere volgi
coeperis, aut tineas pasces taciturnus inertis
aut fugies Uticam aut vinctus mitteris Ilerdam.
Ridebit monitor non exauditus, ut ille
qui male parentem in rupis protrusit asellum
iratus: quis enim invitum servare laboret?
hoc quoque te manet, ut pueros elementa docentem
occupet extremis in vicis balba senectus.
Cum tibi sol tepidus pluris admoverit auris,

46. *ungui* ω.

XX.—1. *Vertumnum* αβ BOM: *Vortumnum* γK. 5. *descendere* ω' BOKM: *discedere*. 7. *quid* ω' BKM: *quis* O. 10. *deserat* ω' OKM: *deserit* B. 13. *vinctus* ω' BOKM: *unctus*.

me libertino natum patre et in tenui re,
maiores pennas nido extendisse loqueris,
ut quantum generi demas, virtutibus addas;
me primis urbis belli placuisse domique,
corporis exigui, praecanum, solibus aptum,
irasci celerem, tamen ut placabilis essem.
Forte meum siquis te percontabitur aevum,
me quater undenos sciat inplevisse Decembris,
collegam Lepidum quo dixit Lollius anno.

28. *duxit* ω BOM: *dixit* K.

Q. HORATI FLACCI

EPISTULARUM

LIBER SECUNDUS.

I.

Cum tot sustineas et tanta negotia solus,
res Italas armis tuteris, moribus ornes,
legibus emendes, in publica commoda peccem,
si longo sermone morer tua tempora, Caesar.
Romulus et Liber pater et cum Castore Pollux,
post ingentia facta deorum in templa recepti,
dum terras hominumque colunt genus, aspera bella
componunt, agros adsignant, oppida condunt,
ploravere suis non respondere favorem
speratum meritis. Diram qui contudit hydram
notaque fatali portenta labore subegit,
comperit invidiam supremo fine domari.
Urit enim fulgore suo qui praegravat artis
infra se positas: extinctus amabitur idem.
Praesenti tibi maturos largimur honores
iurandasque tuum per numen ponimus aras,
nil oriturum alias, nil ortum tale fatentes.

I.—6. *facta* ωQMK : *fata* B. 16. *numen* ς BMK : *nomen* ςO.

Sed tuus hic populus, sapiens et iustus in uno
te nostris ducibus, te Grais anteferendo,
cetera nequaquam simili ratione modoque
aestimat, et nisi quae terris semota suisque
temporibus defuncta videt, fastidit et odit,
sic fautor veterum, ut tabulas peccare vetantis
quas bis quinque viri sanxerunt, foedera regum
vel Gabiis vel cum rigidis aequata Sabinis,
pontificum libros, annosa volumina vatum
dictitet Albano Musas in monte locutas.
Si, quia Graiorum sunt antiquissima quaeque
scripta vel optima, Romani pensantur eadem
scriptores trutina, non est quod multa loquamur:
nil intra est olea, nil extra est in nuce duri,
venimus ad summum fortunae, pingimus atque
psallimus et luctamur Achivis doctius unctis.
Si meliora dies, ut vina, poemata reddit,
scire velim, chartis pretium quotus adroget annus.
Scriptor abhinc annos centum qui decidit, inter
perfectos veteresque referri debet an inter
vilis atque novos? Excludat iurgia finis.
'Est vetus atque probus centum qui perficit annos.'
Quid qui deperiit minor uno mense vel anno,
inter quos referendus erit? Veteresne poetas,
an quos et praesens et postera respuat aetas?
'Iste quidem veteres inter ponetur honeste,
qui vel mense brevi vel toto est iunior anno.'
Utor permisso, caudaeque pilos ut equinae
paullatim vello et demo unum, demo etiam unum,

18. *hic* ω'OMK : *hoc* B. 28. *Graiorum* βBM : *Graecorum* αγOK. 31. *olea* BK : *oleam* ω'OM. 46. *etiam* αβOK : *et item* γBM.

dum cadat elusus ratione ruentis acervi,
qui redit in fastos et virtutem aestimat annis
miraturque nihil nisi quod Libitina sacravit.
Ennius et sapiens et fortis et alter Homerus,
ut critici dicunt, leviter curare videtur
quo promissa cadant et somnia Pythagorea.
Naevius in manibus non est et mentibus haeret
paene recens? Adeo sanctum est vetus omne poema.
Ambigitur quotiens uter utro sit prior, aufert
Pacuvius docti famam senis, Accius alti,
dicitur Afrani toga convenisse Menandro,
Plautus ad exemplar Siculi properare Epicharmi,
vincere Caecilius gravitate, Terentius arte.
Hos ediscit et hos arto stipata theatro
spectat Roma potens; habet hos numeratque poetas
ad nostrum tempus Livi scriptoris ab aevo.
Interdum volgus rectum videt; est ubi peccat.
Si veteres ita miratur laudatque poetas
ut nihil anteferat, nihil illis comparet, errat.
Si quaedam nimis antique, si pleraque dure
dicere credit eos, ignave multa fatetur,
et sapit et mecum facit et Iove iudicat aequo.
Non equidem insector delendave carmina Livi
esse reor, memini quae plagosum mihi parvo
Orbilium dictare: sed emendata videri
pulchraque et exactis minimum distantia miror.
Inter quae verbum emicuit si forte decorum,
si versus paullo concinnior unus et alter,
iniuste totum ducit venditque poema.

67. *credit* ω'OMK : *cedit* B. 69. *Livi* ω'OMK : *Laevi* B. 75. *venditque* ω'OMK : *venitque* B.

Indignor quicquam reprehendi, non quia crasse
conpositum inlepideve putetur, sed quia nuper,
nec veniam antiquis, sed honorem et praemia posci.
Recte necne crocum floresque perambulet Attae
fabula si dubitem, clament periisse pudorem
cuncti paene patres, ea cum reprehendere coner
quae gravis Aesopus, quae doctus Roscius egit;
vel quia nil rectum, nisi quod placuit sibi, ducunt,
vel quia turpe putant parere minoribus et quae
imberbes didicere senes perdenda fateri.
Iam Saliare Numae carmen qui laudat et illud
(quod mecum ignorat) solus volt scire videri,
ingeniis non ille favet plauditque sepultis,
nostra sed inpugnat, nos nostraque lividus odit.
Quodsi tam Graecis novitas invisa fuisset —
quam nobis, quid nunc esset vetus aut quid haberet
quod legeret tereretque viritim publicus usus?
Ut primum positis nugari Graecia bellis
coepit et in vitium fortuna labier aequa,
nunc athletarum studiis, nunc arsit equorum,
marmoris aut eboris fabros aut aeris amavit,
suspendit picta voltum mentemque tabella,
nunc tibicinibus, nunc est gavisa tragoedis;
sub nutrice puella velut si luderet infans,
quod cupide petiit, mature plena reliquit.
Hoc paces habuere bonae ventique secundi.
Romae dulce diu fuit et sollemne reclusa
mane domo vigilare, clienti promere iura,
cautos nominibus rectis expendere nummos,

85. *imberbes* ωOK : *imberbi* BM. 90. *Graecis* ωOMK : *Graiis* B. 105. *cautos* ωOMK : *scriptos* B.

maiores audire, minori dicere, per quae
crescere res posset, minui damnosa libido.
Quid placet aut odio est, quod non mutabile credas?
Mutavit mentem populus levis et calet uno
scribendi studio, pueri patresque severi
fronde comas vincti cenant et carmina dictant.
Ipse ego, qui nullos me adfirmo scribere versus,
invenior Parthis mendacior et prius orto
sole vigil calamum et chartas et scrinia posco.
Navem agere ignarus navis timet, habrotonum aegro
non audet nisi qui didicit dare, quod medicorum est
promittunt medici, tractant fabrilia fabri:
scribimus indocti doctique poemata passim.
Hic error tamen et levis haec insania quantas
virtutes habeat sic collige. Vatis avarus
non temere est animus: versus amat, hoc studet unum;
detrimenta, fugas servorum, incendia ridet;
non fraudem socio puerove incogitat ullam
pupillo; vivit siliquis et pane secundo,
militiae quamquam piger et malus, utilis urbi,
si das hoc, parvis quoque rebus magna iuvari.
Os tenerum pueri balbumque poeta figurat,
torquet ab obscaenis iam nunc sermonibus aurem,
mox etiam pectus praeceptis format amicis,
asperitatis et invidiae corrector et irae,
recte facta refert, orientia tempora notis
instruit exemplis, inopem solatur et aegrum.

109. *pueri* ωOMK : *puerique* B. 114. *navem* ςBMK : *navim* ςO.

Castis cum pueris ignara puella mariti
disceret unde preces, vatem ni musa dedisset?
Poscit opem chorus et praesentia numina sentit,
caelestis implorat aquas docta prece blandus,
avertit morbos, metuenda pericula pellit,
impetrat et pacem et locupletem frugibus annum.
Carmine di superi placantur, carmine manes.
Agricolae prisci, fortes parvoque beati,
condita post frumenta levantes tempore festo
corpus et ipsum animum spe finis dura ferentem
cum sociis operum pueris et coniuge fida,
Tellurem porco, Silvanum lacte piabant,
floribus et vino Genium memorem brevis aevi.
Fescennina per hunc inventa licentia morem
versibus alternis opprobria rustica fudit,
libertasque recurrentis accepta per annos
lusit amabiliter, donec iam saevus apertam
in rabiem coepit verti iocus et per honestas
ire domos impune minax. Doluere cruento
dente lacessiti: fuit intactis quoque cura
condicione super communi: quin etiam lex
poenaque lata malo quae nollet carmine quemquam
describi. Vertere modum, formidine fustis
ad bene dicendum delectandumque redacti.
Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artis
intulit agresti Latio. Sic horridus ille
defluxit numerus Saturnius et grave virus
munditiae pepulere: sed in longum tamen aevum
manserunt hodieque manent vestigia ruris.
Serus enim Graecis admovit acumina chartis
et post Punica bella quietus quaerere coepit

145. *inventa* ωOMK : *invecta* B.

quid Sophocles et Thespis et Aeschylus utile ferrent.
Temptavit quoque rem, si digne vertere posset,
et placuit sibi natura sublimis et acer:
nam spirat tragicum satis et feliciter audet,
sed turpem putat inscite metuitque lituram.
Creditur, ex medio quia res arcessit, habere
sudoris minimum, sed habet comoedia tanto
plus oneris quanto veniae minus. Adspice Plautus
quo pacto partis tutetur amantis ephebi,
ut patris attenti, lenonis ut insidiosi,
quantus sit Dossennus edacibus in parasitis,
quam non adstricto percurrat pulpita socco.
Gestit enim nummum in loculos demittere, post hoc
securus cadat an recto stet fabula talo.
Quem tulit ad scaenam ventoso gloria curru,
exanimat lentus spectator, sedulus inflat:
sic leve, sic parvum est, animum quod laudis avarum
subruit aut reficit. Valeat res ludicra, si me
palma negata macrum, donata reducit opimum.
Saepe etiam audacem fugat hoc terretque poetam,
quod numero plures, virtute et honore minores,
indocti stolidique et depugnare parati
si discordet eques, media inter carmina poscunt
aut ursum aut pugiles; his nam plebecula gaudet.
Verum equitis quoque iam migravit ab aure voluptas
omnis ad incertos oculos et gaudia vana.
Quattuor aut pluris aulaea premuntur in horas,
dum fugiunt equitum turmae peditumque catervae;

167. *inscite* ϛOMK : *inscitus* B : *in scriptis* ϛ. 180. *aut* ωOMK : *ac* B. 186. *gaudet* αβBMK : *plaudet* γ : *plaudit* O. 187. *equitis* ωOMK : *equiti* B. 188. *incertos* ωOMK : *ingratos* B.

mox trahitur manibus regum fortuna retortis,
esseda festinant, pilenta, petorrita, naves,
captivum portatur ebur, captiva Corinthus.
Si foret in terris, rideret Democritus, seu
diversum confusa genus panthera camelo
sive elephans albus volgi converteret ora;
spectaret populum ludis attentius ipsis
ut sibi praebentem nimio spectacula plura;
scriptores autem narrare putaret asello
fabellam surdo. Nam quae pervincere voces
evaluere sonum, referunt quem nostra theatra?
Garganum mugire putes nemus aut mare Tuscum,
tanto cum strepitu ludi spectantur et artes
divitiaeque peregrinae: quibus oblitus actor
cum stetit in scaena, concurrit dextera laevae.
Dixit adhuc aliquid? Nil sane. Quid placet ergo?
Lana Tarentino violas imitata veneno.
Ac ne forte putes me, quae facere ipse recusem,
cum recte tractent alii, laudare maligne:
ille per extentum funem mihi posse videtur
ire poeta, meum qui pectus inaniter angit,
inritat, mulcet, falsis terroribus implet
ut magus, et modo me Thebis, modo ponit Athenis.
Verum age et his, qui se lectori credere malunt
quam spectatoris fastidia ferre superbi,
curam redde brevem, si munus Apolline dignum
vis complere libris et vatibus addere calcar,
ut studio maiore petant Helicona virentem.

196. *converteret* ωOMK : *converterit* B. 198. *nimio* aβMK : *mimo* γBO. 216. *redde* ωOMK : *impende* B.

Multa quidem nobis facimus mala saepe poetae
(ut vineta egomet caedam mea), cum tibi librum
sollicito damus aut fesso; cum laedimur, unum
siquis amicorum est ausus reprehendere versum;
cum loca iam recitata revolvimus inrevocati;
cum lamentamur non adparere labores
nostros et tenui deducta poemata filo;
cum speramus eo rem venturam ut, simul atque
carmina rescieris nos fingere, commodus ultro
arcessas et egere vetes et scribere cogas.
Sed tamen est operae pretium cognoscere qualis
aedituos habeat belli spectata domique
virtus, indigno non committenda poetae.
Gratus Alexandro regi magno fuit ille
Choerilus, incultis qui versibus et male natis
rettulit acceptos, regale nomisma, Philippos.
Sed veluti tractata notam labemque remittunt
atramenta, fere scriptores carmine foedo
splendida facta linunt. Idem rex ille, poema
qui tam ridiculum tam care prodigus emit,
edicto vetuit nequis se praeter Apellen
pingeret aut alius Lysippo duceret aera
fortis Alexandri voltum simulantia. Quodsi
iudicium subtile videndis artibus illud
ad libros et ad haec Musarum dona vocares,
Boeotum in crasso iurares aere natum.
At neque dedecorant tua de se iudicia atque
munera quae multa dantis cum laude tulerunt

222. *reprehendere* ωOMK : *reprendere* B. 233. *Choerilus* aβOM : *Choerilos* γBK. 240. *duceret* ωOMK : *cuderet* B.

dilecti tibi Vergilius Variusque poetae,
nec magis expressi voltus per aenea signa
quam per vatis opus mores animique virorum
clarorum apparent. Nec sermones ego mallem
repentis per humum quam res componere gestas,
terrarumque situs et flumina dicere et arces
montibus impositas et barbara regna tuisque
auspiciis totum confecta duella per orbem
claustraque custodem pacis cohibentia Ianum
et formidatam Parthis te principe Romam,
si quantum cuperem possem quoque: sed neque parvum
carmen maiestas recipit tua nec meus audet
rem temptare pudor quam vires ferre recusent.
Sedulitas autem stulte quem diligit urguet,
praecipue cum se numeris commendat et arte:
discit enim citius meminitque libentius illud
quod quis deridet quam quod probat et veneratur.
Nil moror officium quod me gravat ac neque ficto
in peius voltu proponi cereus usquam
nec prave factis decorari versibus opto,
ne rubeam pingui donatus munere et una
cum scriptore meo capsa porrectus operta
deferar in vicum vendentem tus et odores
et piper et quicquid chartis amicitur ineptis.

268. *operta* ω'BMK : *aperta* O.

II.

Flore, bono claroque fidelis amice Neroni,
siquis forte velit puerum tibi vendere natum
Tibure vel Gabiis et tecum sic agat, 'hic et
candidus et talos a vertice pulcher ad imos
fiet eritque tuus nummorum milibus octo,
verna ministeriis ad nutus aptus erilis,
litterulis Graecis imbutus, idoneus arti
cuilibet, argilla quidvis imitaberis uda;
quin etiam canet indoctum sed dulce bibenti.
Multa fidem promissa levant ubi plenius aequo
laudat venalis qui volt extrudere merces.
Res urguet me nulla; meo sum pauper in aere.
Nemo hoc mangonum faceret tibi: non temere a me
quivis ferret idem. Semel hic cessavit et, ut fit,
in scalis latuit metuens pendentis habenae:
des nummos, excepta nihil te si fuga laedit:'
ille ferat pretium poenae securus, opinor.
Prudens emisti vitiosum; dicta tibi est lex:
insequeris tamen hunc et lite moraris iniqua.
Dixi me pigrum proficiscenti tibi, dixi
talibus officiis prope mancum, ne mea saevus
iurgares ad te quod epistula nulla rediret.
Quid tum profeci, mecum facientia iura
si tamen attemptas? Quereris super hoc etiam, quod
exspectata tibi non mittam carmina mendax.

8. *imitaberis* aβBOMK : *imitabitur* γ' : *imitabimur* γ''. 16. *laedit* vBM : *laedat* ω'OK. 22. *rediret* ω'OMK : *veniret* B.

Luculli miles collecta viatica multis
aerumnis, lassus dum noctu stertit, ad assem
perdiderat: post hoc vehemens lupus, et sibi et hosti
iratus pariter, ieiunis dentibus acer,
praesidium regale loco deiecit, ut aiunt,
summe munito et multarum divite rerum.
Clarus ob id factum donis ornatur honestis,
accipit et bis dena super sestertia nummum.
Forte sub hoc tempus castellum evertere praetor
nescio quod cupiens hortari coepit eundem
verbis quae timido quoque possent addere mentem:
'I, bone, quo virtus tua te vocat, i pede fausto,
grandia laturus meritorum praemia. Quid stas?'
Post haec ille catus, quantumvis rusticus, 'ibit,
ibit eo quo vis qui zonam perdidit' inquit.
Romae nutriri mihi contigit atque doceri
iratus Grais quantum nocuisset Achilles.
Adiecere bonae paullo plus artis Athenae,
scilicet ut vellem curvo dinoscere rectum
atque inter silvas Academi quaerere verum.
Dura sed emovere loco me tempora grato
civilisque rudem belli tulit aestus in arma
Caesaris Augusti non responsura lacertis.
Unde simul primum me dimisere Philippi,
decisis humilem pennis inopemque paterni
et laris et fundi paupertas impulit audax
ut versus facerem: sed quod non desit habentem
quae poterunt umquam satis expurgare cicutae,
ni melius dormire putem quam scribere versus?
Singula de nobis anni praedantur euntes;

44. *vellem* *aβ*OK : *possim* *γ* : *possem* *γ*″BM.

eripuere iocos, Venerem, convivia, ludum;
tendunt extorquere poemata: quid faciam vis?
Denique non omnes eadem mirantur amantque:
carmine tu gaudes, hic delectatur iambis,
ille Bioneis sermonibus et sale nigro.
Tres mihi convivae prope dissentire videntur,
poscentes vario multum diversa palato.
Quid dem? Quid non dem? Renuis tu, quod iubet alter;
quod petis, id sane est invisum acidumque duobus.
Praeter cetera me Romaene poemata censes
scribere posse inter tot curas totque labores?
Hic sponsum vocat, hic auditum scripta, relictis
omnibus officiis: cubat hic in colle Quirini,
hic extremo in Aventino, visendus uterque:
intervalla vides humane commoda. 'Verum
purae sunt plateae, nihil ut meditantibus obstet.'
Festinat calidus mulis gerulisque redemptor,
torquet nunc lapidem nunc ingens machina tignum,
tristia robustis luctantur funera plaustris,
hac rabiosa fugit canis, hac lutulenta ruit sus:
i nunc et versus tecum meditare canoros.
Scriptorum chorus omnis amat nemus et fugit urbem,
rite cliens Bacchi somno gaudentis et umbra:
tu me inter strepitus nocturnos atque diurnos
vis canere et contracta sequi vestigia vatum?
Ingenium, sibi quod vacuas desumpsit Athenas
et studiis annos septem dedit insenuitque
libris et curis, statua taciturnius exit

70. *humane* ωBOM : *haut sane* K. 77. *urbem* aβOMK : *urbis* γB. 80. *contracta* ςOMK : *contacta* ω' : *non tacta* B.

plerumque et risu populum quatit: hic ego rerum
fluctibus in mediis et tempestatibus urbis
verba lyrae motura sonum conectere digner?
† Frater erat Romae consulti rhetor, ut alter
alterius sermone meros audiret honores,
Gracchus ut hic illi, foret huic ut Mucius ille.
Qui minus argutos vexat furor iste poetas?
Carmina compono, hic elegos. Mirabile visu
caelatumque novem Musis opus! Adspice primum
quanto cum fastu, quanto molimine circum
spectemus vacuam Romanis vatibus aedem:
mox etiam, si forte vacas, sequere et procul audi,
quid ferat et qua re sibi nectat uterque coronam.
Caedimur et totidem plagis consumimus hostem
lento Samnites ad lumina prima duello.
Discedo Alcaeus puncto illius; ille meo quis?
Quis nisi Callimachus? Si plus adposcere visus,
fit Mimnermus et optivo cognomine crescit.
Multa fero, ut placem genus irritabile vatum,
cum scribo et supplex populi suffragia capto:
idem finitis studiis et mente recepta
obturem patulas inpune legentibus auris.
Ridentur mala qui componunt carmina; verum
gaudent scribentes et se venerantur et ultro,
si taceas, laudant quicquid scripsere beati.
At qui legitimum cupiet fecisse poema,
cum tabulis animum censoris sumet honesti;
audebit quaecumque parum splendoris habebunt
et sine pondere erunt et honore indigna ferentur
verba movere loco, quamvis invita recedant

89. *huic...ille* BOMK : *hic illi* ω.

et versentur adhuc intra penetralia Vestae;
obscurata diu populo bonus eruet atque
proferet in lucem speciosa vocabula rerum,
quae priscis memorata Catonibus atque Cethegis
nunc situs informis premit et deserta vetustas;
adsciscet nova, quae genitor produxerit usus.
Vemens et liquidus puroque simillimus amni
fundet opes Latiumque beabit divite lingua;
luxuriantia compescet, nimis aspera sano
levabit cultu, virtute carentia tollet,
ludentis speciem dabit et torquebitur, ut qui
nunc Satyrum, nunc agrestem Cyclopa movetur.
Praetulerim scriptor delirus inersque videri,
dum mea delectent mala me vel denique fallant,
quam sapere et ringi? Fuit haud ignobilis Argis
qui se credebat miros audire tragoedos
in vacuo laetus sessor plausorque theatro;
cetera qui vitae servaret munia recto
more, bonus sane vicinus, amabilis hospes,
comis in uxorem, posset qui ignoscere servis
et signo laeso non insanire lagoenae,
posset qui rupem et puteum vitare patentem.
Hic ubi cognatorum opibus curisque refectus
expulit elleboro morbum bilemque meraco
et redit ad sese, 'pol me occidistis, amici,
non servastis' ait, 'cui sic extorta voluptas
et demptus per vim mentis gratissimus error.'
Nimirum sapere est abiectis utile nugis,
et tempestivum pueris concedere ludum,
ac non verba sequi fidibus modulanda Latinis,

114. *intra* BOM : *inter* ωK.

sed verae numerosque modosque ediscere vitae.
Quocirca mecum loquor haec tacitusque recordor:
si tibi nulla sitim finiret copia lymphae,
narrares medicis: quod quanto plura parasti
tanto plura cupis, nulline faterier audes?
Si volnus tibi monstrata radice vel herba
non fieret levius, fugeres radice vel herba
proficiente nihil curarier: audieras, cui
rem di donarent, illi decedere pravam
stultitiam, et cum sis nihilo sapientior ex quo
plenior es, tamen uteris monitoribus isdem?
At si divitiae prudentem reddere possent,
si cupidum timidumque minus te, nempe ruberes,
viveret in terris te siquis avarior uno.
Si proprium est quod quis libra mercatus et aere est,
quaedam, si credis consultis, mancipat usus,
qui te pascit ager, tuus est, et vilicus Orbi,
cum segetes occat tibi mox frumenta daturas,
te dominum sentit. Das nummos, accipis uvam,
pullos, ova, cadum temeti. Nempe modo isto
paullatim mercaris agrum, fortasse trecentis
aut etiam supra nummorum milibus emptum.
Quid refert, vivas numerato nuper an olim?
Emptor Aricini quondam Veientis et arvi
emptum cenat holus, quamvis aliter putat; emptis
sub noctem gelidam lignis calefactat aenum:
sed vocat usque suum, qua populus adsita certis
limitibus vicina refugit iurgia; tamquam
sit proprium quicquam, puncto quod mobilis horae

152. *donarent* ω'OMK : *donarint* B.
161. *daturas* vγBOM : *daturus* aβK.

nunc prece, nunc pretio, nunc vi, nunc morte suprema
permutet dominos et cedat in altera iura.
Sic quia perpetuus nulli datur usus et heres
heredem alterius velut unda supervenit undam,
quid vici prosunt aut horrea, quidve Calabris
saltibus adiecti Lucani, si metit Orcus
grandia cum parvis, non exorabilis auro?
Gemmas, marmor, ebur, Tyrrhena sigilla, tabellas,
argentum, vestis Gaetulo murice tinctas,
sunt qui non habeant, est qui non curat habere.
Cur alter fratrum cessare et ludere et ungui
praeferat Herodis palmetis pinguibus, alter
dives et importunus ad umbram lucis ab ortu
silvestrem flammis et ferro mitiget agrum,
scit Genius, natale comes qui temperat astrum,
naturae deus humanae, mortalis in unum
quodque caput, voltu mutabilis, albus et ater.
Utar et ex modico quantum res poscet acervo
tollam, nec metuam quid de me iudicet heres,
quod non plura datis invenerit: et tamen idem
scire volam, quantum simplex hilarisque nepoti
discrepet et quantum discordet parcus avaro.
Distat enim, spargas tua prodigus an neque sumptum
invitus facias neque plura parare labores,
ac potius, puer ut festis quinquatribus olim,
exiguo gratoque fruaris tempore raptim.
Pauperies immunda domus procul absit: ego utrum

175. *sic quia* ςBOMK : *si quia* ω. 176. *alterius* ωOMK : *alternis* B. 199. *domus procul absit* ωOMK : *procul procul absit* B.

nave ferar magna an parva, ferar unus et idem.
Non agimur tumidis velis aquilone secundo,
non tamen adversis aetatem ducimus austris,
viribus, ingenio, specie, virtute, loco, re
extremi primorum, extremis usque priores.
Non es avarus: abi. Quid? cetera iam simul isto
cum vitio fugere? Caret tibi pectus inani
ambitione? Caret mortis formidine et ira?
Somnia, terrores magicos, miracula, sagas,
nocturnos lemures portentaque Thessala rides?
Natalis grate numeras? Ignoscis amicis?
Lenior et melior fis accedente senecta?
Quid te exempta levat spinis de pluribus una?
Vivere si recte nescis, decede peritis.
Lusisti satis, edisti satis atque bibisti:
tempus abire tibi est, ne potum largius aequo
rideat et pulset lasciva decentius aetas.

212. *levat* ς BO : *iuvat* ω KM.

Q. HORATI FLACCI

DE ARTE POETICA

LIBER.

Humano capiti cervicem pictor equinam
iungere si velit et varias inducere plumas
undique collatis membris, ut turpiter atrum
desinat in piscem mulier formosa superne,
spectatum admissi risum teneatis amici?
Credite, Pisones, isti tabulae fore librum
persimilem cuius velut aegri somnia vanae
fingentur species, ut nec pes nec caput uni
reddatur formae. Pictoribus atque poetis
quidlibet audendi semper fuit aequa potestas.
Scimus, et hanc veniam petimusque damusque vicissim;
sed non ut placidis coeant inmitia, non ut
serpentes avibus geminentur, tigribus agni.
Inceptis gravibus plerumque et magna professis
purpureus, late qui splendeat, unus et alter
adsuitur pannus, cum lucus et ara Dianae
et properantis aquae per amoenos ambitus agros,
aut flumen Rhenum aut pluvius describitur arcus.
Sed nunc non erat his locus. Et fortasse cupressum

scis simulare: quid hoc, si fractis enatat exspes
navibus aere dato qui pingitur? Amphora coepit
institui; currente rota cur urceus exit?
Denique sit quidvis simplex dumtaxat et unum.
Maxima pars vatum, pater et iuvenes patre digni,
decipimur specie recti: brevis esse laboro,
obscurus fio; sectantem levia nervi
deficiunt animique; professus grandia turget;
serpit humi tutus nimium timidusque procellae;
qui variare cupit rem prodigialiter unam,
delphinum silvis appingit, fluctibus aprum.
In vitium ducit culpae fuga si caret arte.
Aemilium circa ludum faber imus et unguis
exprimet et mollis imitabitur aere capillos,
infelix operis summa, quia ponere totum
nesciet. Hunc ego me, si quid componere curem,
non magis esse velim quam naso vivere pravo,
spectandum nigris oculis nigroque capillo.
Sumite materiam vestris, qui scribitis, aequam
viribus, et versate diu quid ferre recusent,
quid valeant umeri. Cui lecta potenter erit res,
nec facundia deseret hunc nec lucidus ordo.
Ordinis haec virtus erit et venus, aut ego fallor,
ut iam nunc dicat iam nunc debentia dici,
pleraque differat et praesens in tempus omittat.
In verbis etiam tenuis cautusque serendis,
hoc amet, hoc spernat promissi carminis auctor.
Dixeris egregie notum si callida verbum
reddiderit iunctura novum. Si forte necesse est
indiciis monstrare recentibus abdita rerum,

26. *levia* ωOKM: *lenia* B. 32. *imus* ω: *unus* BOKM. 46—45 ordine inverso ωO.

fingere cinctutis non exaudita Cethegis
continget, dabiturque licentia sumpta pudenter;
et nova fictaque nuper habebunt verba fidem si
Graeco fonte cadent, parce detorta. Quid autem
Caecilio Plautoque dabit Romanus ademptum
Vergilio Varioque? Ego cur, acquirere pauca
si possum, invideor, cum lingua Catonis et Enni
sermonem patrium ditaverit et nova rerum
nomina protulerit? Licuit semperque licebit
signatum praesente nota producere nomen.
Ut silvae foliis pronos mutantur in annos,
prima cadunt, ita verborum vetus interit aetas,
et iuvenum ritu florent modo nata vigentque.
Debemur morti nos nostraque; sive receptus
terra Neptunus classes aquilonibus arcet,
regis opus, sterilisve diu palus aptaque remis
vicinas urbes alit et grave sentit aratrum,
seu cursum mutavit iniquum frugibus amnis
doctus iter melius; mortalia facta peribunt,
nedum sermonum stet honos et gratia vivax.
Multa renascentur quae iam cecidere, cadentque
quae nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet usus,
quem penes arbitrium est et ius et norma loquendi.
Res gestae regumque ducumque et tristia bella
quo scribi possent numero monstravit Homerus.
Versibus impariter iunctis querimonia primum,
post etiam inclusa est voti sententia compos:

52. *fictaque* ωOKM: *factaque* B. 59. *producere* ω'OKM: *procudere* B. *nomen* ωOKM: *nummum* B. 60. *silvae foliis pronos* ωOKM: *silvis folia privos* B. 65. *sterilisve* ς'BOK: *sterilisque* ς'M. *diu palus* ωOM: *palus diu* K: *palus prius* B. 68. *facta* ω'OKM: *cuncta* B.

quis tamen exiguos elegos emiserit auctor,
grammatici certant et adhuc sub iudice lis est.
Archilochum proprio rabies armavit iambo;
hunc socci cepere pedem grandesque cothurni,
alternis aptum sermonibus et popularis
vincentem strepitus et natum rebus agendis.
Musa dedit fidibus divos puerosque deorum
et pugilem victorem et equum certamine primum
et iuvenum curas et libera vina referre.
Descriptas servare vices operumque colores
cur ego si nequeo ignoroque, poeta salutor?
Cur nescire pudens prave quam discere malo?
Versibus exponi tragicis res comica non vult;
indignatur item privatis ac prope socco
dignis carminibus narrari cena Thyestae.
Singula quaeque locum teneant sortita decentem.
Interdum tamen et vocem comoedia tollit,
iratusque Chremes tumido delitigat ore;
et tragicus plerumque dolet sermone pedestri
Telephus et Peleus, cum pauper et exsul uterque
proicit ampullas et sesquipedalia verba,
si curat cor spectantis tetigisse querella.
Non satis est pulchra esse poëmata; dulcia sunto
et quocunque volent animum auditoris agunto.
Ut ridentibus arrident, ita flentibus adsunt
humani vultus: si vis me flere dolendum est
primum ipsi tibi: tum tua me infortunia laedent,
Telephe vel Peleu; male si mandata loqueris
aut dormitabo aut ridebo. Tristia maestum
vultum verba decent, iratum plena minarum,

92. *decentem* ς′ (cum Bl. vet. Bern.) BM: *decenter* ςOK.
101. *adsunt* ωOKM: *adflent* B.

ludentem lasciva, severum seria dictu.
Format enim natura prius nos intus ad omnem
fortunarum habitum; iuvat aut impellit ad iram
aut ad humum maerore gravi deducit et angit;
post effert animi motus interprete lingua.
Si dicentis erunt fortunis absona dicta
Romani tollent equites peditesque cachinnum.
Intererit multum divusne loquatur an heros,
maturusne senex an adhuc florente iuventa
fervidus, et matrona potens an sedula nutrix,
mercatorne vagus cultorne virentis agelli,
Colchus an Assyrius, Thebis nutritus an Argis.
Aut famam sequere aut sibi convenientia finge.
Scriptor honoratum si forte reponis Achillem,
impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer,
iura neget sibi nata, nihil non arroget armis.
Sit Medea ferox invictaque, flebilis Ino,
perfidus Ixion, Io vaga, tristis Orestes.
Si quid inexpertum scaenae committis et audes
personam formare novam, servetur ad imum
qualis ab incepto processerit, et sibi constet.
Difficile est proprie communia dicere; tuque
rectius Iliacum carmen deducis in actus,
quam si proferres ignota indictaque primus.
Publica materies privati iuris erit, si
non circa vilem patulumque moraberis orbem,
nec verbum verbo curabis reddere fidus
interpres, nec desilies imitator in artum,
unde pedem proferre pudor vetet aut operis lex.
Nec sic incipies ut scriptor cyclicus olim:

114. *divusne* ωBOKM. 120. *honoratum* ωOK: *Homercum* BM. 136. *cyclicus* ωOKM: *cyclius* B.

'Fortunam Priami cantabo et nobile bellum.'
Quid dignum tanto feret hic promissor hiatu?
Parturient montes, nascetur ridiculus mus.
Quanto rectius hic qui nil molitur inepte:
'Dic mihi, Musa, virum captae post tempora Troiae
qui mores hominum multorum vidit et urbes.'
Non fumum ex fulgore sed ex fumo dare lucem
cogitat, ut speciosa dehinc miracula promat,
Antiphaten Scyllamque et cum Cyclope Charybdim.
Nec reditum Diomedis ab interitu Meleagri,
nec gemino bellum Troianum orditur ab ovo;
semper ad eventum festinat et in medias res
non secus ac notas auditorem rapit, et quae
desperat tractata nitescere posse relinquit;
atque ita mentitur, sic veris falsa remiscet,
primo ne medium, medio ne discrepet imum.
Tu quid ego et populus mecum desideret audi:
Si plosoris eges aulaea manentis et usque
sessuri donec cantor 'Vos plaudite' dicat,
aetatis cuiusque notandi sunt tibi mores,
mobilibusque decor naturis dandus et annis.
Reddere qui voces iam scit puer et pede certo
signat humum, gestit paribus colludere, et iram
colligit ac ponit temere et mutatur in horas.
Imberbus iuvenis tandem custode remoto
gaudet equis canibusque et aprici gramine campi,
cereus in vitium flecti, monitoribus asper,
utilium tardus provisor, prodigus aeris,

139. *parturient* ωK: *parturiunt* BOM. 141. *tempora* ωOK: *moenia* BM. 154. *plosoris* aβKM: *plausoris* β'O: *fautoris* B. 157. *naturis* ωOKM: *maturis* B. 161. *imberbus* aβ (Bl. vet.) BOM: *imberbis* a'β''K.

sublimis cupidusque et amata relinquere pernix.
Conversis studiis aetas animusque virilis
quaerit opes et amicitias, inservit honori,
commisisse cavet quod mox mutare laboret.
Multa senem circumveniunt incommoda, vel quod
quaerit et inventis miser abstinet ac timet uti,
vel quod res omnes timide gelideque ministrat,
dilator, spe longus, iners, avidusque futuri,
difficilis, querulus, laudator temporis acti
se puero, castigator censorque minorum.
Multa ferunt anni venientes commoda secum,
multa recedentes adimunt; ne forte seniles
mandentur iuveni partes pueroque viriles.
Semper in adiunctis aevoque morabimur aptis.
Aut agitur res in scaenis aut acta refertur.
Segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem,
quam quae sunt oculis subiecta fidelibus, et quae
ipse sibi tradit spectator: non tamen intus
digna geri promes in scaenam, multaque tolles
ex oculis quae mox narret facundia praesens,
ne pueros coram populo Medea trucidet,
aut humana palam coquat exta nefarius Atreus,
aut in avem Procne vertatur, Cadmus in anguem.
Quodcunque ostendis mihi sic incredulus odi.
Neve minor neu sit quinto productior actu
fabula, quae posci vult et spectanda reponi;
nec deus intersit nisi dignus vindice nodus
inciderit; nec quarta loqui persona laboret.
Actoris partis chorus officiumque virile
defendat, neu quid medios intercinat actus

172. *spe longus...avidusque* ωOKM: *spe lentus...pavidusque* B. 190. *spectanda* αβK: *spectata* γBOM.

quod non proposito conducat et haereat apte.
Ille bonis faveatque et consilietur amice,
et regat iratos et amet peccare timentis;
ille dapes laudet mensae brevis, ille salubrem
iustitiam legesque et apertis otia portis;
ille tegat commissa deosque precetur et oret,
ut redeat miseris, abeat fortuna superbis.
Tibia non ut nunc orichalco vincta tubaeque
aemula, sed tenuis simplexque foramine pauco
adspirare et adesse choris erat utilis atque
nondum spissa nimis complere sedilia flatu;
quo sane populus numerabilis utpote parvus
et frugi castusque verecundusque coibat.
Postquam coepit agros extendere victor et urbes
latior amplecti murus vinoque diurno
placari Genius festis impune diebus,
accessit numerisque modisque licentia maior;
indoctus quid enim saperet liberque laborum
rusticus urbano confusus, turpis honesto?
Sic priscae motumque et luxuriem addidit arti
tibicen traxitque vagus per pulpita vestem;
sic etiam fidibus voces crevere severis,
et tulit eloquium insolitum facundia praeceps,
utiliumque sagax rerum et divina futuri
sortilegis non discrepuit sententia Delphis.
Carmine qui tragico vilem certavit ob hircum,
mox etiam agrestes satyros nudavit, et asper
incolumi gravitate iocum temptavit, eo quod
illecebris erat et grata novitate morandus.

197. *peccare timentis* ωM: *pacare tumentis* BO: *pacare timentis* K. 202. *vincta* ωOKM: *iuncta* B. 203. *pauco* αβBOKM: *parvo* γ. 209. *latior* ωOKM: *laxior* B.

spectator, functusque sacris et potus et exlex.
Verum ita risores, ita commendare dicaces
conveniet satyros, ita vertere seria ludo,
ne quicunque deus, quicunque adhibebitur heros,
regali conspectus in auro nuper et ostro,
migret in obscuras humili sermone tabernas,
aut dum vitat humum nubes et inania captet.
Effutire leves indigna tragoedia versus,
ut festis matrona moveri iussa diebus,
intererit satyris paulum pudibunda protervis.
Non ego inornata et dominantia nomina solum
verbaque, Pisones, satyrorum scriptor amabo;
nec sic enitar tragico differre colori
ut nihil intersit Davusne loquatur et audax
Pythias emuncto lucrata Simone talentum,
an custos famulusque dei Silenus alumni.
Ex noto fictum carmen sequar, ut sibi quivis
speret idem, sudet multum frustraque laboret
ausus idem: tantum series iuncturaque pollet,
tantum de medio sumptis accedit honoris.
Silvis deducti caveant me iudice Fauni,
ne velut innati triviis ac paene forenses
aut nimium teneris iuvenentur versibus unquam,
aut immunda crepent ignominiosaque dicta;
offenduntur enim quibus est equus et pater et res,
nec, si quid fricti ciceris probat et nucis emptor,
aequis accipiunt animis donantve corona.
Syllaba longa brevi subiecta vocatur iambus,
pes citus; unde etiam trimetris accrescere iussit
nomen iambeis, cum senos redderet ictus
primus ad extremum similis sibi. Non ita pridem,
tardior ut paulo graviorque veniret ad aures,

spondeos stabilis in iura paterna recepit
commodus et patiens, non ut de sede secunda
cederet aut quarta socialiter. Hic et in Acci
nobilibus trimetris apparet rarus, et Enni
in scaenam missos cum magno pondere versus
aut operae celeris nimium curaque carentis
aut ignoratae premit artis crimine turpi.
Non quivis videt immodulata poëmata iudex,
et data Romanis venia est indigna poëtis.
Idcircone vager scribamque licenter? an omnes
visuros peccata putem mea, tutus et intra
spem veniae cautus? Vitavi denique culpam,
non laudem merui. Vos exemplaria Graeca
nocturna versate manu, versate diurna.
At vestri proavi Plautinos et numeros et
laudavere sales, nimium patienter utrumque,
ne dicam stulte, mirati, si modo ego et vos
scimus inurbanum lepido seponere dicto
legitimumque sonum digitis callemus et aure.
Ignotum tragicae genus invenisse camenae
dicitur et plaustris vexisse poëmata Thespis,
quae canerent agerentque peruncti faecibus ora.
Post hunc personae pallaeque repertor honestae
Aeschylus et modicis instravit pulpita tignis
et docuit magnumque loqui nitique cothurno.
Successit vetus his comoedia, non sine multa
laude; sed in vitium libertas excidit et vim
dignam lege regi; lex est accepta chorusque
turpiter obticuit sublato iure nocendi.
Nil intemptatum nostri liquere poëtae,

260. *missos cum magno* ωOKM: *missus magno cum* B.
265. *an* ωOKM: *ut* B. 277. *quae* ωOKM: *qui* B.

nec minimum meruere decus vestigia Graeca
ausi deserere et celebrare domestica facta,
vel qui praetextas vel qui docuere togatas.
Nec virtute foret clarisve potentius armis
quam lingua Latium, si non offenderet unum
quemque poëtarum limae labor et mora. Vos, o
Pompilius sanguis, carmen reprehendite quod non
multa dies et multa litura coërcuit atque
praesectum decies non castigavit ad unguem.
Ingenium misera quia fortunatius arte
credit et excludit sanos Helicone poëtas
Democritus, bona pars non unguis ponere curat,
non barbam, secreta petit loca, balnea vitat.
Nanciscetur enim pretium nomenque poëtae,
si tribus Anticyris caput insanabile nunquam
tonsori Licino commiserit. O ego laevus,
qui purgor bilem sub verni temporis horam!
Non alius faceret meliora poëmata. Verum
nil tanti est. Ergo fungar vice cotis, acutum
reddere quae ferrum valet exsors ipsa secandi;
munus et officium nil scribens ipse docebo,
unde parentur opes, quid alat formetque poëtam;
quid deceat, quid non; quo virtus, quo ferat error.
Scribendi recte sapere est et principium et fons:
rem tibi Socraticae poterunt ostendere chartae,
verbaque provisam rem non invita sequentur.
Qui didicit patriae quid debeat et quid amicis,
quo sit amore parens, quo frater amandus et hospes,
quod sit conscripti, quod iudicis officium, quae
partes in bellum missi ducis, ille profecto
reddere personae scit convenientia cuique.

294. *praesectum* Bl. vet. Bern. BM: *perfectum* ϛOK.

Respicere exemplar vitae morumque iubebo
doctum imitatorem et vivas hinc ducere voces.
Interdum speciosa locis morataque recte
fabula nullius veneris, sine pondere et arte,
valdius oblectat populum meliusque moratur
quam versus inopes rerum nugaeque canorae.
Grais ingenium, Grais dedit ore rotundo
musa loqui, praeter laudem nullius avaris.
Romani pueri longis rationibus assem
discunt in partes centum diducere. 'Dicat
filius Albini: si de quincunce remota est
uncia, quid superat? Poteras dixisse.' 'Triens.' 'Eu!
rem poteris servare tuam. Redit uncia, quid fit?'
'Semis.' An haec animos aerugo et cura peculi
cum semel imbuerit, speramus carmina fingi
posse linenda cedro et levi servanda cupresso?
Aut prodesse volunt aut delectare poëtae,
aut simul et iucunda et idonea dicere vitae.
Quidquid praecipies esto brevis, ut cito dicta
percipiant animi dociles teneantque fideles;
omne supervacuum pleno de pectore manat.
Ficta voluptatis causa sint proxima veris,
nec quodcunque velit poscat sibi fabula credi,
neu pransae Lamiae vivum puerum extrahat alvo.
Centuriae seniorum agitant expertia frugis,
celsi praetereunt austera poëmata Ramnes:
omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci,

326. *dicat* ωOKM: *dicas* B. 328. *superat?* ωOKM: *superet* B. *poteras* a'βγOKM: *poterat* a'B. 330. *an* Bl. vet. Bern. BM: *at* ςOK. 335. *quicquid* ω'BKM: *quidquid* O. 339. *ne* aγBKM: *nec* βO. *velit* aβM: *volet* γBOK.

lectorem delectando pariterque monendo.
Hic meret aera liber Sosiis; hic et mare transit
et longum noto scriptori prorogat aevum.
Sunt delicta tamen quibus ignovisse velimus;
nam neque chorda sonum reddit quem vult manus et mens,
poscentique gravem persaepe remittit acutum;
nec semper feriet quodcunque minabitur arcus.
Verum ubi plura nitent in carmine, non ego paucis
offendar maculis, quas aut incuria fudit
aut humana parum cavit natura. Quid ergo est?
Ut scriptor si peccat idem librarius usque,
quamvis est monitus, venia caret; ut citharoedus
ridetur, chorda qui semper oberrat eadem:
sic mihi qui multum cessat fit Choerilus ille,
quem bis terve bonum cum risu miror; et idem
indignor quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus.
Verum operi longo fas est obrepere somnum.
Ut pictura poësis: erit quae si propius stes
te capiat magis, et quaedam si longius abstes.
Haec amat obscurum, volet haec sub luce videri,
iudicis argutum quae non formidat acumen;
haec placuit semel, haec deciens repetita placebit.
O maior iuvenum, quamvis et voce paterna
fingeris ad rectum et per te sapis, hoc tibi dictum
tolle memor, certis medium et tolerabile rebus
recte concedi. Consultus iuris et actor
causarum mediocris abest virtute diserti
Messallae nec scit quantum Cascellius Aulus,
sed tamen in pretio est: mediocribus esse poëtis
non homines, non di, non concessere columnae.

358. *terve* ς BOM: *terque* ς K.

Ut gratas inter mensas symphonia discors
et crassum unguentum et Sardo cum melle papaver
offendunt, poterat duci quia cena sine istis:
sic animis natum inventumque poëma iuvandis,
si paulum summo decessit, vergit ad imum.
Ludere qui nescit, campestribus abstinet armis,
indoctusque pilae discive trochive quiescit,
ne spissae risum tollant impune coronae:
qui nescit versus tamen audet fingere. Quidni?
Liber et ingenuus, praesertim census equestrem
summam nummorum vitioque remotus ab omni.
Tu nihil invita dices faciesve Minerva;
id tibi iudicium est, ea mens. Si quid tamen olim
scripseris in Maeci descendat iudicis aures
et patris et nostras, nonumque prematur in annum,
membranis intus positis: delere licebit
quod non edideris; nescit vox missa reverti.
Silvestres homines sacer interpresque deorum
caedibus et victu foedo deterruit Orpheus,
dictus ob hoc lenire tigris rabidosque leones.
Dictus et Amphion, Thebanae conditor urbis,
saxa movere sono testudinis et prece blanda
ducere quo vellet. Fuit haec sapientia quondam,
publica privatis secernere, sacra profanis,
concubitu prohibere vago, dare iura maritis,
oppida moliri, leges incidere ligno;
sic honor et nomen divinis vatibus atque
carminibus venit. Post hos insignis Homerus
Tyrtaeusque mares animos in Martia bella
versibus exacuit; dictae per carmina sortes;
et vitae monstrata via est; et gratia regum

394. *urbis* βγKM: *arcis* aBO.

Pieriis temptata modis; ludusque repertus
et longorum operum finis: ne forte pudori
sit tibi Musa lyrae sollers et cantor Apollo.
Natura fieret laudabile carmen an arte
quaesitum est: ego nec studium sine divite vena
nec rude quid prosit video ingenium; alterius sic
altera poscit opem res et coniurat amice.
Qui studet optatam cursu contingere metam
multa tulit fecitque puer, sudavit et alsit,
abstinuit venere et vino; qui Pythia cantat
tibicen didicit prius extimuitque magistrum.
Nunc satis est dixisse: 'Ego mira poëmata pango;
occupet extremum scabies; mihi turpe relinqui est
et quod non didici sane nescire fateri.'
Ut praeco, ad merces turbam qui cogit emendas,
adsentatores iubet ad lucrum ire poëta
dives agris, dives positis in faenore nummis.
Si vero est unctum qui recte ponere possit
et spondere levi pro paupere et eripere atris
litibus implicitum, mirabor si sciet inter
noscere mendacem verumque beatus amicum.
Tu seu donaris seu quid donare voles cui,
nolito ad versus tibi factos ducere plenum
laetitiae; clamabit enim 'pulchre! bene! recte!'
Pallescet super his, etiam stillabit amicis
ex oculis rorem, saliet, tundet pede terram.
Ut qui conducti plorant in funere dicunt
et faciunt prope plura dolentibus ex animo, sic
derisor vero plus laudatore movetur.
Reges dicuntur multis urgere culillis

410. *prosit* ωK: *possit* BOM. 416. *nunc* ωK: *nec* BOM. *non* Bern. 423. *atris* ωOKM: *artis* B.

et torquere mero quem perspexisse laborent,
an sit amicitia dignus: si carmina condes,
nunquam te fallant animi sub vulpe latentes.
Quintilio si quid recitares, 'Corrige sodes
hoc,' aiebat, 'et hoc:' melius te posse negares
bis terque expertum frustra, delere iubebat
et male tornatos incudi reddere versus.
Si defendere delictum quam vertere malles,
nullum ultra verbum aut operam insumebat inanem
quin sine rivali teque et tua solus amares.
Vir bonus et prudens versus reprehendet inertes,
culpabit duros, incomptis adlinet atrum
transverso calamo signum, ambitiosa recidet
ornamenta, parum claris lucem dare coget,
arguet ambigue dictum, mutanda notabit,
fiet Aristarchus; non dicet: 'Cur ego amicum
offendam in nugis?' Hae nugae seria ducent
in mala derisum semel exceptumque sinistre.
Ut mala quem scabies aut morbus regius urget
aut fanaticus error et iracunda Diana,
vesanum tetigisse timent fugiuntque poetam
qui sapiunt; agitant pueri incautique sequuntur.
Hic, dum sublimis versus ructatur et errat,
si veluti merulis intentus decidit auceps
in puteum foveamve, licet, 'Succurrite,' longum
clamet, 'Io cives!' non sit qui tollere curet.
Si curet quis opem ferre et demittere funem,
'Qui scis an prudens huc se proiecerit atque
servari nolit?' dicam, Siculique poëtae

435. *laborent* αβ: *laborant* γBOKM. 441. *tornatos* ωOKM: *ter natos* B. 450. *non* ς'BOM: *nec* ς''K. 462. *proiecerit* ς'BOM: *deiecerit* ς''K.

narrabo interitum. Deus immortalis haberi
dum cupit Empedocles, ardentem frigidus Aetnam
insiluit. Sit ius liceatque perire poëtis:
invitum qui servat idem facit occidenti.
Nec semel hoc fecit, nec si retractus erit iam
fiet homo et ponet famosae mortis amorem.
Nec satis apparet cur versus factitet, utrum
minxerit in patrios cineres, an triste bidental
moverit incestus: certe furit ac velut ursus
obiectos caveae valuit si frangere clatros,
indoctum doctumque fugat recitator acerbus;
quem vero arripuit tenet occiditque legendo,
non missura cutem, nisi plena cruoris, hirudo.

473. *clatros* ωK: *clathros* BOM.

NOTES.

NOTES.

BOOK I. EPISTLE I.

MAECENAS, as is plain from the opening words of this Epistle, had urged Horace to resume the composition of lyric verse. If any special occasion for this advice is to be sought, it may probably be found in the journey of Augustus to the East in B.C. 21, followed by the expedition of Tiberius to Armenia, and the restoration of the Roman standards taken by Crassus (cp. Ep. XII. 26). It would have been natural for Maecenas to wish that his friend and *protégé* should not lose the opportunity thus supplied for a panegyric on the Emperor and his policy. Horace here expresses the reasons which had led him to devote himself for the future rather to the study of philosophy; differing from the mass of mankind who value wealth above virtue, he declares that it is only in the pursuit of the latter that true happiness is to be found.

1—19. *You would fain, Maecenas, press me into service again, but I have received my discharge; an old soldier may well be allowed to hang up his arms and rest, for fear of a break-down at last. I am laying aside all trifling pursuits, and storing up provision of wisdom, following no special school, but borne along wherever the breeze may take me.*

1. prima—Camena. 'Theme of my earliest Muse, and destined theme of my latest': *Camena*, one of the Italian goddesses of song [earlier form *Casmena* or *Carmena* (Varro de L. Lat. VII. 26) from √*kas* 'sing', a rare instance of *s* lost without lengthening in compensation (Roby § 193), but cp. *Cămillus*, probably from the same root, Vaniček p. 150], cannot cover any reference to the satires, which were merely *sermones*. Either the phrase is a conventional expression of high esteem; cp. Hom. Il. IX. 97 *ἐν σοὶ μὲν λήξω, σέο δ' ἄρξομαι*, imitated by Theognis 1—4 (Bergk) *ὦ ἄνα, Λητοῦς υἱέ, Διὸς τέκος, οὔποτε σεῖο λήσομαι ἀρχόμενος οὐδ' ἀποπαυόμενος, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ πρῶτον σὲ καὶ ὕστατον ἔν τε μέσοισιν ἀείσω·* and by Theocritus XVII. 1 *ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα καὶ ἐς Δία λήγετε, Μοῖσαι*: cp. Verg. Ecl. VIII. 11: *a te* (Pollio) *principium, tibi desinet:* or possibly the reference is to

the epodes, dedicated to Maecenas, as Horace's first effort in lyrics, by the poem placed first when they were published (so Ritter).

summa = ultima as in Carm. III. 28, 13, Verg. Aen. II. 324, a usage for which *supremus* is more common both in prose and verse.

2. **spectatum** 'approved': the technical term, stamped on the *tessera* (prize medal) which a gladiator received, after distinguishing himself in the arena. A large number of these *tesserae* have been discovered: 'Ex osse eboreve sunt omnes, exiguae molis, ansatae et ad gestandum appendendumve aptae, formae longiusculae quadratae excepta unica recentissima sex laterum. Singulis lateribus singuli versus inscripti sunt, ut a quo incipias arbitrarium sit.' Mommsen Corp. Inscr. Lat. I. p. 195. Mommsen was inclined, for various reasons, to doubt the current opinion that these were presented at the close of a successful fight, but there is some fresh support for this view in the recent discovery of a bronze tablet recording a presentation probably of this kind: cp. Corp. II. 4963, (where it is figured), Wilmanns Ex. Inscr. Lat. II. p. 239. Ritschl has discussed the *tesserae* very fully and supported the old view in Opusc. IV. 572 ff. Cp. Friedländer Sitteng. II^3 510. It is to be noticed that some have the word *spectavit* (never *spectatus*) in full: of these six are now known to exist (cp. Ephem. Epigr. III. 161, 203; Garrucci Syll. p. 651 and Tav. II. 7). Mommsen thinks that *spectavit* may mean 'took his place as a spectator,' no longer in the arena.

donatum iam rude 'already discharged': the *rudis* was the wooden foil with which gladiators practised Liv. xxvi. 51, 4; and hence a *rudis* was presented to a veteran as a sign that he was no longer to take part in serious encounters. Cp. Suet. Calig. 32 *Murmillonem e ludo rudibus secum batuentem et sponte prostratum confodit ferrea sica;* and for the applied meaning Cic. Phil. II. 29, 74 *tam bonus gladiator rudem tam cito?* Ovid. Am. II. 9, 20 *deposito poscitur ense rudis*, Trist. IV. 8, 24 *me quoque donari iam rude tempus erat*, with Mayor on Juv. VII. 171 *ergo sibi dabit ipse rudem.* Hence *rudiarii* = ἀποταξάμενοι Gloss. Labb.: cp. Suet. Tib. 7 (quoted below).

3. **antiquo** in its more strict sense, 'in which I served of old': cp. Luc. VI. 721 *invisaque claustra timentem carceris antiqui. ludo* 'the training school' *ludus gladiatorius*, cp. Caes. de Bell. Civ. I. 14 *gladiatores quos ibi Caesar in ludo habebat.* **includere** after *quaeris* a usage confined to poetry (e.g. Sat. I. 9, 8, Carm. III. 4, 39, and later prose, e.g. Tac. Germ. 2; Roby § 1344). Draeger's reference (II. 301) to Cic. de Invent. II. 26, 77 is not in accordance with the best texts there: cp. Weidner ad loc.

4. **mens** 'desires' Carm. IV. 10, 7. **Veianius**: Porphyrion

writes *nobilis gladiator post multas palmas consecratis Herculi Fundano armis tandem in agellum se contulit:* there seems to be no positive evidence that gladiators were regarded as under the protection of Hercules; but this god would be as naturally selected by a gladiator, as the nymphs by a fisherman Anth. Pal. II. 494 or Hermes by a hunter ib. I. 223. A soldier similarly in Anth. Pal. I. 241 says: δέξαι μ', Ἡράκλεις, Ἀρχεστράτου ἱερὸν ὅπλον, ὄφρα ποτὶ ξεστὰν παστάδα κεκλιμένα γηραλέα τελέθοιμι. Cp. Carm. III. 16, 11. As the temple of Hercules at Fundi was well known, it does not follow, as Ritter thinks that the *ager* must have been in its neighbourhood: the term is here quite general, 'in the country.' For the case cp. Roby § 1174, S.G. § 489.

6. **extrema harena**, i.e. at the outside edge of the circus, under the *podium*, where the more distinguished spectators had their seats. Acron tells us, though possibly without any authority beyond that of this passage, that gladiators who were suing for their discharge (*petituri rudem*) used to betake themselves to the edge of the arena that they might the more readily prevail upon the people by their down-cast looks, a phrase singularly at variance with what we learn elsewhere of the pride which they took in their profession. Cp. Friedländer Sitteng. II³ p. 363. Most modern editors accept this view, but it is open to grave objection. Veianius, Horace says, hung up his arms in the temple of Hercules, and retired to the country, abandoning altogether his profession. Why? That he might not have so frequently to implore the people to request his master to give him his discharge? But he must have received his discharge already, if it was possible for him to retire. Why then continue to beg for it? But we know from Suet. Tib. 7 (*munus gladiatorium dedit, rudiariis quibusdam revocatis auctoramento centenum milium*) that veterans who had received their discharge were sometimes induced to re-appear on special occasions. Veianius after his discharge, retired altogether that he might not after so many victories, break down and be compelled again and again to appeal as a defeated combatant for the mercy of the spectators. The desire that mercy should be shown to a defeated gladiator was expressed by turning down the thumbs (Plin. XXVIII. 2, 5 *pollices, cum faveamus, premere etiam proverbio iubemur*: cp. Ep. I. 18, 66, Juv. III. 36 with Mayor's note). The illustration thus becomes more closely parallel with the metaphor of the race-horse which follows.

As **exoro** has in itself always the meaning 'to prevail upon', we must here press the imperfect force of the present 'attempt to prevail upon': Roby § 1454, 3, S.G. § 591.

7. **purgatam**, 'well rinsed,' for which purpose vinegar was sometimes used, as we learn from Pers. V. 86. **qui**: for the 'inner voice' cp. ib. V. 96 *stat contra ratio et secretam gannit in aurem.*

personet, with an acc. here, as in Cic. Ep. Fam. VI. 18, 1. Verg. Aen. VI. 417: but absolutely in Sat. II. 6, 115.

8. sanus=si sapis.

9. peccet 'break down'. **ilia ducat** 'strain his panting flanks': *ilia ducere* is the same as *ilia tendere* in Verg. G. III. 506 (not, as Macleane, the reverse): cp. Aen. IX. 413 *longis singultibus ilia pulsat:* Plin. N. H. XXVI. 6, 15 *iumentis...non tussientibus modo sed ilia quoque trahentibus:* all these phrases mean 'to become broken-winded.'

10. itaque, not found in the second place in a sentence in prose before Livy. Cp. Hand Turs. III. 509, Kühnast Liv. Synt. p. 318.

ludicra 'toys', i.e. trifles (Ep. I. 6, 7), but not, as Macleane, 'follies'. **pono**=*depono*, as sometimes even in Cicero, e.g. de Orat. III. 12, 46, de Off. III. 10, 43; Tusc. I. 11, 24 (Kühner), and often, especially with *arma*, in Livy.

11. quid verum sc. sit, a rare omission in prose: cp. Cic. de Off. I. 43, 152 (Holden). Madvig § 479 a, obs. For *verum*= 'right' τὸ πρέπον: cp. Ep. I. 12, 24; Sat. II. 3, 312: *idne est verum* Ter. Andr. 629. It is not so much speculative as moral truth of which Horace is in quest.

omnis in hoc sum 'I am wholly absorbed in this': cp. Sat. I. 9, 2 *totus in illis.*

12. condo et compono 'I store up and arrange', so as to be able to produce at once, like a good *condus promus.*

13. ne forte roges: Roby § 1662, S.G. § 690; Ep. II. 1, 208 *ac ne forte putes.* Although Maecenas was doubtless aware of Horace's independent position, this is not a sufficient reason to suppose that there is here a change of subject to the reader in general.

quo...tuter 'who is my leader, and what the home in which I find shelter'.

dux=head of a school: Quint. V. 13, 59 *duos diversarum sectarum quasi duces.* The terms *domus* and *familia* were often used of a philosophic school (e.g. de Orat. I. 10, 42, III. 16, 21): hence the transition to *lar*, properly the household god, is natural.

14. addictus, at least as strongly supported by MS. authority as *adductus*, and unquestionably the right reading here; for the metaphor of the gladiatorial school is still retained: cp. Petron. 117 *uri, vinciri verberari ferroque necari, et quicquid aliud Eumolpus iussisset: tamquam legitimi gladiatores domino corpora animasque religiossime addicimus:* Quint. III. 1, 22 *neque me cuiusquam sectae velut quadam superstitione imbutus addixi;* Cic. Tusc. II. 2, 5; Hor. Sat. II. 7, 59. The term was not under-

stood by the copyists, who therefore regarded *adductus* as the easier reading. *Addictus*, properly of an insolvent debtor, adjudged by the praetor as the slave of his creditor, is here used in a reflexive sense 'not binding myself to swear obedience to any master'. The infinitive is like that in Ep. I. 2, 27. *Magister Samnitium* is used of the trainer of gladiators in Cic. de Orat. III. 23, 86. **iurare in verba**, cp. Epod. XV. 4 *in verba iurabas mea*, literally 'you swore adhesion to the formula which I dictated.'

15. quo...cumque: the same tmesis occurs in Carm. I. 7, 25; Verg. Aen. II. 709; Cic. Tusc. II. 5, 15; with the pronoun in de Orat. III. 16, 60.

deferor: Cic. Acad. II. 3, 8 *ad quamcunque sunt disciplinam quasi tempestate delati.*

16. agilis = πρακτικός, i.e. I adopt the doctrines of the Stoics, which make it a duty to take an active part in civic life. 'If virtue does not consist in idle contemplation, but in action, how dare the wise man lose the opportunity of promoting good and repressing evil by taking part in political life'? (Zeller, Stoics and Epicureans p. 320 E. T.). Later Stoics however advised philosophers not to intermeddle at all in civil matters (ib. p. 323).

fio: Lachmann on Lucret. III. 374 has shown how rare it is for the second of two long vowels to be elided. Cp. Kennedy P. S. G. § 256—2.

18. Aristippi: Cic. Acad. II. 42 *alii voluptatem finem bonorum esse voluerunt, quorum princeps Aristippus Cyrenaicus.* Aristippus who regarded the bodily gratification of the moment as the highest pleasure represents a lower stage of the philosophy of mere enjoyment than Epicurus himself. Cp. Zeller *Socratic Schools* p. 295 E. T.

19. mihi res...conor; i. e. I endeavour to subdue all events and circumstances to my own enjoyment, and not to become a slave to circumstances. Cp. Ep. I. 17, 23 (note).

20—26. *I pass my time in weariness and impatience until I can attain to that virtue which alone blesses rich and poor alike.*

20. quibus mentitur amica 'whose love proves jade' (Martin).

21. opus debentibus = operariis 'those who are bound to give their service', e. g. maid-servants with their daily task of spinning, or day-labourers: not (as some) 'those who work for debt'.

22. custodia 'charge' i.e. general oversight, to be distinguished from the legal guardianship (*tutela*), which was never assigned to the mother, for women were themselves always under *tutela*, so that strictly speaking no one could hold the position of *pupillus* to his mother.

23. **spem...morantur** 'delay the fulfilment of my hope': cp. Liv. XXIII. 14 *si spem morarentur.*

24. **naviter** was the reading of the archetype (Keller), and should not be replaced by the more archaic *gnaviter*. The MS. evidence for the more archaic forms of spelling in Horace is, as a rule, very slight. He seems however to have preferred *gnatus* as the substantive form, to distinguish it from the participle *natus*, cp. Keller Epilog. on Serm. I. 1, 83.

25. **aeque, aeque** repeated for the sake of emphasis by *anaphora* to show that there is absolutely no exception. Cp. Tac. Agric. 15 *aeque discordiam praepositorum, aeque concordiam subiectis exitiosam.* The more usual construction is *aeque...atque* or *et.*

26. **neglectum** 'while its neglect', a participle in agreement for an abstract noun with the genitive, like *capta urbs* 'the capture of the city', and the like, so common in Livy.

27—32. *If I cannot attain to perfection, I can still put into practice the elementary knowledge which I possess.*

27. **restat**, i.e. in spite of the hindrances which I meet with in my attempts at progress.

elementa = στοιχεῖα τοῦ λόγου of Zeno, the κύριαι δόξαι of Epicurus (Zeller p. 408), general ethical principles.

28. **possis.** Roby § 1552, S.G. § 650. **oculo**: *oculos*, adopted by Bentley, who proves that both constructions are legitimate (cp. Cic. p. Lig. 3, 6 *quantum potero voce contendam*), for the quaint reason that Horace was accustomed to anoint both his eyes with salve (Sat. I. 5 30), has much less MS. authority.

Lynceus, one of the Argonauts, famed for his keen sight, κείνου γὰρ ἐπιχθονίων πάντων γένετ' ὀξύτατον ὄμμα (Pind. Nem. X, 62): cp. Aristoph. Plut. 210 βλέπειν ὀξύτερον τοῦ Λυγκέως. Valerius Maximus (I. 8, 14) says *ne illius quidem parvae admirationis oculi, quem constat tam certa acie luminum usum esse, ut a Lilybaeo portum Karthaginiensium egredientes classes intueretur*: there is no authority for assuming with Macleane (followed by Martin) that his name was Lynceus; Pliny H. N. VII. 85, on the authority of Varro, says that it was Strabo. Cp. Cic. Acad. II. 25, 81.

29. **inungui**, much better established here than *inungi.*

30. **desperes.** Roby, § 1740, S. G. § 740.

Glyconis, shown by Lessing first (Werke VIII. 526) from a Greek epigram (Anth. Pal. VII. 692 Γλύκων, τὸ Περγαμηνὸν Ἀσίδι κλέος, ὁ παμμάχων κεραυνός, ὁ πλατὺς πόδας, ὁ καινὸς Ἄτλας, αἵ τ' ἀνίκατοι χέρες ἔρροντι κ.τ.λ.) to have been a

famous athlete contemporary with the poet. This quite disposes of the notion that there may be a reference to the Farnese Hercules, the work of the sculptor Glycon. The reading *Milonis* mentioned by Acron, is simply the substitution of a more familiar name. Cp. Arrian Epict. Diss. I. 2, 37 *οὐδὲ γάρ Μίλων ἔσομαι, καὶ ὅμως οὐκ ἀμελῶ τοῦ σώματος· οὐδὲ Κροῖσος, καὶ οὐκ ἀμελῶ τῆς κτήσεως· οὐδ' ἁπλῶς ἄλλου τινὸς τῆς ἐπιμελείας, διὰ τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν τῶν ἄκρων, ἀφιστάμεθα.*

31. corpus prohibere cheragra. For the construction of *prohibere*='guard' cp. Cic. de Off. II. 12, 41 *cum prohibent iniuria tenuiores* (with Holden's note): Carm. I. 27, 4 *Bacchum prohibete rixis:* similarly with *arcere* Ep. I. 8, 10. **nodosa**, gout produces chalk-stones in the fingers, as with Milton, who in his later years was 'pale but not cadaverous, his hands and fingers gouty and with chalk-stones': cp. Sat. II. 7, 15 *postquam illi iusta cheragra contudit articulos.*

32. quadam...tenus, formed like *hactenus*, *eatenus* etc., introduced by Cruquius from the Bland. Vet. and defended by Bentley against the earlier reading *quodam* which has equal MS. authority, but is only a copyist's correction. *quadamtenus* is used repeatedly by Pliny the Elder: the other form would not be good Latin, *tenus* never being employed with an adverb of direction, Roby § 2164. I see no reason to suppose that Horace is speaking with any irony here.

33—40. *The cure for all diseases of the mind is to be found in the magic spells of philosophy.*

33. fervet 'is fevered'. For the mood cp. Roby § 1553, S. G. § 651. Horace appears to have been especially struck by the greed for money in his own time, and refers to this with great frequency: Sat. I. 4, 26, II. 3. 82; Ep. II. 1, 119, II. 2, 148, &c. **cupidine** always masculine in Horace, never in Vergil: Ovid's practice varies: cp. Neue *Formenlehre*, I. 655.

34. verba et voces, 'spells and strains', the former apparently magic formulae, (Verg. G. II. 129 *miscueruntque herbas et non innoxia verba*) the latter incantations, so that Horace inverts the order of Euripides (Hipp. 478) *εἰσὶν δ' ἐπῳδαὶ καὶ λόγοι θελκτήριοι· φανήσεταί τι τῆσδε φάρμακον νόσου.* The term *voces* however probably also includes instrumental as well as vocal music (cp. Sat. I. 3, 8, Ep. I. 2, 23, A. P. 216), to both forms of which great efficacy was ascribed in allaying pain; e. g. Gell. IV. 13 *proditum est, ischiaci cum maxime doleant, tum si modulis lenibus tibicen incinat, minui dolores.*

35. morbi, the *πάθος* of the Stoics.

36. certa piacula, 'specific remedies': as *antiquissimo tempore morbi ad iram deorum immortalium referebantur* (Cels. Praef. 1), the remedies provided by philosophy are spoken of as

'propitiatory offerings': cp. Carm. I. 28, 34. These 'remedies' are the precepts contained in the books of the philosophers, which must be read through thrice, after previous purification. The magic efficacy of the number three is often referred to, e.g. Theocr. 43, *ἐς τρὶς ἀποσπένδω καὶ τρὶς τάδε, πότνια, φωνῶ*, Tibull. I. 2, 54 *ter cane, ter dictis despue carminibus*, Hor. Carm. I. 28, 36, Sat. II. 1, 7. *Libellus* probably keeps up the allusion in *piacula*, and is not without a reference to the books of magic charms, though it denotes primarily the writings of philosophers.

38. **amator**, 'licentious'. Cic. Tusc. IV. 12, 27 *aliud est amatorem esse, aliud amantem.*

40. **culturae**, Tusc. II. 5, 13 *ut ager quamvis fertilis sine cultura fructuosus esse non potest: sic sine doctrina animus... cultura autem animi philosophia est.*

41—52. *At any rate the first step in a virtuous life can be taken. Even this would free you from the toils which many undergo, though they would escape them if they knew the true value of things.*

41. **virtus**, sc. prima: cp. Quint. VIII. 3, 41 *prima virtus est vitio carere.*

42. **vides**. Horace has now quite passed away from Maecenas, and is addressing the reader, as often.

43. **repulsam**. At this time the elections were nominally left in the hands of the people (Suet. Oct. 40 *comitiorum pristinum ius reduxit*), although Augustus reserved to himself the right of nominating half the magistrates, and of exercising a veto upon unworthy candidates. Cp. Merivale c. XLIV. (v. 230).

44. **animi capitisque**, 'of mind and body': *caput* seems to be used somewhat generally for the body, but it is difficult to find an exact parallel.

46. **per mare**, etc. proverbial expressions, not to be pressed in detail, cp. Sat. II. 3, 56, Solon Fragm. XIII. (Bergk) 43 *σπεύδει δ' ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος· ὁ μὲν κατὰ πόντον ἀλᾶται ἐν νηυσὶν χρῄζων οἴκαδε κέρδος ἄγειν ἰχθυόεντ', ἀνέμοισι φορεύμενος ἀργαλέοισιν, φειδωλὴν ψυχῆς οὐδεμίαν θέμενος.*

47. **ne cures**='ut non-cures'.

48. **meliori**, Ep. I. 2, 68.

49. **circum pagos** 'who goes the round of the villages': cp. Sat. I. 6, 82 *circum doctores aderat*: Cic. p. Quinct. 6, 25 *Naevius pueros circum amicos dimittit.*

compita, 'cross-ways', where spectators might easily collect, especially (but not only) at the festivals known as Paganalia and Compitalia, the former in January, the latter about the same time (Marquardt Röm. Staatsverw. III. 193, 197). The scholiast

on Persius IV. 28, writes *compita sunt loca in quadriviis, quasi turres, ubi sacrificia, finita agri cultura, rustici celebrabant.*

50. magna, the famous games at Elis. There were other less celebrated Olympic games in Greece. **coronari Olympia.** A Greek construction, *στεφανοῦσθαι* 'Ολύμπια 'to be crowned as victor in the Olympian games'.

51. sine pulvere = *ἀκονιτί.* Plin. N. H. XXXV. 11 *Alcimachus pinxit Dexippum, qui pancratio Olympia citra pulveris tactum, quod vocant ἀκονιτί, vicit.* Milton, *Areopagitica*, p. 18 (Hales), 'the race, where that immortal garland is to be run for not without dust and heat'.

52. Horace throws out somewhat abruptly a philosophic common-place, and then goes on to point out how it is practically denied by the conduct of most men.

53—69. *All Rome is full of lessons of self seeking, and a man is measured by what he has, but even the boys know that this is not the true standard; and we are conscious that the pursuit of virtue is worthier than that of money.*

54. Ianus summus ab imo, a difficult phrase. Horace (Sat. II. 3, 18) speaks of a *medius Ianus* at which a man's fortune was wrecked: and Cicero (de Off. II. 24, 87) of those who sit *ad medium Ianum*, plying their business as bankers &c. In Phil. VI. 5, 15 he makes mention of a statue erected *L. Antonio a medio Iano patrono*, and adds *Itane? Ianus medius in L. Antonii clientela est? Quis unquam in illo Iano inventus est, qui L. Antonio mille nummum ferret expensum?* It is clear therefore that *medius Ianus* was equivalent to our 'Change; but it is not certain what the precise meaning of Janus was. Becker (Röm. Alt. I. p. 326), followed by Mr Burn (Rome and the Campagna, p. 105) supposes that three or more *Iani* stood at various points along the north-east side of the Forum, similar to the Ianus Quadrifrons which still stands in the Forum Boarium, constructed of four archways, joined in a square, with an *attica* or a chamber above them. He thinks that the bankers spoken of by Horace and Cicero transacted their business partly in these chambers, and partly below under the archways. It has even been suggested that the foundations of the *medius Ianus* have been discovered. But the scholiast of Cruquius says 'Ianus autem hic platea dicitur, ubi mercatores et feneratores sortis causa convenire solebant'; and certainly *Ianus* is often used in the sense of an arcade or passage, rather than an arch. Hence Dr Dyer in Dict. Geogr. II. 774 b conjectures that *Ianus* was the name applied to the *street* at the north side of the forum, a view supported at some length by Mr Nicholls in his 'Roman Forum', p. 240 ff. If this view be correct (and it has the support of Bentley), we must translate 'the whole

Janus, from the top to the bottom'. We may notice however a passage in Livy XLI. 27 *et forum porticibus tabernisque claudendum et Ianos tres faciendos*, which somewhat supports Becker's theory: the name of the town in question is lost, the passage being much mutilated; but it is possible that the constructions described were in imitation of those at Rome: they were certainly not at Rome, as Mr King (on Phil. VI. 5) supposes. For the phrase *summus ab imo*='from the top to the bottom', cp. Ovid Ib. 181 *Iugeribusque novem qui* [*Tityos*] *summus distat ab imo.*

55. prodocet='palam docet'.'holds forth,' or perhaps rather 'docendo praeit': the word is only found here; in προδιδάσκειν the preposition sometimes seems to retain very little force; *perdocet* retained by Macleane has extremely little authority, not being found in any good MS.

56. laevo...lacerto, a line repeated from Sat. I. 6, 74 and rejected by many recent editors. But it is found in all MSS., and may perhaps be defended as heightening the irony: old and young all repeat the same lesson, like a pack of school-boys, on their way to school.—**suspensi loculos**, Roby § 1126, S. G. § 471.

57, 58. These two lines are inverted in the earlier editions, and in most good MSS. The usual order is due to Cruquius, and is warmly defended by Bentley, whose authority has prevailed with most recent editors. I feel by no means sure that Ritter is not right in preferring the other order, which is far better established, and which gives a Horatian abruptness. The reading *si* for *sed* is weakly supported; so is Bentley's *desint* for *desunt*.

57. est, cp. l. 33. **lingua** 'a ready tongue'. **fides** either 'credit', that is, a respectable position in money matters, though not quite up to the standard for a knight (cp. Ep. I. 6, 36), or perhaps better 'loyalty' to your friends, to be connected closely with *lingua*, and hence not, as Orelli thinks, tautologous after *mores*.

58. quadringentis, sc. milibus sestertium, to the 400,000 sesterces fixed as the rating of the equites by the *lex iudiciaria* of C. Gracchus. There was a *census equester* from the earliest times (Liv. V. 7), but its amount is a matter of conjecture only (Becker R. A. II. 1, 250).

sex septem: for the asyndeton cp. Ter. Eun. 331 *his mensibus sex septem*. Cic. ad Att. X, 8, 6 *sex septem diebus*. It does not seem to occur with any other numerals; but cp. *ter quater*.

59. plebs, not in its legal sense, but in the general meaning a 'low fellow.' So Hom. Il. XII. 213 δῆμον ἐόντα, on which Hesych. comments δημότην, καὶ ἕνα τῶν πολλῶν: cp. Sat. I.

8, 10; Ep. I. 19, 37. Cicero apparently never uses it either in this general sense, nor of an individual.

rex eris si recte facies: Isidor. Or. VIII. 3, 4 gives the full trochaic tetrameter: *réx eris, si récte facies, sí non facies nón eris.* The meaning is plainly 'if you play well, we will make you our king': an ambiguous meaning of *recte*, which Horace turns to his own purpose. Conington's 'deal fairly, youngster, and we'll crown you king' seems to miss the point. Fair play alone is not enough for distinction in games.

60. hic: Roby § 1068.

61. nil conscire sibi, 'to be conscious of no guilt': the use of *sibi* after an imperative is somewhat like that in Cic. de Nat. D. I. 30, 84 *sibi displicere*, ib. 44, 122 *utilitatum suarum*, where the subject is indefinite, although in the one case the second person, in the other the first has preceded.

62. Roscia...lex: L. Roscius Otho, trib. pl. in B.C. 67, carried a law that the first fourteen rows of the *cavea* at the theatre, next to the *orchestra* which was occupied by the senators, should be reserved for the *equites*: the law was very unpopular, and in B.C. 63 Roscius was hissed in the theatre (Plut. Cic. 13), but the people were pacified by Cicero, and *Roscio theatralis auctori legis ignoverunt, notatasque se* [sc. *tribus*] *discrimine sedis aequo animo tulerunt* (Plin. N. H. VII. 30). Cp. Iuv. III. 153—159 '*exeat*', *inquit*, '*si pudor est, et de pulvino surgat equestri, cuius res legi non sufficit...sic libitum vano, qui nos distinxit, Othoni*' (with Mayor's notes).

sodes 'please': there is no reason to doubt the explanation of the word given by Cic. Orat. 45, 154 '*libenter verba iungebant, ut sodes pro si audes, sis pro si vis*': *si audes* is found in Plaut. Trin. 244, and *audeo=avidus sum* originally. For *o* as the popular pronunciation of *au* cp. Roby § 250. The notion that it is the vocative of a substantive=ἠθεῖε (cp. Froehde in Kuhn's Ztsch. XII. 159), is sufficiently disproved by *dic sodes, pater* in Ter. Ad. 643; ἠθεῖος has its Latin cognate in *sodalis* Curt. Princ. Et. I. p. 312. Key's derivation from *si voles* (L. G. § 1361 n.) must be wrong (1) because of the tense which is evidently present, (2) because while *d* often becomes *l*, *l* does not pass into *d* (Roby § 174, 4), except in very rare instances (CorssenAusspr. I² 224; Nachtr. 274, 276).

63. nenia 'ditty' or 'jingle': there is nothing here about 'a sort of a song of triumph' as Macleane thinks. The form *naenia* has but slight authority.

64. Curiis especially Curius Dentatus, the conqueror of Pyrrhus. For the plural cp. note on Cic. de Orat. I. 48, 211. **decantata** 'ever on the lips of'. Cic. de Orat. II. 32, 140.

65. facias, jussive subjunctive in quasi-dependence on a repeated *suadet*: Roby § 1606, S. G. § 672.

rem 'money.'

67. **propius**, i. e. from one of the fourteen rows. **lacrimosa** 'tear-drawing': cp. *lacrimoso fumo* in Sat. I. 5, 80.

Pupi, a poet of the time of whom nothing is known, not even that he was popular, as Martin says. The scholiasts quote an epigram as composed by him, which is far more probably due to some 'goodnatured friend': *flebunt amici et bene noti mortem meam, nam populus in me vivo lacrimatust satis.*

68. **responsare liberum et erectum** 'to stand up boldly, like a free man, and defy', cp. Cic. de Orat. I. 40, 184 *erectum et celsum*, and Sat. II. 4, 18, II. 7, 85, 103.

69. **praesens**, standing by your side to help you, Ep. II. 1, 134.

70—93. *I have learnt that the views commonly followed lead only to ruin: and besides, men vary so much in the means they adopt, and even are capricious in the objects they pursue.*

71. **porticibus**, the long covered colonnades, used largely for resort in the heat of the day, or in wet weather. They were frequently wide and long enough to drive in: cp. Mart. I. 12, 5—8 (of the villa of the orator Regulus), *Hic rudis aestivas praestabat porticus umbras, heu quam paene novum porticus ausa nefas! nam subito collapsa ruit, cum mole sub illa gestatus biiugis Regulus esset equis:* Iuv. VII. 178—180 *balnea sescentis et pluris porticus, in qua gestetur dominus, quotiens pluit—anne serenum exspectet spargatque luto iumenta recenti?* The Campus Martius under the Emperor became 'a forest of marble colonnades and porticoes' (Burn's Rome, p. 300). **iudiciis** 'opinions.'

73. **quod volpes...respondit**: the fable is known to us from Babrius CIII., but Porphyrion says 'Luciliana sunt haec.' Cp. L. Müller's Lucilii reliq. p. 126.

76. **belua multorum capitum**: Plat. Rep. IX. 588 θηρίον ποικίλου καὶ πολυκεφάλου: Shakspere Coriol. IV. 1, 1 'the beast with many heads butts me away.' Scott 'Thou many-headed monster thing' (Lady of the Lake, V. 30).

77. **conducere publica** 'to take state-contracts', not merely the collectors of the taxes but all *quis facile est aedem conducere, flumina, portus, siccandam eluviem, portandum ad busta cadaver* (Juv. III. 30).

sunt qui...venentur, i.e. the *captatores*, who made it their business to secure legacies, by currying favour with the unmarried and the childless. Horace satirises this class in Sat. II. 5.

78. **frustis et pomis** 'tit-bits and fruit', instances of the attentions (*officia*) or as Tacitus Germ. XX. calls them *orbitatis pretia*, which were usual in such cases: cp. Mayor on Iuv. III. 129, V. 98. All MSS. of any value have *frustis*: the *crustis* of most recent

editors seems to be simply an attempt at emendation. But cp. Sat. I. 1, 25.

viduas includes the unwedded, as well as the widowed: cp. Liv. I. 46, 7 *se rectius viduam et illum caelibem futurum fuisse*, where *viduam* acts as the feminine of *caelibem*. [The tempting derivation of the word from *vi* 'apart' and *dhavas* 'husband' must now be abandoned (Curt. Princ. I. 46): the root is *vidh* 'to be empty, lacking', occurring also in ἠίθεος: cp. Vaniček p. 966.]

79. excipiant, a hunting term, as in Carm. III. 12, 12. **vivaria** 'preserves', where animals were kept and fattened: Plin. VIII. 52, 211 says of wild boars *vivaria eorum ceterarumque silvestrium primus togati generis invenit Fulvius Lippicus, in Tarquiniensi feras pascere instituit: nec diu imitatores defuere L. Lucullus et Q. Hortensius:* so that the custom had not long been introduced in the time of Horace. In Sat. II. 5, 44 the *cetaria* are fish-ponds: a meaning which is possible, but not so probable for *vivaria* here.

80. occulto 'secret', as being either higher than that legally allowed, or derived from loans to minors, who were protected by the *lex Plaetoria.* Possibly, however, as Prof. Palmer suggests, the reference may be rather to the unnoticed growth of interest: cp. Carm. I. 12, 45 *occulto aevo*, and Ar. Nub. 1286 *ὑπορρέοντος τοῦ χρόνου*.

81. esto 'granted that', a common phrase with Horace, which generally indicates a transition from that which may be conceded for argument's sake to another point which cannot be conceded.

82. idem nom. plur. **durare** intrans.

83. sinus 'retreat', not 'bay'. **Baiae** was a favourite resort of the wealthy Romans: cp. Becker's Gallus, sc. VII. 'All writers making mention of it concur in this eulogy'.

84. lacus sc. Lucrinus (Carm. II. 15, 3), **mare** sc. Tuscum. The rich man who has taken a fancy to Baiae at once begins building out into the lake or the sea the substructions for a splendid villa: cp. Carm. III. 1, 33—36, II. 18, 17—22. Baiae itself was at least two miles from the lake, but the whole coast was covered with villas, and the name was not strictly limited; in fact there was no distinct town of Baiae. Cp. Dict. Geogr.

85. eri here, as always in Plautus and Terence and in Cic. de Rep. I. 41 according to the palimpsest, much better established than *heri* (Ritschl, Opusc. II. 409): this is however no decisive reason against regarding the *h* as etymologically justified: cp. Curt. Princ. I. 246; Corssen Ausspr. I² 468; and on the other hand Brugman in Kuhn's Ztsch. XXIII. 95; and see note on de Orat. I. 21, 98. **vitiosa libido** 'morbid caprice'.

86. fecerit auspicium 'has lent its sanction': the *auspicium* was properly the indication of the will of heaven: hence there is an intentional oxymoron in the juxtaposition of *libido* and *auspicium*, the thought being like that in Verg. Aen. IX. 185 *an sua cuique deus fit dira cupido?* The *auspicium* never suggested an action (cp. Mommsen Röm. Staatsrecht[2]; I. p. 73 ff.), but only indicated approval or disapproval: hence 'has prompted him' would not be an adequate rendering. The fact that he wishes for a thing is a sufficient proof to him that it is right for him to have it.

Teanum sc. Sidicinum, an inland town of Campania, about 30 miles from Baiae, where it was now his whim to have a villa. There was another Teanum in Apulia. Acron's notion that Teanum 'abundans optimis fabris' was the home to which the workmen were suddenly bidden to return, is not probable.

87. tolletis, perhaps future for imperative (Roby § 1589, S.G. § 665 (*b*)), but it is at least as probable that the words are used by Horace himself, not put into the mouth of the *erus*. This view is taken in the text.

lectus genialis 'a marriage-couch', sacred to the Genius of the family, where he provided that the house should never be without offspring. Cp. Preller Röm. Myth. p. 69.

aula, properly 'front-court', here = *atrium* 'hall', where the *lectus genialis* was placed, opposite the door (hence called *adversus* Propert. V. 11, 85, Laberius in Gell. XVI. 9).

88. prius 'preferable', a meaning for which Cicero would have used *antiquius*, e. g. *quod honestius, id mihi est antiquius* (ad Att. VII. 3): cp. Vell. II. 52, 4 *neque prius, neque antiquius quidquam habuit quam*, etc.

caelibe: cp. Quint. I. 6, 36 *ingenioseque visus est Gavius* caelibes *dicere veluti* caelites, *quod onere gravissimo vacent, idque Graeco argumento iuvit: ἠϊθέους enim eadem de causa dici adfirmat*, a theory which Quintilian justly includes among *foedissima ludibria*. The word seems to admit of etymological explanation as 'lying alone': cp. Vaniček p. 156.

89. bene esse, 'it is well with'.

90. Protea. Sat. II. 3, 71. Hom. Odyss. IV. 455.

91. cenacula 'garrets': Varro de L. Lat. V. 162 *ubi cenabant, cenaculum vocitabant: posteaquam in superiore parte cenitare coeperunt, superioris domus universa cenacula dicta.* The word is never used in its original sense of 'dining-room'. Cp. Mayor on Iuv. X. 18.

lectos, 'his seats', apparently in the tavern which he frequents for his meals: he does not possess *lectos* of his own, any more than *balnea*. But cp. Ep. I. 16, 76.

92. conducto navigio nauseat: he hires a boat, and goes to sea for a change, though he gets sea-sick there just as much as the rich man.

94—105. *This inconsistency is so universal that you do not notice it in me, although you ridicule me for any carelessness in dress.*

94. inaequali tonsore. An ablative of attendant circumstances (Roby § 1240), 'when the barber cut awry': cp. Iuv. I. 13 *assiduo ruptae lectore columnae* with Munro's note in Mayor's edition, and Prof. Maguire in Journ. Phil. III. 232.

95. subucula, 'a shirt', of linen or cotton, says Orelli, but there is no authority for this earlier than the third century A. D. (Marquardt Röm. Privatalt. II. 97). Cp. Varro in Non. p. 542, 23 *posteaquam binas tunicas habere coeperunt, instituerunt vocare subuculam et indusium. Sub-u-cula* contains the same root *u* as *ind-u-o*, *ex-u-o*.

pexae, properly 'combed', hence 'with the nap on, fresh': cp. Mart. II. 58, 1 *pexatus pulcre rides mea, Zoile, trita.*

96. dissidet impar 'sits awry, and does not fit'. **rides**: Maecenas was himself noted for dandyism, whence the scholiasts (probably wrongly) identify him with Maltinus in Sat. I. 2, 26. What follows shews that Horace is now directly addressing Maecenas, not the reader.

99. aestuat 'is as changeful as the sea'. Cp. Ep. Jac. I. 6 *ὁ γὰρ διακρινόμενος ἔοικε κλύδωνι θαλάσσης ἀνεμιζομένῳ καὶ ῥιπιζομένῳ.* 'Sways to and fro, as if on ocean tost' (Martin).

disconvenit, 'is out of joint,' only here and at I. 14, 18 in classical Latin.

100. diruit, aedificat. In Sat. II. 3, 107 Horace makes one of the charges brought against him by Damasippus to be based on his love for building.

mutat quadrata rotundis, doubtless a proverbial expression: 'turn round to square and square again to round' (Pope). The varying construction of *muto* allows us to regard the *rotunda* as either taken or given in exchange. Sat. II. 7, 109.

101. insanire sollemnia me, 'that my madness is but the universal one', an accusative of extent, Roby § 1094, S. G. § 461. The Stoics regarded the wise man as alone truly sane: Sat. II. 3, 44 *quem mala stultitia et quemcunque inscitia veri caecum agit, insanum Chrysippi porticus et grex autumat. Haec populos, haec magnos formula reges excepto sapiente tenet.*

102. curatoris, the guardian appointed by the praetor by an *interdictum* (Sat. II. 3, 217) to look after a lunatic: the charge

would naturally fall to the near relatives; cp. Cic. de Inv. II. 148 *lex est: si furiosus escit, adgnatum gentiliumque in eo pecuniaque eius potestas esto* (XII. Tabb. v. 7 Schoell): but if there was no *tutor legitimus* the praetor would appoint. Cp. Juv. XIV. 288 *curatoris eget qui navem mercibus implet ad summum latus* with Mayor's note.

103. tutela, not in its legal sense, but not without a reference to it, 'though you charge yourself with my fortunes'.

104. unguem. The Romans were accustomed to have their nails carefully trimmed by the barber (cp. Ep. I. 7, 51), and 'an ill-cut nail' would imply either neglect or incompetence on his part.

105. respicientis. Bentley objects that *respicere* is always used of the regard that a superior has for an inferior (cp. Ps. cxxxviii. 6, 'Though the LORD be high, yet hath he respect unto the lowly'), and therefore accepts the conjecture of Heinsius, *suspicientis*, which is certainly far more usual in the sense here required. But cp. Caesar, B. C. I, I *sin Caesarem respiciant atque eius gratiam sequantur, ut superioribus fecerint temporibus.* It is not, as Macleane says, much stronger than our 'respect', but has a different connotation, implying rather regard for one's wishes, or interests. Cp. Ter. Haut. 70 *nullum remittis tempus, neque te respicis,* 'you don't consider yourself'.

106—109. *The virtuous man is indeed as blest as the Stoics deem him, except when his digestion troubles him.* Horace here, as elsewhere, gives a humorous turn at the close to the argument, which he has been seriously propounding.

106. ad summam. Cic. de Off. I. 41, *ad summam, ne agam de singulis:* Sat. I. 3, 137 *ne longum faciam:* Iuv. III. 79 *in summa, non Maurus erat* etc. So often in Pliny: cp. Mayor on Ep. III. 4, 8.

uno minor Iove. Senec. Prov. I. 5 *bonus ipse tempore tantum a Deo differt.* Sen. Ep. 73, 13 *Iuppiter quo antecedit virum bonum? diutius bonus est.* Cic. de Nat. D. II. 61, 153 *vita beata par et similis deorum, nulla alia re nisi immortalitate, quae nihil ad beate vivendum pertinet, cedens caelestibus.*

dives. Sat. I. 3, 124 *si dives, qui sapiens est,* 'he is absolutely rich, since he who has a right view of everything has everything in his intellectual treasury. Sen. Benef. VII. 3, 2; 6. 3, 8, 1' (Zeller, *Stoics,* p. 270). Cp. Cic. Acad. II. 44, 136, and Parad. 6 ὅτι μόνος ὁ σοφὸς πλούσιος.

107. liber. 'The wise man only is free, because he only uses his will to control himself' (Zeller, l.c.). Cic. Parad. 5 ὅτι μόνος ὁ σοφὸς ἐλεύθερος καὶ πᾶς ἄφρων δοῦλος.

honoratus=*ad honores evectus:* 'the wise only know how to obey, and they also only know how to govern' (Zeller). **pulcher,** 'he only is beautiful, because only virtue is beautiful and attractive' (Zeller). **rex regum,** Sat. I. 3, 136, Lucilius (quoted here by Porphyrion) *In mundo sapiens haec omnia habebit: formosus, dives, liber, rex solus vocetur.*

108. pituita (trisyllabic, *pītwīta;* Catullus XXIII. 17 has *pītŭīta nasi;* but L. Müller (de Re Metr. p. 258) argues that we must pronounce here, and in Sat. II. 2, 76 *pītŭīta,* on the ground that in Horace there is no instance of synizesis with *u,* but only with *i.* Cp. Roby § 92. The derivation given in Quint. I. 6, 36 '*quia petet vitam,*' absurd as it is in itself rather points to *ĭ.* Müller similarly disallows *fortuītus* in Iuv. XIII. 255. Cp. Mayor *ad loc.*), the phlegm produced by the inflammation of any mucous membrane: hence probably here, as in Sat. l. c. of a disordered stomach; so also in Cato's prescription for an emetic, R. R. 156, 4. Orelli's quotations from Arrian's Epictetus I. 6, II. 16, 13, &c. imply however that the existence of catarrh was an objection brought by some against the perfection of nature as taught by the Stoics, answered by pointing to the provision nature had made for the removal of it: hence the meaning may be 'except when a cold in the head troubles you'.

EPISTLE II.

This epistle is addressed to Lollius Maximus, probably the elder son of M. Lollius, to whom Carm. IV. 9 was afterwards addressed. The date of the Epistle is not certain. The eighteenth epistle of this book is also addressed to the same Lollius, and we learn from that (v. 55) that he had served under Augustus in the Cantabrian war of B.C. 25—24. It is not improbable that after serving (as *puer*) in that war, he returned to Rome, and took up again the practice of declamation, just as Cicero did after his service in the Social War. In that case B.C. 23 would be a plausible date to assign; but the use of *puer* in v. 68 is not inconsistent with a date a year or two later. The practice of rhetoric under teachers was often carried on long after the years of manhood had been reached. Cicero was studying under Molo at the age of twenty-eight. The date of Ep. XVIII. is fixed by v. 56 at B.C. 20, and that appears to be certainly later than the present one.

1—4. *I have been reading through Homer again, and find him a better teacher than all the philosophers.*

1. Maxime, unquestionably the cognomen of Lollius: a P. Lollius Maximus occurs, though at a later date, in Gruter's Inscr. 638. 2, and *maxime* cannot be explained, either as

'elder', an impossible meaning, or (with Macleane) as a 'familiar, half jocular' mode of address. The usual order is inverted as in *Crispe Sallusti*, Carm. II. 2, 3: *Hirpine Quinti* Carm. II. 11, 2. Cp. Ov. Pont. II. 8, 2, III. 5, 6, *Maxime Cotta*.

2. declamas. Roby § 1458, S. G. § 595. **Praeneste**, abl. always in *e*, except once in Propertius (III. [II.] 32, 3), Roby § 420, § 1170: cp. Neue Formenlehre, I. 232. Praeneste was a favourite retreat for Horace, especially in summer (Carm. III. 4, 22 *frigidum Praeneste*), but there is no reason to suppose that he had a villa here, as has been asserted.

4. planius is supported by better authority than *plenius*; besides, Chrysippus is said to have written 750 books, and the *commentarii* of Crantor extended to 30,000 lines (Diog. Laert. IV. 24), so that *plenius* would be a singularly ill-chosen term. Chrysippus, 'the second founder of Stoicism' (εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἦν Χρύσιππος, οὐκ ἂν ἦν Στοά), who boasted that he had furnished the proofs of the doctrines supplied to him by Cleanthes, was noted for his dry and obscure style (Cic. de Orat. I. 11, 50: Zeller *Stoics* 45—48): Crantor was said to have been the first to expound the writings of Plato, and Cicero warmly praises his work on Sorrow (περὶ πένθους): he assisted Polemo, the fourth head of the Academy, and *in Academia vel imprimis fuit nobilis* (Cic. Tusc. III. 6, 12).

5. distinet was undoubtedly (according to Keller) the reading of the archetype: *detinet* (adopted by many recent editors) only a correction of the corrupt *destinet*, which is found in some MSS. Orelli's dictum, that *detinet* is used of an agreeable hindrance, *distinet* of an unpleasant one, will not bear examination, though the latter is commonly thus used: e.g. Carm. IV. 5, 12.—It is not certain whether *crediderim* would have been *credidi* 'I formed this opinion' (Roby § 1450) or *crediderim* (Roby § 1560) in direct speech: probably the former.

6—16. *Homer has given us in the Iliad a picture of the suffering caused by the folly and the passions of kings and nations.*

7. barbariae, i.e. Phrygia; cp. Verg. Aen. II. 504 *barbarico postes auro spoliisque superbi*, with the note of Servius *ad loc.* πᾶς μὴ Ἕλλην βάρβαρος. Ennius in Cic. Tusc. I. 35, 85 *adstante ope barbarica*. The Phrygian language was closely related to the Greek (Curt. Hist. of Greece I. 35, 75; Fick *Spracheinheit Europas* pp. 409 ff.), but probably not more closely than the Latin, a connexion which did not prevent the Greeks from speaking of the Romans as *barbari* (cp. Plaut. Asin. prol. 10, Trin. prol. 19), and Italy as *barbaria* (Poen. III. 2, 21). Homer in the Iliad nowhere represents the Trojans as unintelligible to the Greeks, and uses βαρβαρόφωνοι only of the Carians (II. 867),

but no argument can be fairly drawn from this (cp. Gladstone *Juventus Mundi* p. 452). Dionysius (Antiq. Rom. I. 61, 153) says ὅτι δὲ καὶ τὸ τῶν Τρῴων ἔθνος Ἑλληνικὸν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἦν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ποτε ὡρμημένον, εἴρηται μὲν καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶ πάλαι, λεχθήσεται δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἐμοῦ δι' ὀλίγων: but his account does not include the Phrygians, and is based on the legendary history of Dardanus.

duello, the earlier form of *bellum*, which is derived from it, as *bis* from *duis* &c. (Roby § 76, Corssen Ausspr. I². 124—5): Horace uses this form in Ep. II. 1, 254, II. 2, 98; Carm. III. 5, 38, III. 14, 18, IV. 15, 8. Here, as elsewhere, he seems intentionally to adopt a mock heroic tone.

8. aestus 'fiery passions', (Sat. I. 2, 110), not, I think, here with any reference to the tide, but with a force more directly derived from the primary meaning of the word (root *idh* 'burn', as in *aestas*, αἴθω &c. Curt. I. 310). Cp. Ep. I. 8, 5.

9. Antenor, Liv. I. 1 *Aeneas Antenorque pacis reddendae que Helenae semper auctores fuerant:* cp. Hom. Il. VII. 350 δεῦτ' ἄγετ', Ἀργείην Ἑλένην καὶ κτήμαθ' ἅμ' αὐτῇ δώομεν Ἀτρείδῃσιν ἄγειν.

censet praecidere: *censeo* here has the construction of *iubeo*, which is very rare with the *active* infinitive, except in Columella: for a similar construction with the passive, where the gerundive might have been expected, cp. Liv. II. 5, 1 *de bonis regiis, quae reddi ante censuerant*, with Drakenborch's note, Kühnast, p. 20, 247.

10. Quid Paris? just like *quid pauper?* (Ep. I. 1. 91). The reading of Bentley 'Quod Paris, ut salvus regnet vivatque beatus, cogi posse negat', is supported only by inferior MSS. and has little to recommend it. Cp. Il. VII. 362 ἀντικρὺς δ' ἀπόφημι, γυναῖκα μὲν οὐκ ἀποδώσω. For the omission of *se* before *posse* cp. Verg. Aen. III. 201 *ipse diem noctemque negat discernere caelo*, Roby § 1346.

11. Nestor, Hom. Il. I. 254 f., IX. 96 f.

12. inter...inter, repeated as in Sat. I. 7, 11, *Inter Hectora Priamiden animosum atque inter Achillem ira fuit capitalis:* Bentley there (as here) attacks the reading, but it is well supported by Cicero's practice with *interesse*, e.g. de Fin. I. 9, 30, de Am. 25, 95. Livy X. 7 has the repetition with *certatum*.—**Peliden**: the acc. termination *-en* in the accusative of patronymics is everywhere much better established than the form in *-em*, and is often necessary to the metre as in Sat. I. 7, 11. Cp. Neue Formenlehre I. 57; Roby § 473, S. G. § 150. In feminine names

Horace uses the Greek form in the Odes, the Latin in the Satires and Epistles, except perhaps in Sat. II. 5, 81.

13. hunc, Agamemnon, not Achilles, as some have supposed. The affection of Achilles is not noticed in the first book of the Iliad, to which Horace is here referring, but in IX. 342 *ὣς καὶ ἐγὼ τὴν ἐκ θυμοῦ φίλεον* (cp. Carm. II. 4, 3). On the other hand Agamemnon says in I. 113 *καὶ γάρ ῥα* Κλυταιμνήστρης *προβέβουλα.* **urit** 'fires', a term as applicable to love (Sat. I. 9, 66) as to rage.

14. quicquid, Roby § 1094, S. G. § 461. **plectuntur**, Sat. II. 7, 105 *tergo plector* 'I pay for it with my back'. The word is often used of undeserved or vicarious punishment: cp. Ov. Her. XI. 110 *a! miser admisso plectitur ille meo!* (with Palmer's note).

15. seditione, as in the case of Thersites Il. II. 115 ff. **dolis**, Pandarus IV. 134 ff.

scelere perhaps especially referring to Paris, **libidine** including not only the passion of Paris for Helen, but also the tyrannous caprice of Agamemnon.

17—26. *The Odyssey on the other hand shows us the value of courage and self-control.*

19. qui domitor...undis, an imitation of the first five lines of the Odyssey: cp. A. P. 141.

providus, a very inadequate substitute for *πολύμητις.*

21. dum parat, line 2, 'in trying to secure', *ἀρνύμενος*: the attempt was unsuccessful in the case of the *socii.*

23. Sirenum voces Odyss. XII. 39 ff., 154—200.—**Circae pocula** Odyss. X. 136 ff.

24. stultus cupidusque, 'in foolish greed': Odysseus did drink of Circe's cup, but only after he had been supplied by Hermes with a prophylactic antidote (Od. X. 318).

25. meretrice, a strong term intentionally chosen for emphasis 'a harlot mistress'. Though Circe is undoubtedly a type of sensual pleasure, there is nothing in the legend attaching to her which justifies so strong a term.

turpis 'in hideous form', i.e. transformed into the shape of a brute (Carm. II. 8, 4; Sat. I. 3, 100).

excors 'void of reason' (Sat. II. 3, 67). For *cor* as the seat of the reason cp. Cic. Tusc. I. 9, 18, de Orat. I. 45, 198 (note). Here Horace (as in Epod. 17, 17) differs from Homer, who says

of the comrades of Odysseus (Od. x. 239) *οἱ δὲ συῶν μὲν ἔχον κεφαλὰς φωνήν τε τρίχας τε καὶ δέμας, αὐτὰρ νοῦς ἦν ἔμπεδος, ὡς τὸ πάρος περ.*

27—31. *We are not like Odysseus, but like the wooers of Penelope or the Phaeacian nobles, lazy and worthless.*

27. numerus 'but ciphers', apparently a Grecism: cp. Eur. Heracl. 997 *οὐκ ἀριθμὸν ἀλλ' ἐτητύμως ἄνδρ' ὄντα.* Troad. 476 *ἐγεινάμην τέκνα, οὐκ ἀριθμὸν ἄλλως, ἀλλ' ὑπερτάτους Φρυγῶν.* Ar. Nub. 1203 *ἀριθμὸς πρόβατ' ἄλλως ἀμφορῆς νενησμένοι.* Conington well brings out the meaning 'Just fit for counting roughly in the mass'.

fruges consumere nati, perhaps a humorous application of the Homeric *βροτοὶ οἳ ἀρούρης καρπὸν ἔδουσιν* (Il. VI. 142): for the construction (which is confined to poetry) cp. Roby § 1363, S.G. § 540 (3).

28. sponsi=*proci* 'wooers': the desired relation is similarly anticipated in Epod. 6, 13 *Lycambae spretus infido gener* (cp. Verg. Aen. II. 344), Verg. Aen. IV. 35 *aegram nulli quondam flexere mariti.* So in Ter. Andr. 792 *socer=sponsae pater.*

nebulones 'losel' Sat. I. 1, 104, I. 2, 12. The close imitation in Ausonius (Epist. IX. 13—15 *Nam mihi non saliare epulum, non cena dapalis, qualem Penelopae nebulonum mensa procorum Alcinoique habuit nitidae cutis uncta iuventus*) shows that the word here goes with *sponsi.*

Alcinoi iuventus: cp. Hom. Od. VIII. 248—9 *αἰεὶ δ' ἡμῖν δαίς τε φίλη κίθαρίς τε χοροί τε εἵματά τ' ἐξημοιβὰ λοετρά τε θερμὰ καὶ εὐναί.*

29. in cute curanda: so in Sat. II. 5, 37 *pelliculam curare* is used of living at ease: cp. Ep. I. 4, 15; Juv. xi. 203 *nostra bibat vernum contracta cuticula solem.*

operata 'busied', an oxymoron.

30. pulchrum=*καλόν*, honestum, 'glorious'.

31. cessatum ducere curam. This is a testing passage for the value of the so-called 'V-princip', i.e. the paramount importance of the Blandinian MSS. and the other MSS. which supply a Mavortian reading. While other MSS. give *curam,* this class has *somnum.* Now this difference cannot be due to an error of transcription on either side: it must point to a distinct recension. Which represents the more genuine tradition? If we accept *somnum,* this necessitates a correction of *cessatum.* We can understand 'to prevail on care to cease' (*cessatum* being then a supine), but *cessatum somnum* is meaningless: Bentley sug-

gests *cessantem*: 'to bring on the sleep that is slow to come'. But why is sleep represented as 'slow to come'? Acron's note on *ad strepitum* 'quia adhibemus sonitum citharae ac lyrae, ut facilius sopiamur' is a clear proof that he read *somnum*. Cp. Carm. III. 1, 20 *non avium citharaeque cantus somnum reducent.* It is a strong argument too that we need the mention of some act, which is blameworthy, whereas to relieve one's cares by song can hardly be so considered (cp. Carm. IV. 11. 35). Besides, the transition is then more abrupt to what follows, which is an appeal against undue indulgence in sleep. Hence there is much probability in Munro's *recreatum ducere somnum* (Journal of Philology IX. 217) 'to bring on (or to lengthen) renewed sleep'. He defends this reading against the charge of tautology after v. 30 by pointing out that *dormire* is properly 'to keep one's bed'. The argument that *curam* is very awkward after *curanda*, used in a different sense, appears to me to point rather to its being the genuine reading; as this awkwardness would be more likely to strike a critic, and to suggest an attempt at emendation, than to be introduced gratuitously. Cp. note on Ep. I. 7, 96. With Munro I have printed the current reading, but with much doubt.

32—43. *If men will not practise self-denial to preserve their health, bodily and mental, they will suffer for it. But they care less for the latter than for the former, and are always postponing the effort to live aright.*

32. hominem, unquestionably to be preferred to *homines*, not only because of the MS. evidence in its favour, but because *hominem occidere* was the usual phrase for 'to commit murder': cp. Ovid. Amor. III. 8, 21—2 *forsitan et quotiens hominem iugulaverit, ille indicet: hoc fassas tangis, avare, manus.*' Cp. Ep. I. 16, 48.

de nocte 'ere night is gone': cp. Ter. Adelph. 840 *rus cras cum filio cum primo luci ibo hinc. De nocte censeo.*

latrones 'bandits'.

33. expergisceris, in the first place literally, but not without a more general reference: 'won't you wake up?' For the tense cp. Roby § 1461, S. G. § 597.

atqui: the vet. Bland. here agrees with the inferior MSS. in reading *atque*, a very common corruption: cp. Fleckeisen, Krit. Misc. p. 25.

34. noles sc. currere: the authority for *nolis* is very slight. The connexion of thought is missed by Orelli: Horace does not imply that men never omit proper bodily exercise, because they know that they will become diseased if they do: but says that

if they neglect it in health, they will be forced to take to it as a remedy: and in the same way, if men prefer indolent ease to the study of philosophy, they will lose their rest from the disquieting pain caused by jealousy or love. Porphyrio rightly explains 'si non propter philosophiam vigilaveris, propter invidiam et amorem dormire non poteris.' *cures*, though defended by Bentley, has no good MS. authority, and is quite needless. **hydropicus**, cp. Celsus III. 21 *hydropicus multum ambulandum, currendum aliquando est.*

35. **posces librum**, as Horace himself may have done, for in Sat. I. 6. 122 *ad quartam iaceo* refers only to his reclining on his *lectus lucubratorius*, his 'easy chair in his study' as we should say, as we see from the following words *lecto aut scripto quod me tacitum iuvet.*

36. **studiis et rebus honestis**, probably not a hendiadys: but *studiis* = 'studies' as in Ep. II. 2. 82, Sat. I. 10. 21. The case is dative, not ablative.

37. **Nam** 'why!' a particle expressing surprise or indignation. Cp. Plaut. Aul. 42 *nam cur me verberas.* Ter. Andr. 612 *nam quid dicam patri?* So in Greek τί γὰρ κακὸν ἐποίησεν; (Luke xxiii. 22). In such cases the force is the same as that of the interrogative with *nam* suffixed, and some MSS. here have *curnam.*

38. **oculum**, not, as Bentley supposed, supported by the best MSS. but still to be preferred to *oculos* as the neater expression.

festinas...differs, the omission of the copula is usual in the case of two contrasted questions.

39. **est animum**: cp. Hom. Il. VI. 201 Βελλεροφόντης... ἀλᾶτο ὃν θυμὸν κατέδων, translated by Cic. Tusc. III. 26, 63 *ipse suum cor edens:* Aesch. Ag. 103 τὴν θυμοβόρον φρένα λύπην.

40. **dimidium...habet.** There is a Greek proverb, of uncertain origin ἀρχὴ δέ τοι ἥμισυ παντός: cp. Soph. Frag. 715 ἔργου δὲ παντὸς ἥν τις ἄρχηται καλῶς, καὶ τὰς τελευτὰς εἰκὸς ἔσθ' οὕτως ἔχειν, our own 'well begun is half done'.

aude 'have courage': Verg. Aen. VIII. 364 *Aude, hospes, contemnere opes.* Ep. II. 2. 148.

42. **rusticus exspectat** 'is like the clown waiting': **defluat** Roby § 1664, S. G. § 692. [*defluit* preferred by Hand, Turs. II. 341 is found in none of Keller's MSS. and could hardly stand.] This seems to be a reference to a fable of a rustic waiting by the banks of a river until all the water had run by: but as no trace of such a fable has been discovered elsewhere, it may be only invented by Horace for this passage. Whether Juvenal's *rusticus*

expectas (XIV. 25) is a reminiscence of this seems to be doubtful: cp. Mayor *ad loc.*

43. in omne volubilis aevum, like Tennyson's brook 'But I go on for ever'. The rapid rhythm seems to be intentionally significant.

44—54. *Men aim at securing the good things of life, but no worldly possessions can give health of body or of mind, and these are both needed for enjoyment.*

44. argentum 'money' as in Sat. I. 1, 86, II. 6, 10; Ep. I. 18, 23, a meaning common in Plautus (e.g. Trin. 418 *nequaquam argenti ratio comparet tamen*), Juvenal and late prose, but not found in good prose. A more common meaning is that of 'silver-plate', as in Ep. I. 6, 17; 16, 76; Sat. I. 4, 28; Carm. IV. 11, 6.

beata 'rich', Carm. I. 4, 14; III. 7, 3; Sat. II. 8, 1, as ὄλβιος is used for πλούσιος in Homer. **pueris creandis** 'to bear children'. We are told by Gellius (IV. 3) that Sp. Carvilius divorced a wife to whom he was warmly attached, because she bore him no children, regarding this as a religious duty *quod iurare a censoribus coactus erat, uxorem se liberum quaerundum gratia habiturum:* cp. Plaut. Aul. 145 *quod tibi sempiternum salutare sit, liberis procreandis...volo te uxorem domum ducere.* Suet. Iul. 52 says that Cæsar contemplated the proposal of a law *ut uxores liberorum quaerendorum causa quas et quot vellet ducere liceret.* From the language of August. de Civ. D. XIV. 18 this seems to have been used as the legal phrase in marriage contracts. There is of course an intentional irony in the use of *beata* in this connexion, as if a rich wife were needed to bear offspring.

45. pacantur 'are brought into subjection' like barbarous lands, subdued by the Roman arms: cp. Ov. Ep. Pont. I. 2, 109 *pacatius arvum.* We might speak of the 'struggle' of the pioneers of civilization with the forests of the backwoods. So Herod. I. 126 τὸν χῶρον ἐξημερῶται.

46. contingit, pres. as in Ep. I. 4, 10, from the continuous result produced: a misunderstanding of this force has led to the reading *contigit is* in the Bland. vet., inserted however *per lituram:* for qualifications of the statement sometimes made that *contingit* is only used of good things cp. Cic. in Cat. I. 7, 16 (note), or Mayor on Cic. Phil. II. § 7. **optet**, jussive. Roby § 1596, S. G. § 668.

48. deduxit, the perfect of repeated actions; in principal sentences only employed in Augustan poets and later writers: Roby § 1479, S.G. § 608, 2 (*d*).

50. cogitat 'means', often so used by Cicero in his speeches, as well as in lighter prose and verse.

51. sic: i.e. no more than.

52. tabula being properly a plank, sometimes has *picta* added, when it is used in the sense of 'picture', as in Plaut. Men. 144 *tabulam pictam in pariete*, Ter. Eun. 584, but more commonly the epithet is omitted.

fomenta: evidently the parallelism with paintings and music requires that this should denote something which is a source of enjoyment to the healthy, but not to the diseased. Hence any reference to medicinal applications, such as is assumed by Macleane, for instance, is quite out of place. Düntzer has shown by a quotation from Seneca (de Provid. IV. 9 *Quem specularia semper ab afflatu vindicarunt, cuius pedes* inter fomenta subinde mutata *tepuerunt, cuius cenationes subditus et parietibus circumfusus calor temperavit, hunc levis aura non sine periculo stringet*) that warm wrappings for the feet, analogous to our foot-muffs, were regarded as a luxury: but a man suffering from the gout in his feet would get little pleasure from them. Bentley's *podagrum* for *podagram* has but slight authority, and the change from the sufferer to the disease is pleasing rather than otherwise.

54. sincerum in the primary sense of the word 'clean' [the derivation given in Lewis and Short is not quite exact: cp. Corssen 1^2. 376]. The connexion of the thought seems to be: an unhealthy body or mind spoils everything, just as a foul vessel turns any contents sour. Then Horace goes on to warn Lollius against various diseases of the mind.

55—71. *Pleasure is not worth the pain it brings: greed is never satisfied: envy is the worst of torments: anger is short-lived madness, and is followed by regret; it must be mastered, and that when one is young, and the task is easy, and the gain enduring.*

56. voto dat. cp. Sat. I. 1, 92, 106.

57. alterius never even in iambic verse has the ĭ (cp. Plaut. Capt. 303), but this occurs once (in cretics) in Ter. Andr. 628, and in Enn. Sat. VI. p. 158 Vahl. Cp. Ritschl's Opusc. II. 694 and Cic. de Orat. III. 47, 183, which shows that *illius* was a dactyl in the ordinary pronunciation of his own time.

58. Siculi tyranni, proverbially cruel, especially Phalaris of Agrigentum, the Dionysii and Agathocles at Syracuse. Cp. Cic. in Verr. V. 56 145 *tulit illa quondam insula* (Sicilia) *multos et crudeles tyrannos.* Juv. VI. 486 *Sicula non mitior aula.*

59. irae: *moderor* in classical Latin with dat. = *curb*, with acc. *govern*, *direct*.

60. infectum volet esse: Menand. p. 247 ἅπανθ' ἅ' ὀργιζόμενος ἄνθρωπος ποιεῖ, ταῦθ' ὕστερον λάβοις ἂν ἡμαρτημένα. **dolor** 'indignation', the sting of a wrong suffered, as often. **mens**, like θυμός 'wrath': Carm. I. 16, 22; Verg. Aen. II. 519.

61. odio inulto, dative, 'for his unslaked thirst for vengeance'.

festinat 'is eager to exact', cp. Carm. II. 7, 24 *deproperari ...coronas*, III. 24, 61 *pecuniam properet:* Verg. Aen. IV. 575.

62. nisi paret, imperat: 'aut servus est aut dominus: nihil enim est tertium', Bentl. Cp. Plaut. Trin. 310 *tu si animum vicisti potius quam animus te, est quod gaudeas.*

63. tu: Carm. I. 9, 16. **compesce**, a word of very doubtful origin: either (1) from *con* and *pasco* (Roby I. 253), or (2) from *compes*, or (3) for *com-perc-sco*, from root *parc* to fasten, Corssen I[2]. 808, ii. 283, 411.

64. tenera cervice, descriptive ablative: Roby § 1232, S. G. § 502.

65. ire viam qua: *qua* has the support of only a few MSS. and those not the best: but it is rightly preferred by most recent editors since Bentley, as the reading most likely to have been corrupted: cp. Verg. Aen. I. 418 *corripuere viam interea, qua semita monstrat;* Georg. III. 77 *primus et ire viam*; Liv. XXXII. 11 *pedites* (iubet), *qua dux monstraret viam ire*. In the last passage there is the same doubt as here, whether *viam* is governed by *ire* or *monstrat*, in Livy the latter seems the more probable, but here the rhythm, and the parallels from Vergil point to the former. **monstret** has far more authority than the old reading *monstrat*.

venaticus...catulus: the position of *catulus* may perhaps be explained by taking *ven.*='if meant for hunting', rather than as a simple epithet. But the form of the sentence is somewhat awkward. We should have expected rather: 'the hound is trained to bark at the stuffed stag's hide in the yard, before it begins its service in the woods'. **latravit** with acc. also in Epod. 5. 58. **aula** 'court-yard' as in Homer often (e.g. Il. IV. 433), for the usual Latin *cohors* or *cors* (cp. de Orat. II. 65, 263, note), not as in Ep. I. 1, 87.

67. adbibe, as we have elsewhere (Carm. II. 13, 32) *pugnas ...bibit aure vulgus.* Propert. iii. 6, 8 *incipe, suspensis auribus ista bibam* and the like. There is no need to derive the metaphor from dyeing.

68. melioribus masc. cp. Ep. I. 1, 48.

69. imbuta, not 'saturated' but 'tinged' for the first time: cp. Cic. de Orat. II. 39, 162 (note). Quint. I. 1, 5 *natura tenacissimi sumus eorum, quae rudibus annis percepimus, ut sapor, quo nova imbuas, durat.*

70. quodsi cessas, etc. Horace seems to be here expressing his real sentiments in favour of moderation, but in a humorous half-serious fashion. 'I have said my say: if you lag behind in the race, or are fired with an enthusiasm, which carries you on ahead of all others, in neither case can you expect my company: I go on the even tenor of my way, waiting for no one, and treading on no one's heels.' The happy turn thus given to the conclusion will not escape the notice of any one, who is not contented with the explanation that Horace 'gets rather prosy sometimes, and thinks it is time to stop'. **anteis**: Carm. I. 35, 17, disyllabic probably by elision rather than synaeresis: Kennedy P. S. G. p. 514, 'ita semper poetae Ausonio priores.' L. Müller. Ind.

EPISTLE III.

The date of this Epistle is clearly fixed by line 1, to B.C. 20. Julius Florus, to whom it is addressed, was one of the *comites* of Tiberius Claudius in his mission to the East, when he was sent by Augustus to place Tigranes on the throne of Armenia in the room of Artaxias, who had been murdered by his own subjects (Merivale IV. 175, last ed.). According to Porphyrio, Florus wrote satires, 'among them some selected from Ennius, Lucilius and Varro', by which is meant doubtless that he re-wrote some of the poems of these earlier authors, adopting them to the taste of his own day, much as Pope and Dryden re-wrote Chaucer's tales. The second Epistle of Book II. is also addressed to him.—This epistle gives us a pleasant conception of the literary tastes of the young nobles whom Tiberius had gathered round him in his suite (cp. Ep. IX. 4), and a charming picture of the relations of Horace, now in his 45th year, with the younger aspirants to poetic fame, in its tone of kindly admonition.

1—5. *I want news of Tiberius. Are you in Thrace, at the Hellespont, or already in Asia?*

1. quibus terrarum oris, like Verg. Aen. I. 331 *quibus orbis in oris* with the notion of 'on what distant shores'. **militet** 'is serving' i.e. is with his army. Tiberius was accompanied on this expedition by a considerable force to secure respect, but fought no battles.

2. privignus 'step-son': Tiberius was not adopted by

Augustus until A.D. 3, after the death of his grand-children Gaius and Lucius Caesar, the sons of Julia.

laboro, stronger than *cupio:* Sat. II. 8, 19 *nosse laboro.*

3. **Thraca**, a poetical form (=Θρᾴκη) used also Ep. I. 16, 13 and by Verg. Aen. XII. 335. Ribbeck and Kennedy there read *Thraeca*, and Keller here with one MS. has *Threca*: the latter cannot well be right. Cp. Fleckeisen *Fünfzig Artikel*, p. 30. Servius on Verg. l. c. says that Cicero used *Thracam* in the de Rep., but the MS. (II. 4, 9) has the later form *Thraciam:* cp. Lachmann on Lucr. V. 30, Ellis on Catullus, IV. 8. In the Odes (II. 16, 5, III. 25, 11) Horace according to his custom uses the Greek form *Thrace*, so does Ovid, Fast. V. 257, Pont. IV. 5, 5.

Hebrus, proverbially cold: Carm. I. 25, 20; Ep. I. 16, 13. Dr Schmitz in Dict. Geogr. says it is still sometimes frozen over. The snow often lies thick on the Balkans in winter, but I can find no other modern authority for the freezing of the Hebrus any more than the Danube, which was frozen in the days of Ovid's banishment (Trist. III. 10, 31—2).

4. **freta**, the Hellespont: **currentia**; in consequence of the large rivers which flow into the Euxine, there is always a strong current outwards in the Hellespont. Cf. Lucret. V. 507, where Munro quotes Shakspere's Othello III. 3, '*like to the Pontic sea, whose icy current and compulsive course ne'er feels retiring ebb, but keeps due on to the Propontic and the Hellespont.*' **turres** of Sestos and Abydos. The tower of Hero at Sestos is often mentioned, and Strabo XIII. 22, speaks of πύργον τινὰ κατ' ἀντικρὺ τῆς Σηστοῦ, (in Lucan IX. 955 *Heroas lacrimoso litore turres*, the plural seems to be merely a poetical variation), but we need not seek for authority for so natural a phrase. Bentley adopts *terras* from the Bland. vet.: this seems to be one of the numerous instances in which that MS. bears the mark of an ingenious critical recension, rather than a genuine tradition. Cp. Introd.

6—20. *Tell me too what is being written by you. Who is attempting history? Is Titius still writing Odes, or trying his hand at tragedy? Does Celsus remember the warnings he has received to be more original in his poetry?*

6. **cohors** 'suite'. Mommsen (Hermes IV. 120 ff.) writes '*comites* are the attendants selected by the Emperor for a particular journey, *amici* the persons admitted by the Emperor at a reception, especially his more intimate acquaintances. Thus every *comes* is an *amicus*, but by no means every *amicus* also a *comes.—Cohors amicorum = comites expeditionis cuiusdam.*—The political suite of the Emperor on a journey are generally described

as *comites:* on the other hand *cohors amicorum* is more commonly used of those who accompany princes and governors.' Cp. also Röm. Staatsrecht II² 806–7.—Join **quid operum** 'what sort of works': *quae scripta componit* Schol. **curo** = scire laboro.

7. sumit: 'chooses', as in A. P. 38: the infinitive is complementary, cp. Carm. I. 12, 1 *quem virum...sumis celebrare* with Wickham's Append. II. I. Roby § 1362, S. G. § 540.

8. paces, 'times of peace'. Others interpret 'deeds in time of peace', a meaning which is not sufficiently supported by Ep. II. 1, 102.

9. Titius may possibly have been a son of M. Titius, the consul suffectus in the year of the battle at Actium, where he held a high command. The account given by the scholiasts does not add much to our knowledge: Acron says that he tried to transfer the profound thought and eloquence of Pindar into Latin, and wrote tragedies and lyrics, of little value: Porphyrion adds that he was very learned. All this may well be derived from the text. The Comm. Cruq. says that his name was Titius Septimius, and that there was a remarkable monument to him below Aricia: the first part of this statement cannot be right, for we have no instance as early as this of the combination of two gentile names, like Titius and Septimius. Cp. note on Ep. I. 9, 1. Horace does not appear to be 'deriding' him, but combines with the expression of his belief that Rome 'would hear of him before long', a gentle warning against too high-flown a style.

venturus in ora: cp. Prop. IV. 9, 32 *venies tu quoque in ora virum;* Verg. G. III. 9 *victorque virum volitare per ora*, borrowed doubtless from the phrase in the epitaph written by Ennius for himself *volito vivus per ora virum* (Cic. Tusc. I. 15, 34). It is quite perverse to assume that the phrase has a bad meaning here, as in Catull. XL. 5.

10. expalluit haustus, Roby § 1123, S. G. § 469. Cp. Carm. III. 27, 28; I. 37, 23; II. 10, 3 &c.

11. apertos, accessible to all, a metaphorical expression for the easier styles of poetry. The contrast is between the fresh natural springs of Pindar's poetry, and the artificial tanks (*lacus*, Sat. I. 4, 37) and streamlets (*rivos*, cp. Munro in Journ. Phil. IX. 213) from which all could without trouble draw. For *fons* opposed to *rivus* cp. Cic. de Orat. II. 39, 162; Acad. I. 2, 8, *ut ea a fontibus potius hauriant quam rivulos consectentur.*

12. ut: Sat. II. 8, 1.

13. Thebanos, i.e. of Pindar 'the Theban eagle'. **auspice**: Carm. I. 7, 27. The *auspex* is primarily the official who declares

the will of heaven with regard to a contemplated act, i.e. the *augur*: unless the passage from the Odes is an exception, it is never used of the man under whose auspices anything is done (cp. Bentley *ad loc.*), but of the deity who sends favourable signs: Verg. Aen. III. 20, VI. 45, Ov. Fast. I. 615. In the case of the *nuptiarum auspices* (Cic. de Div. I. 16, 28, cp. Marquardt Röm. Alt. V. 45—6, Mayor on Juv. X. 336) we have the meaning of 'director,' 'superintendent', derived from the primary sense.

14. **desaevit** 'does he work his rage out' Roby § 1919, S. G. § 813 (*d*).

ampullatur, 'dash on his colours,' a metaphor derived not, I think, from the shape of the *ampulla*, but from its use to hold pigments: cp. Cic. ad Att. I. 14, 3 *nosti illas* ληκύθους 'you know how I put the paint on there'; cp. Plin. Ep. I. 2, 4: so ληκυθίζειν in later Greek. Callimachus called tragedy ληκύθειος Μοῦσα (Frag. 319). There is no connexion whatever (as Orelli supposes) with the gibe in Arist. Ran. 1208 sq. on ληκύθιον ἀπώλεσεν, which turns solely on the rhythm. The more usual interpretation, however, of *ampullari* is 'to swell', assuming that the reference is to the round belly of the *ampulla*: cp. A. P. 97.

15. **mihi**, Roby § 1150, S. G. § 473. Cp. Abbott's Grammar of Shakspere § 220. Morris's Historical Outlines § 147.

Celsus, probably the same as Celsus Albinovanus, to whom Ep. VIII. of this book is addressed.

16. **privatas opes** 'stores of his own', avoiding too close an imitation of the classic writers who had already found their place in the public library. Here too Horace is only giving a kindly warning, and is not, as some have supposed, gravely censuring Celsus for plagiarism.

17. **Palatinus Apollo.** In B.C. 28 Augustus had built a temple on the Palatine to Apollo in commemoration of his victory at Actium (Dio Cass. LIII. 1): and *addidit porticus cum bibliotheca Latina Graecaque* (Suet. Aug. 29.) This building was close behind the palace of Augustus, so that when the emperor was in ill-health, the senate was summoned to assemble there (Suet. l. c. Cp. Boissier *Promenades Archéologiques* p. 70). Mr Burn (Rome, p. 175) says 'the cloisters which surrounded the temple united it with the famous Greek and Latin library': but it seems rather that the *porticus* contained the libraries, and not a distinct building, of which there is no trace. It is plain, too, from inscriptions in which they are mentioned separately, that the Greek and the Latin Libraries were quite distinct, e.g. in the famous *columbarium* discovered in 1852

(Wilmanns Ex. Inscr. Lat. pp. 125 ff.) we find two sons described as both *a bybliothece Latina Apollinis* (Wilmanns No. 389), another as *ab bybliothece Graeca templi Apollinis* (ib. 401); and we find mention also of a *Ti. Claudius Alcibiades mag. a bybliotheca Latina Apollinis item scriba ab epistulis Lat.* in No. 2646. The splendid columns, doors and statues of the 'aurea porticus' are described by Propert. III. 29. For the busts of authors which adorned it cp. Tac. Ann. II. 83.

recepit 'has taken under his charge', so that they may not be touched with impunity.

19. cornicula. Horace departs from the familiar Aesopian fable (Babr. 72, Phaedr. I. 3) in two ways, by substituting a crow for a *graculus* 'jackdaw', or possibly 'jay', and by representing the feathers as dropped by various birds, each one of whom comes to reclaim his own. Strictly speaking, *corvus* is the generic name, including all the various species from the raven (*corvus corax*) and the carrion crow (*corvus corone*) down to the jackdaw (*corvus monedula*), while *cornix* is the rook, or (in modern zoology) the hooded crow (*corvus cornix*). But the words are often used loosely (cp. Keightley *Notes on Vergil*, Exc. VI.), and perhaps Horace means by *cornicula* (which is only used here) the jackdaw. *Graculus Aesopi* was proverbial (Tert. adv. Val. 12); and Lucian Apol. 4 says *εἰ λέγοιέν σε τὸν κολοιὸν ἀλλοτρίοις πτέροις ἀγάλλεσθαι.* The comparison and the main thought are blended into one, as in Ep. I. 1, 2; 2, 42: we may translate literally, or 'lest he be like a jackdaw, raising a laugh', &c.

20. coloribus 'plumis variorum colorum' Schol.

20—29. *What are you attempting yourself? You have ability enough to win distinction in either oratory, law or poetry, if you would put aside lower aims, and remember your duty to your country.*

21. agilis to Orelli appears to convey the notion of versatility: I think it is simply *studio indefesso*, as Ritter says. **thyma**: as Horace compares himself to a bee, gathering honey from the blossoms of the thyme (Carm. IV. 2, 27), for *saporis praecipui mella reddit thymus* (Colum. IX. 4, 6). So Sophocles was called Ἀτθὶς μέλισσα: cp. too Plato Ion 534 A λέγουσι...γὰρ πρὸς ἡμᾶς οἱ ποιηταί, ὅτι ἀπὸ κρηνῶν μελιρρύτων, ἐκ Μουσῶν κήπων τινῶν καὶ ναπῶν δρεπόμενοι τὰ μέλη ἡμῖν φέρουσιν ὥσπερ αἱ μέλιτται καὶ αὐτοὶ οὕτω πετόμενοι.

22. hirtum 'rough' as the result of neglect, the metaphor being derived from land overgrown with weeds: we should say rather 'unpolished'. The epithet *hirtus* applied by Velleius (II.

11) to C. Marius is the equivalent of *incultis moribus* in Sall. Jug. 85, 39: hence as Bentley saw, **et**, not *nec*, is the right reading. It has also far better authority. In good prose an adverb of quality, as distinguished from one of degree, is not used with an adjective, as here, and in A. P. 3 *turpiter atrum*, Carm. III. 11, 35 *splendide mendax*. Cp. Kühner II. p. 597. Nägelsbach Stil. p. 239.

23. acuis, a metaphor derived from sharpening a weapon, Cic. Brut. 97, 331 *tu illuc* (in forum) *veneras unus, qui non linguam modo acuisses exercitatione dicendi* &c.; de Orat. III. 30, 121 *non enim solum acuenda nobis neque procudenda lingua est.* So *θήγειν γλῶσσαν*. The reference is to the practice of declamation Ep. I. 2, 2.

civica iura respondere: the phrase in prose is *ius civile respondere* (Plin. Ep. VI. 15), cp. de Orat. I. 45, 198. For *respondere* with an acc. 'to put forward in a reply,' *disputare* 'to put forward in discussion,' cp. Reid on Cic. Acad. II. 29, 93. *civicus* is a poetical form for *civilis* (cp. Carm. II. 1, 1, III. 24, 26), like *hosticus* (Carm. III. 2, 6) for *hostilis*; it is not used by Cicero, except in the technical phrase *civica corona* (pro Planc. 30, 72: in Pis. 3, 6).

24. amabile 'charming', with no direct reference to amatory poetry, though doubtless including this.

25. hederae, the victor's wreath is made of ivy, because that plant is sacred to Bacchus, by whom poets are inspired. Cp. Carm. I. 1, 29 *doctarum hederae praemia frontium.* Verg. Ecl. VII. 25. Prop. V. 1, 61 *Ennius hirsuta cingat sua dicta corona: mi folia ex hedera porrige, Bacche, tua.* Pindar calls Bacchus *κισσοδέταν θεὸν* (Frag. 45, 9), and *κισσοφόρον* Ol. II. 50.

26. frigida curarum fomenta. There are two chief difficulties here, the force of *frigida*, and the case of *curarum*. *Fomenta* being medical applications, are they intended to relieve the *curae*, or do they consist in the *curae*? Is the genitive one of the object (Roby § 1312, S. G. § 525), or of material (Roby § 1304, S. G. § 523)? It seems to me that the *curae*, the pursuit of petty ambition and the love of money, are what Horace wishes Celsus to abandon, as hindering him in attaining the blessings which philosophy (*sapientia*) alone can give. In that case, the *fomenta* must consist in the *curae*. *Frigida* will then have its full natural meaning as 'chilling', the cares are represented as chilling appliances which kill all generous warmth of spirit. No difficulty arises from the fact that *fomenta* primarily meant *warm* applications, for the word had acquired a more general meaning, so that the medical writer Cornelius Celsus can speak of both warm and cold, both dry and wet *fomenta*.

Suetonius (Aug. 81) says that Augustus *quia calida fomenta non proderant, frigidis curari coactus auctore Antonio Musa*. The same cold-water bandages which would reduce inflammation might naturally be regarded as chilling a healthy glow. If *curarum* is the objective genitive, we must give to *fomenta* the meaning of 'remedies', (as in Cic. Tusc. II. 24, 59 *haec sunt solacia, haec fomenta summorum dolorum:* cp. Epod. XI. 17 *ingrata fomenta vulnus nil malum levantia*), and translate *frigida* 'feeble', 'powerless', as in Ov. Pont. IV. 2, 45 *quid nisi Pierides, solacia frigida, restat?* But this leaves it too obscure what is meant by 'the unavailing remedies against cares' which Florus is to abandon. Orelli's way of taking *curarum* as a genitive of origin, *fomenta* arising from cares, leaves the origin and application of the term *fomenta* quite unexplained. The dictionaries based on Freund translate 'nourishment', i.e. all that feeds your cares, an unexampled meaning, though supported slightly by the use of the word for 'fuel' according to Serv. on Verg. Aen. I. 176. Macleane says *fomenta* are here glory and such like rewards, which I do not understand.

27. **caelestis**, which elevates one above such low earthly cares. **ires.** Roby § 1530 (*c*), S. G. § 638.

28. **opus**, the task assigned (ἔργον), **studium** the chosen pursuit (προαίρεσις). So Ritter: Orelli's practical and theoretical pursuit of wisdom is less probable. **parvi et ampli**, small and great alike can devote themselves to wisdom. **properemus**, Ep. I. 2, 61.

29. **nobis cari**, cp. Ep. I. 18, 101. *carus* is not so much 'beloved', as 'highly esteemed'.

30—36. *Let me know if you are on good terms now with Munatius. You ought to be friends, and I shall be glad to see you both safe back again.*

30. **sit** has much more authority than *si:* Bentley has shewn that either would stand by itself (cp. Ep. I. 7, 39; Roby § 1755, S. G. § 747); but *sit* requires a full stop after *Munatius*, and a note of interrogation at the end of the sentence beginning *an male*, so that this may be a direct question. With Bentley's *est*, which has no authority, I do not see how to account for *conveniat*. Macleane's full-stop at *rescinditur* is positively bad grammar; if *si* can be used where we might have expected *an* with the subjunctive, yet there is no instance in which this is followed by *an*.

31. **male sarta gratia**, a metaphor from the sewing up of a wound, which, if it does not heal, will break open again: *sarcire* is the technical term for surgical sewing, as in Cels. VII. 8: *coire* for joining so as to heal up, Cels. VIII. 10; *potest ea ratione et*

os coire et volnus sanescere: cp. Ov. Trist. IV. 4, 41 *Neve retractando nondum coeuntia rumpam vulnera.*

32. **rescinditur**, Petron. 113 *credo veritus, ne inter initia coeuntis gratiae cicatricem rescinderet.* Cic. Lael. 21, 76 *amicitiae sunt dissuendae magis quam discindendae.* **ac**, much better than *at*, which Orelli reads, putting ? at *rescinditur.* The translation is 'You must write me word of this too, whether you make as much of Munatius as you should. Or does your mutual regard, like an ill-sewn wound, join to no purpose, and break open again, and does some cause—be it your hot blood, or your ignorance of the world—chafe you, wild as you are with your untamed necks?' This, one would think, is sufficiently 'regular and natural'.

33. **rerum inscitia** is 'ignorance of the world' in general, rather than 'misunderstanding of the facts' in any particular instance, as Orelli takes it. Cp. de Orat. I. 22, 99 (note); Caes. B. G. I. 44 *non se tam imperitum esse rerum ut non sciret.* Nägelsbach Stil. p. 59.

35. **indigni—rumpere.** Cp. A. P. 231, Roby § 1361, S. G. 540 (2) ''twere shame to break the ties, which made you once sworn brethren and allies' Conington.

36. **in vestrum reditum**, evidently, from your Eastern campaign, cp. Carm. I. 36. Some absurdly take it of their reconciliation 'reditum in gratiam'.

EPISTLE IV.

Albius Tibullus the poet was ten or twelve years younger than Horace; he died shortly after Vergil (B.C. 19) when still *iuvenis* (Epigr. Dom. Mars. in Baehrens' Tibullus p. 88), a term which is just, but only just, reconcileable with the supposition (Cruttwell Rom. Lit. p. 299) that he was born about the same time as Horace (B.C. 65), but which points more naturally to a later date, indicated still more plainly by the *obiit adolescens* of the life in Baehrens, l.c. Ovid (Trist. II. 463) tells us that he was known as a poet only after Augustus became *princeps*, i.e. after B.C. 28. His ancestral estate at Pedum (between Tibur and Praeneste in Latium) had been reduced from what it once had been (cp. El. I. 1, 19—20), perhaps in consequence of the confiscations of B.C. 42, though of this there is no positive evidence. He speaks of himself as poor, an expression which, in view of line 7 of this epistle, may be explained either by poetic modesty, or by the hypothesis of a subsequent addition to his property by the favour of Messala, his patron. The tone of the two (genuine) extant books of his

elegies confirms the impression of his character which we derive from the language of Horace. He appears as a gentle, tender, somewhat melancholy soul, marked more by genuineness of natural feeling than by learning or force of expression. Carm. I. 33 is also addressed to him. The date of the Epistle cannot be precisely determined: there is no reason to suppose that it immediately followed the publication of the Satires, none of which are probably later than B.C. 30, and the tone is not that which would be adopted in addressing a very young man. It may therefore be safely placed within the limits assigned to the Epistles generally, B.C. 24—20. At the same time the absence of all reference to the odes points to a date not long, if at all, after their publication. Ritter ingeniously endeavours to fix the date to the beginning of B.C. 20; he argues that Augustus read the Satires of Horace for the first time after his return from Asia in September B.C. 19, when he made his well-known complaint that the poet had made no mention of his intercourse with the emperor, that Ep. XIII. was a reply to this complaint, and that it was written in B.C. 18. But Tibullus could not have been a critic of his satires before they were published. There are too many weak links in this chain for us to trust to it. Another independent argument, that in the winter of B.C. 21—20 he went down to Velia or Salernum to get fat (Ep. I. 15, 24), and that here he is represented as having achieved his purpose (l. 15) does not carry complete conviction.

1—16. *Are you writing anything, Tibullus, or quietly living a wise man's life? You have all the blessings that heart could wish. Live as if each day were to be your last; and come and see me, when you want amusement.*

1. sermonum: 'Satires': there is no reason to include any epistles here, although they seem to be included in Ep. II. 1, 250. **candide**: 'fair', not necessarily favourable, but unprejudiced; opposed to *niger*, as we find the word used in Sat. I. 4, 85.

2. Pedana: the town of Pedum seems to have disappeared even in the time of Horace; it is not mentioned by Strabo and Pliny (III. 69, 30) ranks the Pedani among the Latin peoples who *interiere sine vestigiis*.

3. Cassi...opuscula: 'Hic aliquot generibus stilum exercuit, inter quae opera elegiaca et epigrammata eius laudantur. Hic est qui in partibus Cassi et Bruti tribunus militum cum Horatio militavit, quibus victis Athenis se contulit. Q. Varus ab Augusto missus, ut eum interficeret, studentem repperit, et perempto eo scrinium cum libris tulit' Acron. Cp. Velleius II. 87 *ultimus autem ex interfectoribus Caesaris Parmensis Cassius morte poenas dedit, ut dederat primus Trebonius.* This was after the battle of

Actium, although from Acron's note it would appear that he did not understand it so, for Cassius served both with Sex. Pompeius and with Antonius against Augustus. The letter in Cic. Ep. Fam. XII. 13 is perhaps from this Cassius (Drumann II. 161—163), but cp. Ramsay in Dict. Biog. I. 627 *b*. He is to be carefully distinguished from the Cassius Etruscus of Sat. I. 10, 61, although the Scholiasts all confuse them.

For **opuscula** of literary works cp. Ep. I. 19, 35. It is used in the same way by Cic. Parad. 5.

4. inter reptare: many MSS. write these as one word. But MS. evidence on such a point is worth little, and the word is quite unknown elsewhere. Cp. Carm. III. 15, 5; III. 27, 51; Sat. I. 6, 58—59; Epist. II. 2, 93—94; A. P. 425 *inter noscere*.

reptare 'stroll': the frequently asserted identity of *repo* and *serpo* is more than doubtful: the meaning differs, *serpo* never being used of men, except metaphorically (A. P. 28), and *repo* often, and the phonetic process assumed is supported only by the doubtful parallel of *rēte* (Curt. I. 330, 441).

salubris Ep. II. 2, 77. Tibullus says of himself (IV. 13, 9 Epigr. i. Baehrens, p. 84) *sic ego secretis possum bene vivere silvis, qua nulla humano sit via trita pede*.

6. eras: Many commentators take as = ἔφυς: 'nascenti tibi non solum corpus sed etiam pectus eximium datum est.' Ritter, which is hardly a possible force for the tense. Others explain 'semper quamdiu te cognovi'. It is simplest to say 'you used not to be', when we were together, which certainly does not imply (as Macleane says) a doubt whether he is so still. Prof. Palmer adds "Prop. I. 13. 34: *Non alio limine dignus eras*: *eras* = *es* but stronger, 'you are not and never were'. I think the idiom is the same as in *quanta laborabas Charybdi*."

pectore, not, as Macleane says, for the 'intellect', but the 'soul', including of course the mental faculties, but denoting especially the emotional side. In his own quotation from Quintilian (X. 7, 15) *pectus est quod disertos facit, et vis mentis*, the context makes this quite clear: *habenda in oculis*, in adfectus *recipienda*; *pectus est enim etc....ideoque imperitis quoque, si modo sunt aliquo* adfectu *concitati, verba non desunt*. Cp. the famous saying of Augustine '*pectus facit theologum*'. So in Ov. Met. XIII. 290 *rudis et sine pectore miles* 'a rough and soulless soldier': Her. XVI. 201—2 *huncine tu speres hominem sine pectore dotes posse satis formae, Tyndari, nosse tuae?* where it is a man without a soul for beauty. Often we may best translate 'heart', e.g. de Orat. III. 30, 121. There are however instances where the intellectual part seems the more prominent: e.g. Sat. II. 4,

90; Ov. Met. XIII. 326, 369; Prop. III. (IV) 5, 8 *ille parum cauti pectoris egit opus.*

7. **dedĕrunt**: Sat. I. 10, 45; Corssen I^2. 612; Neue *Formenlehre*, II^2. 392. Roby § 577, S. G. § 274. Here, as usually with this quantity (cp. Wagner on Verg. Georg. IV. 393), some MSS. have the pluperfect.

8. **quid voveat**, &c. 'what greater boon could a nurse implore for her dear foster-child, if he could', &c. The earlier editors made a muddle of this passage, by reading (with very slight authority) *quam* for *qui*, supposing the expression of a comparison to be needed after *maius:* this involved the further change of *et cui* into *utque*, and the insertion of *ut* after *pari*, all quite gratuitous changes. The suppressed comparison is 'than he already enjoys, supposing that he', &c.

9. **sapere et fari** 'to think aright and to utter his thoughts'; cp. Pericles in Thuc. II. 60 *οὐδενὸς ἥσσων οἴομαι εἶναι γνῶναί τε τὰ δέοντα καὶ ἑρμηνεῦσαι ταῦτα.* The affection of a foster-mother is proverbial: the wisdom of her prayers is doubted by Persius II. 39, and Seneca Ep. 60 (quoted there by Casaubon). **possit** Roby § 1680, S. G. § 704.

10. **contingat** Ep. I. 2, 46.

11. **mundus** 'decent': Sat. II. 2, 65 *mundus erit qui* [*qua?*] *non offendat sordibus:* **victus** may be *tenuis*, yet not *sordidus* (ib. v. 53); cp. Ep. II. 2, 199. Carm. II. 10, 5 ff. Corn. Nep. Att. 13, 5 *omni diligentia munditiam non affluentiam affectabat.* Some MSS. have *et modus et* which is only a corruption of *mūdus:* but on the strength of this Bentley prints *et domus et.* **crumena**: Juv. XI. 38 *quis enim te deficiente crumena et crescente gula manet exitus.*

12. **inter...iras** 'in the midst of', not felt by Tibullus himself especially, as some have supposed, but marking human life generally. Cp. note on Ep. I. 6, 12.

13. **diluxisse**, etc. 'that every day which breaks is your last': *dilucesco* is less common than *illucesco*, but cp. Cic. Cat. III. 3, 6: the former describes the light as breaking *through* the clouds, the latter as shining *upon* the earth.

14. **grata.** Ter. Phorm. 251 *quidquid praeter spem eveniet, omne id deputabo esse in lucro.* Plut. de Tranq. An. 16 *ὁ τῆς αὔριον ἥκιστα δεόμενος, ὥς φησιν Ἐπίκουρος, ἥδιστα πρόσεισι πρὸς τὴν αὔριον.*

15. **me**, sc. I have observed the Epicurean rule, which I give you, as you will find, when you come and see me. **pinguem**: Suet. Vit. Hor. *habitu corporis brevis fuit atque obesus*, even

before his winter at Velia or Salernum. **nitidum** 'sleek' Sat. II. 2, 128. **bene curata cute** 'in fine condition', Ep. I. 2, 29. **vises** Roby § 1466; S. G. § 602 'you must come and see'.

16. voles: it is better to place a comma after this, so that *porcum* is in apposition to *me*, not the object of *ridere*. **grege**, the usual term for a philosophic school: cp. de Orat. I. 10, 42; Sat. II. 3, 44; but here used to lighten the metaphor in *porcum*. Cicero (in Pis. 16, 37) addresses Piso as *Epicure noster*, *ex hara producte*, *non ex schola*. The character of Epicurus himself was not open to the charge of undue indulgence in sensual pleasures. Cp. Aelian Var. Hist. IV. 13, 'Epicurus the Gargettian cried aloud and said "To whom a little is not enough, nothing is enough. Give me a barley-cake and water, and I am ready to vie even with Zeus in happiness."'

EPISTLE V.

The Torquatus who is here addressed is doubtless the one addressed in Carm. IV. 7, 23, where Horace mentions his eloquence, a suitable compliment for an advocate (l. 31). But it is difficult to identify him with any one of the names known to history. There was a L. Manlius Torquatus, consul in the year of Horace's birth: his son was killed in Africa in B.C. 48 (Cic. Brut. 76, 265; Bell. Afric. 96), but he may have left a son of about the same age as Horace: this however is pure conjecture. The A. Torquatus, whom Atticus aided after the battle of Philippi (Corn. Nep. Att. c. XI., cp. c. XV) is mentioned in the latter place so as to suggest that he was considerably older than Horace. Some have suggested C. Nonius Asprenas, on whom Augustus conferred the surname Torquatus with the right to wear a gold chain, out of sympathy for an accident which he had met with in the 'Trojan game', (so Dict. Biog.); but if young enough to have taken part in the Trojan game when revived by Augustus (not apparently before B.C. 28), he is not likely to have been so intimate with Horace. It is best to assume that he was some Manlius Torquatus, not otherwise known. There is nothing to determine the date of the Epistle, unless we accept Ritter's interpretation of l. 9, which would place it definitely in the summer of B.C. 20: but it must have been written at least a year or two, probably somewhat more, after the second consulship of Statilius Taurus in B.C. 26. Horace invites the busy and wealthy advocate to a simple dinner with him, if he can put up with the plain fare, which he will furnish.

1—6. *If you can put up with my humble home and fare, I*

shall expect you to dinner this evening. I will give you the best wine I have, and all shall be ready.

1. **Archiacis**, so called from the maker Archias (cp. *Phidiacus* from *Phidias*, *Pausiacus* from *Pausias*), a 'faber lectorius' at Rome. His couches were evidently not luxurious; Porphyrion says they were short; to which Acron adds that the maker was short too, on the principle, I suppose, of Dr Johnson's parody, 'Who drives fat oxen, should himself be fat'.—The old reading *archāicis* involves a false quantity, and rests upon no authority worth considering.—**recumbere**, as in Carm. III. 3, 11 and elsewhere, for the more usual *accumbere*.

2. **cenare**: *coenare* is a barbarism: the archetype certainly read **holus**, not *olus*. **omne** generally explained as 'all sorts of', not, of course, mixed in a salad, as Macleane supposes; but equivalent to 'any kind that may be served up'. Cp. Fabri on Liv. XXII. 41, 6 *castra plena omnis fortunae publicae privataeque relinquit*. But it is better to take it as 'nothing but': as in Cic. de Nat. D. II. 21, 56 *omnis ordo* 'nothing but order': cp. Halm on Cic. Cat. III. 2, 5. So πᾶς is sometimes used in Greek: cp. Dobree's note on Dem. F. L. § 83 in Shilleto's edition (not. crit.). For *holus* as Horace's fare, cp. Sat. II. 1, 74; 2, 117; 6, 64; 7, 30; Ep. I. 17, 15. **patella** dim. from *patina*, as *femella* from *femina*, *lamella* from *lamina*; Roby § 869.

3. **supremo sole** 'at sunset' (cp. *primo sole* Ov. Met. IX. 93; *medio sole* Phaedr. III. 19, 8), later than was usual, the ninth hour being that generally chosen for dinner (Ep. I. 7, 70—71; Mart. IV. 8, 6). A late dinner would be, according to the Roman notions, a modest one; just as a banquet which began early was supposed to be a luxurious one (cp. Sat. II. 8, 3). Torquatus would also have time to finish his business, as in Sat. II. 7, 33 Maecenas is too busy to dine before the lamps are lit. Cp. Juv. I. 49 *exul ab octava Marius bibit* (with Mayor's note).

4. **iterum** sc. consule. T. Statilius Taurus was consul (along with Augustus) for a second time in B.C. 26; he was one of the most eminent men of his time at Rome, and had been consul (suffectus) for the first time in B.C. 37. In B.C. 36 he commanded a fleet agäinst Sex. Pompeius in Sicily; in B.C. 34 he received a triumph for successes in Africa; at Actium in B.C. 31 he commanded the land forces of Augustus; and in B.C. 29 he defeated the Cantabri and other Spanish tribes. In B.C. 16 he was left in charge of Rome and Italy during the absence of the Emperor, with the title of *praefectus urbi*.—*iterum* is the word always used of a second consulship: Gellius (X. 1) reports an amusing perplexity on the part of Pompeius, as to whether he should

use in an inscription *tertio* or *tertium;* the opinions of his friends being divided, on the advice of Cicero he wrote *tert.* as found in Corp. I. L. I. 615. *Tertium*, etc. are always written by Livy.

diffusa 'racked off' from the *dolium* or cask into the *amphora* or jar, which was then sealed up and labelled with the date of the year. Some MSS. have *defusa*, which means 'poured out', from the *crater* or mixing bowl into the cups. (Sat. II. 2, 58.) Cp. Cic. de Fin. II. 8. 23.

palustris: the ground round Minturnae on the Appian way, near the mouth of the Liris in Latium was very marshy. It was in these marshes that Marius attempted to conceal himself in B.C. 88.

5. **Minturnas.** The Roman colonies at Minturnae and at Sinuessa (more than nine miles to the south) were founded at the same time in B. C. 296 (Liv. X. 21) and were 'coloniae maritimae', with the right of Roman citizens: the two are often mentioned together. The famous *Mons Massicus* overlooked Sinuessa, but the wine grown in the plain was not of a first-rate quality: cp. Mart. XIII. 111 *de Sinuessanis venerunt Massica prelis: condita quo quaeris consule? nullus erat.* The Comm. Cruq. says '*Petrinus* mons est Sinuessanae civitati imminens, vel ager Sinuessae vicinus': if the former, the wine may have been, as Ritter suggests, a superior kind of Sinuessan, a *Bergwein*, which view however is hardly consistent with the *inter.* The *Falernus ager* was close to Sinuessa, but rather to the east than to the north.

6. **arcesse**: cp. Roby I. p. 240. Journal of Philology VI. 278 ff. The form *accerse*, whether of different origin or not, was undoubtedly in frequent use, especially in later times: it is quite absurd for Macleane to speak of it as a 'corruption of the MSS.' Here the word has its less common meaning 'send', one as legitimately derived from the primary force 'make to approach', as the more usual 'fetch', which is here quite out of place.

imperium fer 'put up with my directions'. Horace represents himself as the *dominus convivii* (Gell. XIII. 11), for whom, according to Acron, the term *rex* was sometimes used. This is a usage to be distinguished from that in Carm. I. 4, 18 *nec regna vini sortiere talis.*

7—15. *Lay aside all your cares. To-morrow is a holiday, and so we will be merry to-night.*

7. **splendet**, Roby § 1460, S. G. § 596: not of the brightness of the fire, which would not be lit in summer, but of the cleansing of the hearth or rather brazier, and the images of the Lares.

8. **levis**: if MS. authority is to weigh with us at all, we must adopt this form here, not *leves.*

certamina divitiarum 'the struggle for wealth' (for the gen. obj. cp. Livy I. 17 *certamen regni et cupido*, Roby § 1318, S.G. § 525 (*b*)), possibly of the clients of Torquatus, for the *lex Cincia* as confirmed by a senatusconsultum of the time of Augustus (Dio Cass. LIV. 18) forbade an advocate to receive any fee under pain of refunding four times the amount: and in any case no reproach to the invited guest, as some have strangely supposed.

9. Moschi, according to Porphyrion a famous rhetorician of Pergamum, who was accused of poisoning, and in whose trial the most eminent orators of the day were engaged.

nato Caesare: Ritter takes this to be the birth of *a* Caesar, i.e. of Gaius, the eldest son of Julia and M. Agrippa, the first grandchild of Augustus, who was born about midsummer B.C. 20; cp. Dio LIV. 8 καὶ ἡ Ἰουλία τὸν Γάϊον ὀνομασθέντα ἔτεκε, βουθυσία τέ τις τοῖς γενεθλίοις αὐτοῦ ἀΐδιος ἐδόθη. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐκ ψηφίσματος ἐγένετο. This removes all difficulty as to *aestivam*. But was it possible for a Roman under Augustus to understand any one but the Emperor himself, when the name Caesar was used without qualification? It is used in 32 other passages by Horace, and in only two, Sat. I. 9, 18, Carm. I. 2, 44, where the context removes all possibility of doubt, it refers to Julius Caesar. Hence it is hardly possible for us to understand the word here, as some have done, with that reference, although this assumption would equally remove the difficulty, Julius having been born on July 12th (Kal. Amit. in C. I. L. Vol. I. 396). The birthday of Augustus fell on Sept. 23 (a. d. ix. Kal. Oct.), and was observed as a holiday: cp. Suet. Oct. LVII *equites Romani natalem eius sponte atque consensu biduo semper celebrarunt*. No doubt the term *aestivam* could be applied with strict accuracy to any night before the autumnal equinox, though it might not seem the most natural epithet; but a difficulty is presented from the fact that Horace (cp. Ep. I. 7, 5; 16, 16) and most of his friends would not be likely to be in Rome at all during the unhealthy month of September (cp. Juv. VI. 517 *metuique iubet Septembris et Austri adventum*, and Mayor on Juv. IV. 56). Meineke (followed by Haupt and Munro) attempted to remove the difficulty by reading *festivam*: but (1) if this is the genuine reading, it is impossible to understand how it should have been retained only in one or two quite worthless MSS.: (2) it is very clumsy, so soon after *festus* in l. 9; and (3) the word *festivus* does not occur in any classic poet, but is especially suited to comedy. Hence L. Müller simply marks the word as corrupt. No really satisfactory solution of the difficulty seems to have been discovered. It is possible, as Mr Reid suggests, that the poem is a mere fancy piece, not necessarily in close relation to actual facts.

10. somnumque, i. e. to sleep late into the day, not of the

noon-day siesta. **dies**: if the birthday of Augustus is meant, this is marked in the Calendars as NP, a sign which, as Mommsen (C. I. Lat. I. 367) has shown, denotes the day as a *dies feriatus*, on which no business was to be done. Hence Torquatus would not have to appear in the law-courts.

12. **quo mihi fortunam**: the MSS. are pretty equally divided between this reading and *fortuna*: Munro says (Introd. p. 32) that 'all the best MSS.' have the latter, and Ritter seems to agree: but Keller stoutly denies this, and thinks that the balance turns the other way. Unfortunately the usage of the language does not give us much help in deciding between the two. The accusative occurs in Ovid Am. III. 4, 41 *quo tibi formosam, si non nisi casta placebat?* and in II. 19, 7 *quo mihi fortunam, quae nunquam fallere curet?* Phaedr. III. 18, 9 *quo mi, inquit, mutam speciem, si vincor sono.* In these cases it might be argued, as here, that the difference between *fortuna* and *fortunā* (the way of writing the accusative in many MSS.) is so slight that MS. evidence is of little value. But that the accusative is legitimate is put beyond a doubt by Ov. Amor. III. 7, 49 *quo mihi fortunae tantum?* Met. XIII. 103 *quo tamen haec Ithaco?* and by Cato Distich. 4, 16 *quo tibi divitias, si semper pauper abundas?* Cp. Ar. Lysistr. 193 ποῖ λευκὸν ἵππον; and Markland's note on Stat. Silv. I. 2, 188. On the other hand, that the ablative is also legitimate has been made very probable by Conington in his defence of the MS. reading *quo nunc certamine tanto?* in Aen. IV. 98, although there even Kennedy accepts the conjecture *certamina tanta*. On the whole, as the accusative is the more certainly established construction, and has plenty of authority here, it is safer to read *fortunam*. The accusative is governed by some verb understood, though what particular verb is to be supplied was probably not distinctly conceived (cp. Roby §§ 1128, 1441: S. G. § 472, 583). For *quo*, which is certainly not to be regarded with Orelli as a form of the old dative *quoi*, cp. Sat. I. 6, 24 and Roby II. p. xxx note. **fortunam** = 'wealth', a meaning in which the plural is much more common in classical Latin.

13. **ob heredis curam**: cp. Carm. IV. 7, 19. The bitterness with which the prospect of wealth passing to an heir was viewed, was naturally increased by the childlessness so common at this time at Rome. Augustus, Maecenas, Horace and Vergil all left no son. Cp. Pind. Ol. XI. 88 ἐπεὶ πλοῦτος ὁ λαχὼν ποιμένα ἐπακτὸν ἀλλότριον θνάσκοντι στυγερώτατος.

14. **adsidet** = 'is next door to', the metaphor being probably derived from the seats in the theatre, where those of the same social position were ranged together. The word seems to be used nowhere else in this sense.

15. vel inconsultus 'a madman, if you will': cp. Carm. II. 7, 28; III. 19, 18; IV. 12, 28.

16—20. *Wine has wonderful power to open the heart, to raise the spirits and to quicken the wits.*

16. dissignat, unquestionably the right reading, though Macleane does not even notice it, both as being better supported, and as the rarer word, and so more likely to be corrupted. *Dissignare* is properly 'to break the seal', hence 'to open': it is rightly explained by 'aperit', in Porphyrion's note. Prof. Nettleship (*Journal of Philology*, X. 206-8) is of opinion that the word had acquired the further meaning of 'cum nota et ignominia aliquid facere', to perform any startling or violent act, any act which upsets the existing order of things: 'and this', he adds, 'is exactly the sense required in the line of Horace, *Of what miracle is not intoxication capable?*' Cp. Plaut. Most. 413, Ter. Adelph. 87, in both of which places *dissign.* should probably be read. **operta** 'the secrets of the heart'. Sat. I. 4, 89 *verax aperit praecordia Liber:* cp. Ep. I. 18, 38; A. P. 434: Plat. Symp. 217 E *εἰ μὴ πρῶτον μὲν τὸ λεγόμενον οἶνος ἄνευ τε παίδων καὶ μετὰ παίδων ἦν ἀληθής.* Compare the proverbs *in vino veritas* and *οἶνος καὶ παῖδες ἀληθεῖς.*

inertem, 'coward' (Cic. Cat. II. 5, 10) common in the language of the camp as contrasted with *strenuus miles:* cp. Ep. I. 11, 28, and Tac. Hist. I. 46, *iners pro strenuo:* hence much better than *inermem*, the point being the inspiriting power of wine, not the follies which it can cause. Our 'Dutch courage'.

17. spes: cp. Ar. Eth. Nic. III. 8, 13 ἀλλ' *οἱ μὲν ἀνδρεῖοι διὰ τὰ προειρημένα θαρραλέοι, οἱ δὲ διὰ τὸ οἴεσθαι κρείττους εἶναι καὶ μηθὲν ἀντιπαθεῖν. τοιοῦτον δὲ ποιοῦσι καὶ οἱ μεθυσκόμενοι· εὐέλπιδες γὰρ γίγνονται.*

18. addocet, only here and in Cic. Cluent. 37, 104 *addocti iudices*, the *ad* being intensive, or denoting increase and progress. Roby §§ 1833—4.

19. fecundi, 'teeming' like our own 'flowing bowl': or perhaps 'pregnant', like our 'pregnant wit': there is no need to force the meaning of 'inspiring' (but cp. Ov. Met. IV. 697): the reading *facundi*, which has a good deal of support, would lead to an intolerable tautology with *disertos.*

20. contracta 'cramped'.

21—31. *I will take care that all is in good order, and that the guests are well chosen, so let nothing keep you away.*

21. imperor 'I charge myself', apparently with the reflexive force of the passive: but cp. Munro on Lucret. II. 156. Horace

has similarly *invideor* in A. P. 56. The idiom is a colloquial one. I think Orelli is wrong in supposing *idoneus* as well as *imperor* to be connected with *procurare.*

22. **turpe** = worn and faded. **toral**, 'coverlet' placed upon the *tori*, as in Petron. 40 *advenerunt ministri ac toralia proposuerunt toris:* cp. Sat. II. 4, 84. For the form cp. *capital, cervical*, Roby § 424.

23. **corruget naris** 'make you turn up your nose' in disgust. Quint. XI. 3, 80 names this among other movements of the nose and lips which he considers indecorous.

ne non...ostendat 'that...fail not to show you'.

25. **eliminet** 'carry abroad', a word used in the early poets in a literal sense, and here in a somewhat more extended application: cp. Pomponius in Non. p. 38 *vos istic manete: eliminabo extra aedes coniugem*, and other dramatists there quoted, and Quint. VIII. 3, 31 *nam memini iuvenis admodum inter Pomponium et Senecam etiam praefationibus esse tractatum an 'gradus eliminat' in tragoedia dici oportuisset.* The force of the English derivative seems to be due to mathematicians of a later age. Cp. the quotation in Mart. I. 27, 7 (probably from some drinking song) *μισῶ μνάμονα συμπόταν.*

26. **iungaturque pari**: for as Seneca (Ep. XIX.) says, *ante conspiciendum cum quibus edas et bibas, quam quid edas et bibas.* **Butram...Septiciumque**, quite unknown persons, although the names are found elsewhere, the former in an inscription (of doubtful genuineness), the latter several times both in inscriptions and in literature. Bentley first restored the true forms for the corrupt *Brutum...Septimiumque.* Orelli is too hard upon them in comparing them with *Mulvius et scurrae* of Sat. II. 7, 36; they were plainly friends of Torquatus.

27. **cena prior**, 'an earlier engagement': **potiorque puella** 'a girl whom he prefers': *-que* appears here to have the force of coupling alternatives, which are regarded as both acting to prevent his presence, though not together: hence it is virtually disjunctive, as in Verg. Georg. II. 87, 139, 312, III. 121 (Conington), and often in Lucretius (cp. Munro's index): the engagement is not necessarily to the *puella*, though it may be. Martin rightly renders 'unless he be engaged elsewhere or flirting with some girl whom he prefers to any company'.

28. **adsumam**, 'I will have S. too': it is a striking proof of the mechanical and careless way in which our MSS. were copied, that Keller quotes only one as having this, the unquestionably correct reading: all his others have *ad summam*, or some corruption of that reading.

umbris 'guests whom you may bring': the *umbrae* were guests not invited by the host, but brought by an invited guest, as Maecenas brought Vibidius and Balatro to the dinner given by Nasidienus (Sat. II. 8, 22). Conington's rendering 'and each might bring a friend or two as well' is misleading: the number of *umbrae* could not be more than four, if the party was not to exceed the approved limit of nine, three on each couch: besides the remark was only addressed to Torquatus, not to the others.

29. premunt 'annoy'. **caprae**=*hircus: caper* is similarly used by Catull. LXIX. 5, LXXI. 1, and by Ov. A. A. III. 193: the feminine form only here, though certainly not, as Orelli supposes from any feeling of delicacy, which however desirable according to our notions, is not likely to have occurred to Horace.

30. quotus esse velis, 'how large you would like the party to be': 'name your number' (Con.): cp. Mart. XIV. 217 *dic quotus et quanti cupias cenare. Quotus* asks a question, the answer to which is to be given by an ordinal: hence we may compare the Greek phrase ᾑρέθη πρεσβεύτης δέκατος αὐτός: I have found no exact parallel in Latin, but 'how many days ago?' (*quotus iam dies*) answered by *tertius iam dies est*, is somewhat analogous. Cp. Ep. II. 1, 35.

31. postico 'the back-door' such as has been found in many Pompeian houses. Senec. de Brev. Vit. 14, 4 says *quam multi per refertum clientibus atrium prodire vitabunt et per obscuros aedium aditus profugient.*—**falle** 'give the slip to'.

EPISTLE VI.

Nothing is known of the Numicius, to whom this Epistle is addressed, and his name is only introduced to keep up the epistolary form, for nothing turns upon it. Nor is there any hint to assist us in determining the date: it may have been written at any time within the limits between which Horace seems to have practised this style of composition. The general purpose of the Epistle is to recommend a philosophic calm as the true way of regarding the various objects of human desire. But from v. 31 to the end Horace adopts a tone of strong irony, urging Numicius, if he will not accept this theory of life, to pursue with resolute energy whatever end he may choose to propose to himself.

1—8. *The happy man is he who cares for nothing over-much. Some can gaze unmoved even on the grand phenomena of the heavens. How do you think that we ought to feel with regard to wealth and honour?*

1. nil admirari corresponds to Tennyson's 'wise indifference of the wise', the ἀταραξία of the Epicureans, for *apud Epicurum duo bona sunt, ex quibus summum illud beatumque componitur, ut corpus sine dolore sit, animus sine perturbatione* (Seneca Ep. 66, 45), the ἀπάθεια of the Stoics, to whom all emotions were forbidden (Cic. Acad. II. 43, 135), except in the modified form of εὐπάθειαι (Zeller, *Stoics*, pp. 253, 291). The *admirari* would naturally bring along with it the *optare* and *expetere*, with which it is often conjoined; e.g. Cic. de Off. I. 20, 66, where one of the marks of a '*fortis animus et magnus*' is *cum persuasum est nihil hominem nisi quod honestum decorumque sit aut admirari aut optare aut expetere oportere.*

3. hunc 'yon'.

4. momentis 'courses', the τροπή of Epicurus in Diog. Laert. X. 76, not of time, as in Sat. I. I. 7. Cp. Ep. I. 10, 16.

formidine 'dread', i.e. superstitious alarm.

5. imbuti: cp. Ep. I. 2, 69 (note), and Cic. de Fin. I. 18, 60 *superstitio, qua qui est imbutus, quietus esse nunquam potest:* hence translate 'without a touch of dread'. **spectent**: the indicative has very little authority and is quite indefensible.

quid merely introduces the question, as in Cic. de Off. II. 7, 25 *quid censemus superiorem illum Dionysium, quo cruciatu timoris angi solitum?* de Orat. I. 17, 79 *quid censes, si ad alicuius ingenium vel maius illa, quae ego non attigi, accesserint, qualem illum et quantum oratorem futurum?* pro Rosc. 17, 49 *quid censes hunc ipsum Sex. Roscium, quo studio et quo intelligentia esse in rusticis rebus?* Macleane's interpretation 'what do you suppose they think' &c. is quite baseless.

7. ludicra quid, plausus, etc. This line has been punctuated and explained in at least five different ways: (1) *ludicra quid, plausus, ludicra* being then translated 'games': the objections to this are (*a*) that although the singular is often so used, there is no authority for the plural; but cp. Madvig on Cic. de Fin. I. 20, 69: (*b*) that with *et* following, another copula is needed before *plausus:* (*c*) that, if the games are regarded from the stand-point of the giver, they are not naturally an object of admiration; if from the spectator's point of view, there is an abruptness in passing on to the prizes of ambition. (2) *ludicra quid plausus, plausus* being the genitive after *ludicra* 'the toys of applause', i.e. 'worthless applause', like *vilia rerum, strata viarum* etc. Then line 7 refers to the prizes of ambition, as *munera...Indos* to those of covetousness. But (*a*) *plausus* is not a word which lends itself naturally to this genitival construction: (*b*) it is not likely that Horace, in asking a question as to the value to be set upon these things, would imply his own opinion

of their worthlessness in the very form of the question. (3) *ludicra? quid plausus*, connecting *ludicra* with *maris*. This is open to the last objection; and besides *munera maris* is a far more natural expression than *ludicra maris*. (4) *ludicra quid, plausus*, where *plausus* is the acc. plur. in apposition to *ludicra*. This involves the same prejudging of the question: perhaps too the plural, though sometimes used, is less natural than the singular. (5) Keller has ...*Indos? Ludicra. Quid plausus* &c., *ludicra* being then the answer of Numicius. This is very abrupt, and would naturally imply a similar answer after v. 8. (4) seems open to fewest objections.

dona, sc. *honores et imperia;* cp. Carm. I. 1, 7.

Quiritis, collective, as so often in Livy, but apparently not elsewhere before his time: cp. Dräger Hist. Synt. I. 3; Kühnast Liv. Synt. 63: cp. Tac. Germ. 37 *non Samnis, non Poeni*.

8. quo...modo 'id est, quo iudicio, qua spe', Comm. Cruq., not merely a tmesis for *quomodo* which always has the final vowel shortened.

9—16. *The fear of loss or suffering is not less disturbing than the greed for gain or honour, and they are alike in their effects: virtue herself should not be pursued to an extreme.*

9. fere 'as a rule', cp. Caes. B. G. III. 18 *fere libenter homines id quod volunt, credunt.*—**miratur** &c. 'over esteems them in the same way as he who craves'. For *mirari* in this sense of caring about, with some feeling of dread, cp. Luc. II. 28 *necdum est ille dolor, sed iam metus; incubat amens, miraturque malum.*

10. pavor 'the excitement': (cp. Cic. Tusc. IV. 8, 19 *pavorem, metum mentem loco moventem*) the θάμβος or ἔκπληξις which is inconsistent with real happiness. Cp. Verg. Aen. V. 137 *exsultantiaque haurit corda pavor pulsans* (Georg. III. 105) of the excitement of a race.—**utrobique** 'in either case'. This word does not contain the same element as *ubique*, but is formed by adding the suffix *-bique* to the stem *utro-*: *utrubique* is only a late and corrupt form, although supported by fair authority here. Cp. Corssen Nachtr. p. 27. Hence correct Roby I. § 525, S. G. § 222.

11. simul=*simul ac* Roby § 1717, S. G. § 721, not as Krüger, an adverb=*pariter*. **species**, 'appearance' of any object of fear or desire.

exterret, 'flutters' with the *pavor* which it excites. Jacobs, Lect. Ven. p. 157, conjectures *externat* (i.e. *exsternat*, formed on the analogy of *consternat*), which is approved by Lachmann

on Lucret. IV. 1022 (where he similarly reads *externantur* for *exterrentur*, 'are scared'), Haupt, etc. The word is found twice in Catullus (LXIV. 71, 165) and three times in Ovid (Met. I. 641, XI. 77, Ibis 432) in just the sense here required, and therefore is not 'unclassical' as Keller says. But *exterret* may be defended by Verg. Aen. XI. 806 *fugit ante omnes exterritus Arruns laetitia mixtoque metu* (cp. G. III. 434), Lucr. II. 1040 *novitate exterritus ipsa.*

12. gaudeat, etc., 'whether he rejoices', etc., not as Keller takes it, with a colon at *metuatne*, the jussive subjunctive. 'This classification of the emotions under four heads originated with the Stoics, but in Horace's time had become a commonplace. Cp. Verg. Aen. VI. 733 *hinc metuunt cupiuntque, dolent gaudentque*, quoted by Augustine de Civ. D. XIV. 3 as a Stoic echo. Cp. Plat. Phaed. 83 B ἡδονῶν καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ λυπῶν καὶ φόβων.' J. S. R.

13. spe, 'expectation', with the ambiguous meaning shown also in *pavor* and *exterret.* This is more common with the verb *spero* (cp. Verg. Aen. I. 543, II. 658, etc.) than with the substantive; but cp. Sall. Jug. LXXXVIII. 1 *contra spem suam laetissimis animis excipitur*, Cat. XX. 13 *mala res, spes multo asperior* with Kritz's note.

14. defixis oculis, 'You stare, look blank, grow numb from top to toe'. Con.

16. ultra quam satis est. There is no reason to suppose (with Macleane) that Horace is speaking either ironically or 'with an unusual fit of enthusiasm'. The need of moderation in pursuit even of virtue is a commonplace with philosophers: cp. Cic. pro Mur. 30, 63 *nostri illi a Platone et Aristotele, moderati homines et temperati aiunt...omnes virtutes mediocritate quadam esse temperatas.* Cic. Tusc. IV. 25, 55 *studia vel optimarum rerum sedata tamen et tranquilla esse debent.* ib. IV. 29, 62 *etiam si virtutis vehementior appetitus sit, eadem est omnibus ad deterrendum adhibenda oratio.*

17—27. *Set your heart on the treasures of art, on fame and on wealth, if you will: but remember that you will soon have to abandon all.*

17. I nunc, 'go now', an ironical imperative to do something which under the circumstances is impossible, or at least not to be expected, usually followed by *et*, as in Ep. II. 2, 76. Cp. Pers. IV. 19 *i nunc...sufla*, where Jahn remarks 'irridentis vel exprobrantis formula', and gives many other examples.

argentum, here 'plate', as in Sat. I. 4, 28, Juv. I. 76, etc.; not 'money'. **artis**, 'works of art', cp. Carm. IV. 8, 5 *divite me*

scilicet artium quas aut Parrhasius protulit aut Scopas. So in Soph. O. C. 472 κρατῆρές εἰσιν ἀνδρὸς εὔχειρος τέχνη.

18. suspice, opp. of *despice.* **colores**, 'dyes', i.e. *vestes purpureas.*

19. loquentem, very rarely used, as the context requires that we should understand it here, of public speaking; which is almost always *dicere*, opposed to conversational talk (*loqui*): cp. Cic. Orat. 32, 113 *nec idem loqui est quod dicere:* de Orat. III. 10, 38 *neque enim conamur docere eum dicere, qui loqui nesciat.* So Eupolis (Dem. 8) said of Phaeax λαλεῖν ἄριστος, ἀδυνατώτατος λέγειν (Meineke Com. II. 461).

20. navus. Bentley prints *gnavus*, which has however but little support from the MSS. From Cicero's words (Orat. 47, 158) noti *erant, et* navi *et* nari, *quibus cum* in *praeponi oporteret, dulcius visum est* ignoti ignavi ignari *dicere quam ut veritas postulabat*, it might seem that the forms with *g* were unknown to him. But *gnavus* is often found in good Ciceronian MSS. and is admitted by the best editors (e.g. Halm in de Imp. Pomp. 7, 18): *narus* seems nowhere to occur, nor is *gnotus* actually found except in the grammarians. It is very doubtful whether *gnavus* is from the same root as *gnarus*, the meaning being entirely different (Corssen I. 83): but cp. Curt. Gr. Etym. I. 220. **forum** for business purposes, as in Ep. I. 19, 8, not (as Lewis and Short take it there) for legal or political pursuits: cp. *cedere foro* = to become bankrupt, and de Imp. Pomp. 7, 19 *haec ratio pecuniarum...quae in foro versatur.* **vespertinus**, Roby § 1017, S. G. § 452.

21. dotalibus, coming to him through his wife, and therefore not due either to inheritance, or to his own energy and business skill. **emetat**, only found here.

22. Mutus, probably the name of a real person, known to Horace's readers. Orelli remarks that Horace, though often borrowing his types of character from Lucilius, does not limit himself to them. *Mutus* is found as a cognomen on an inscription, quoted by Bentley, who restored the true reading for the vulgate, *Mucius, indignum.*

indignum, an exclamation, as in Ov. Met. V. 37 *nisi post altaria Phineus isset, et (indignum!) scelerato profuit ara.* Am. I. 6, 1 *Ianitor, indignum, dura religate catena.* So *malum, mirum, nefas*, etc. Macleane's *indignum quod sit*, is much less good. **quod sit**, Roby § 1740, S. G. § 740.

24. quicquid, etc. Cp. Soph. Aj. 646 ἅπανθ' ὁ μακρὸς κἀναρίθμητος χρόνος φύει τ' ἄδηλα καὶ φανέντα κρύπτεται. **in apricum**, 'to the light of day' = *in apertum;* if the word be, as is

commonly supposed, contracted from *aperi-cu-s* it is used here, but apparently here only, in its primary sense (Roby § 774).

26. porticus Agrippae, erected by M. Vipsanius Agrippa in honour of Neptune, and adorned with paintings of the exploits of the Argonauts; hence called *porticus Vipsania*, or *Neptuni*, or *Argonautarum* (Juv. VI. 153). It was thrown open to the public in B.C. 25 (Dio Cass. LIII. 27) and would naturally be a fashionable lounge. Cp. Burn's Rome, p. 332.

via Appi, the *regina viarum*, as Statius Silv. II. 2, 12 calls it, led to Capua and afterwards to Brundisium, and would often be crowded by Roman nobles travelling to their villas in Campania, or to Greece and the East.

27. Numa and **Ancus** are joined, as being the two most popular of the early kings; cp. Ennius' line adopted by Lucret. III. 1025 *lumina sis* [=*suis*] *oculis etiam bonus Ancu' reliquit*, and Carm. IV. 7, 14.

28—35. *If you are suffering, seek the remedy. So, if virtue is the true path to a happy life, aim at securing this. If wealth, then do your utmost to grow rich.*

29. vis, a direct statement for a hypothetical one. Roby § 1553, S. G. § 651.

recte 'aright', here equal to *beate*, not in a moral sense, as in Ep. I. 2, 41.

30. virtus una, as the Stoics taught.

31. hoc age 'attend to this alone': a phrase borrowed apparently from the formula with which an official at a sacrifice called for reverent attention from the bye-standers: cp. Sat. II. 3, 152; Lucret. I. 42 *nam neque nos agere hoc patriai tempore iniquo possumus.* **deliciis** = *voluptatibus.*

putas has much more support in the MSS., and is much better suited to the preceding *vis*, than Bentley's *putes*, which he thinks 'mollius et verecundius'.

verba 'mere words'; cp. the last words of Brutus in Dio XLVII. 49 *ὦ τλῆμον ἀρετή, λόγος ἄρ' ἦσθ'· ἐγὼ δέ σε ὡς ἔργον ἤσκουν· σὺ δ' ἄρ' ἐδούλευες τύχῃ.*

32. lucum ligna 'a sacred grove but logs'. **portus occupet** 'reaches the port before you', and so anticipates you in the market; not as in Carm. I. 14, 2.

33. Cibyra was in the extreme south of Phrygia on the borders of Lycia: its position has been identified by inscriptions found on the spot (Spratt's Lycia I. 256); it 'does not seem very favour-

able for commerce, for it is neither on the sea, nor on a great road. We may conclude however that probably the grain of the valley of the Indus (a tributary of the Calbis), and the wood and iron of Cibyra might furnish articles of commerce. Iron ore is plentiful in the Cibyratis'. G. L. in the Dict. Geogr. **Bithynia** had some important ports, and large navigable rivers, which brought down the produce of the interior, especially timber and marble: cp. Carm. I. 35, 7; III. 7, 3.

34. rotundentur 'be rounded off', an expression not elsewhere used, but Petron. 76 has *uno cursu centies sestertium corrotundavi.*—**altera** a second set of talents, as numerous, *totidem* being equivalent to *mille talenta:* cp. Catull. 5, 8 *basia mille, deinde centum, dein mille altera, dein secunda centum.* Verg. Ecl. III. 71 *aurea mala decem misi: cras altera mittam.*

porro et: *et* is omitted by some good MSS. but is probably right.

35. quadrat is better supported than *quadret,* which seems to be a careless assimilation to the preceding subjunctives: 'the part which squares the heap' is a periphrasis for a fourth thousand.

36—48. *Wealth of course brings many blessings in its train, and a rich man is better off than a king; so if this is your goal, push on towards it stoutly.*

36. fidemque 'credit'; not however, as Orelli says, solely in money matters. Juv. III. 143 *quantum quisque sua nummorum servat in arca, tantum habet et fidei* (with Mayor's note).

37. regina Pecunia 'queen cash': Juv. I. 112 *inter nos sanctissima divitiarum maiestas, etsi funesta Pecunia templo nondum habitas.* It is doubtful whether the references in Arnobius and Augustine (quoted by Mayor *ad loc.*) to a *dea Pecunia* have any better basis than such jests as these, although we must not forget the very common tendency of the Romans to deify personifications. Cp. Mommsen I. 173.

38. Suadela = Πειθώ, also called *Suada* by Ennius in Cic. Brut. 15, 59 *ut quam deam in Pericli labris scripsit Eupolis sessitavisse, huius hic medullam nostrum oratorem fuisse dixerit.* For Peitho as an attendant on Aphrodite cp. Preller Röm. Myth. 237.

39. Cappadocum rex, Archelaus: Cicero says of his predecessor Ariobarzanes in ad Att. VI. 1, 3 *nullum aerarium, nullum vectigal habet...nihil illo regno spoliatius, nihil rege egentius,* and ad Att. VI. 3, 5 *erat rex perpauper.* The Cappadocian slaves were regarded as of little value: cp. Pers. VI. 77; Mart. X. 76, 3: Cic. post Red. 6, 14 *Cappadocem modo abreptum de grege venalium diceres.*

40. ut aiunt 'as the story goes', Ep. I. 7, 49; 17, 18, etc.

41. si posset, Roby § 1754, S. G. § 748.

scaenae, the only legitimate form: cp. Corssen I. 325, Roby § 259. Plutarch Lucull. c. 39 tells the story thus: 'When a praetor, with great expense and pains, was preparing a spectacle for the people, and asked him to lend him some purple robes for the performers in a chorus, he told him he would go home and see, and if he had got any, would let him have them: and the next day asking how many he wanted, and being told that a hundred would suffice, bade him take twice as many: on which the poet Horace observes, that a house is but a poor one, where the valuables unseen and unthought of do not exceed all those that meet the eye'.

42. qui, Roby § 379, S. G. § 206. The chlamys, being a Greek garment, would not naturally be found in large numbers in a Roman house.

44. tolleret, Roby § 1783, S. G. § 765; the subject is the giver of the show, who had made the request.

46. fallunt = λανθάνει. **furibus** 'pilferers': Orelli thinks the slaves in particular: cp. Verg. Ecl. III. 16 *quid domini faciant, audent cum talia fures?* but in neither passage is this meaning necessary: see Kennedy *ad loc.*

48. repetas 'return with each new day to'.

49—55. *If the honours of the state are what you desire, then busily canvass for them.*

49. species 'state', especially of a magistrate: Tac. Ann. IV. 6 *sua consulibus, sua praetoribus species.*

50. qui dictet nomina, the so-called nomenclator, who accompanied a candidate on his canvass, in order to whisper to him the names of influential citizens whom he might meet. Cp. Cic. pro Mur. 36, 77 *quid quod habes nomenclatorem? in eo quidem fallis et decipis, nam si nomine appellari abs te cives tuos honestum est, turpe est eos notiores esse servo tuo quam tibi.* In B.C. 72 when Cato was standing for the military tribuneship, the employment of *nomenclatores* was forbidden by law, though the law was rarely obeyed. Nine years later it had been repealed or was regarded as obsolete, even by Cato. Cp. Plutarch, Cat. 8.

51. fodicet, 'nudge': the nomenclator is of course on the outside of the path, his master having the wall to his right: cp. Sat. II. 5, 17. For the action cp. Ter. Hec. 465 LA. *dic iussisse te.* PH. *noli fodere. iussi.* Roby § 962 is probably right in assigning to *fodicare* a frequentative, rather than an intensive (Macleane) or diminutive force. Almost all MSS. have *saevum*

or *sevum* for *laevum*, whence Ritter repeats *servum*, a conjecture which has deservedly found but little support: *saevum* though admitted by some editors is not defensible.

cogat, 'press', with energy. **trans pondera**, a very difficult phrase. The old interpreters explained it as referring to stepping-stones placed in the road: thus Comm. Cruq. *pondera lapides qui per vias in opera dantur* (read *porriguntur*) *aut* [qui per] *latera viarum positi altiores* [*sunt*]. Gesner explained *ultra aequilibrium corporis cum periculo cadendi*, comparing Ov. Met. I. 13 *nec circumfuso pendebat in aere tellus ponderibus librata suis:* Lucret. II. 218, VI. 574, Lucan I. 57, a view which, though ignored by Macleane, has received the weighty support of Lachmann (on Lucret. p. 381), Haupt (on Ov. Met. I. 13) and Ritter, as well as Conington: 'at risk of tumbling down'. Orelli takes it of the weights on the counter of a shop, supporting his interpretation by the picture of a shop at Pompeii, and Keller warmly approves: but is it possible to understand so important a limiting notion as 'of the shop'? Others interpret *pondera* of obstacles generally. The old view has recently been advocated by T. Mommsen (*Fleckeisen's Jahrb.* 1874, p. 466 ff.), Nissen (*Pompeian. Stud.* p. 566), and Krüger. Overbeck *Pompeii*^{3} p. 56 describes the broader streets as having three such stepping stones (Fig. 19), the narrower, one. It is admitted that there is no evidence, except in the scholiasts, that these were called *pondera:* but in face of the difficulties still attaching to Gesner's interpretation (and especially to the force which it requires us to give to *trans*), it is perhaps best to follow the earlier view, which must have been based upon some traditional authority, seeing how little there is in the words themselves to suggest it. The picture thus suggested is that of a candidate in the cumbrous whitened toga, pressed by his attendant to hurry across the street in order to shake hands with an influential elector on the path opposite. The street was usually narrow, in Pompeii never more than about 24 feet broad, and often only nine or ten, inclusive of the paths (*margines*), but the latter were as a rule much raised.

52. Fabia, sc. *tribu*, one of the original country-tribes. **Velina**, one of the two added latest, in B.C. 241. Both are frequently mentioned in inscriptions.

53. hic, sc. a third man. Bentley read *is*, which has much less authority, and would necessarily refer back to *ille*.—**cui dare libet.** The forms of free election were allowed to remain during the time of Augustus, who himself took part in the canvassing (cp. Suet. Oct. XL. *comitiorum ius pristinum reduxit*), and the elections of B.C. 19 gave rise to serious disturbances: it was only Tiberius who made the sanction of the

comitia merely formal: cf. Tac. Ann. I. 15, and Merivale Hist. c. XLIV. *ad init.*

54. curule ebur, sc. the *sella curulis*, a distinction enjoyed by the curule aediles, praetors, and consuls. **inportunus**, 'ruthlessly': cp. Cic. in Cat. IV. 6, 12 (note).

55. facetus=blande et comiter, 'politely', apparently a colloquial usage: cp. Ter. Heaut. 521 *mulier commoda, faceta haec meretrix.* **adopta**: Spartianus says of the emperor Didius Julianus (c. 4) *senatum et equestrem ordinem in palatium venientem admisit, atque unumquemque, ut erat aetas, vel patrem vel filium vel parentem affatus blandissime est.*

56—64. *If good dining is good living, then be off to the market betimes, to secure its choicest dainties, and take Gargilius for your model.*

56. lucet, 'day has dawned', i.e. it is time to be off in quest of dainties.

57. piscemur, venemur. 'Let us go off for fish and game': but only, as Gargilius did, to the market-place. This seems better than to take the words of literal fishing and hunting, which are not necessary for the life of an epicure.

58. Gargilius, probably a character in the satires of Lucilius. The name is not a fictitious one, but occurs in inscriptions.

59. differtum forum populumque=*forum differtum populo*, as in Sat. I. 5, 3 *forum Appi differtum nautis.* Bentley took objection to the repetition of *populum* and *populo*, and to *differtum* applied to *populum* for which *confertum* would be more usual; and therefore very confidently read *campum* for *populum*. But the repetition may be defended by the emphasis laid upon the presence of the people as spectators: and the use of *differtum* by a zeugma, like that in Ep. II. 1, 159 *lex poenaque lata*: cp. A. P. 443. Besides it has been pointed out that though the *forum* was crowded in the morning, the *campus* was not much frequented till the afternoon. And even in the contracted forms the similarity between *campum* and *populum* is not great enough to make the conjecture probable.

60. unus...e multis, 'one of all the train', as in Verg. Aen. V. 644, not here in the proverbial sense, found e.g. in Sat. I. 9, 71, Cic. Tusc. I. 9, 17 (Kühner), &c.

61. crudus, properly 'raw' (connected with *cruor*, *κρέας*, etc. Vaniček p. 174), is applied alike to undigested food, and (as here) to the eater who has not yet digested it. Indulgence in a hot bath too soon after dinner is censured as a mark of

a glutton by Juv. I. 142 and Pers. III. 98. From the numerous references collected by Mayor, it seems to have been regarded as a means of hastening digestion, though one dangerous to health.

62. **Caerite cera**=*Caeritibus tabulis.* Madvig (Röm. Verf. I. 409) considers that it is impossible to explain the reason why the lists of the *cives sine suffragio* were called the *tabulae Caeritum.* Gellius XVI. 13 asserts that the inhabitants of Caere were made *municipes sine suffragii iure* because they took charge of the Roman *sacra* at the time of the Gallic invasion (cp. Liv. V. 40): and that the name was afterwards applied *versa vice* to those whom the censors degraded and deprived of their votes. There is some reason to suppose that what was originally a mark of honour for the Caerites became a badge of inferiority, after they had been defeated in an attempt to throw off their connexion with Rome (cp. Madvig, op. cit. p. 46).

63. **remigium**; cp. Ep. I. 2, 24 ff. **Ulixi**: the form *Ulixei* is almost equally well supported here. Cp. Roby § 482. S. G. § 160.

64. **interdicta voluptas**, i.e. the slaughtering of the sacred cattle of the Sun-god: Hom. Od. I. 8, XII. 340 ff.

65. **Mimnermus**, an elegiac poet of Colophon, contemporary with Solon: a fragment is preserved in Stobaeus (Frag. I. Bergk) τίς δὲ βίος, τί δὲ τερπνὸν ἄτερ χρυσέης Ἀφροδίτης; τεθναίην ὅτε μοι μηκέτι ταῦτα μέλοι. Propertius (I. 9, 11) says of him *plus in amore valet Mimnermi versus Homero.*

66. **istis**, 'than what you have now before you'. Cp. Isocr. ad Nicod. 11, χρῶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις, ἢ ζήτει βελτίω τούτων. **candidus**, 'frankly'. **si non.** Keller reads with some good MSS. *si nil.*

EPISTLE VII.

The date of this Epistle has been given by Ritter as the autumn of B.C. 21. He argues from Ep. I. 2, 2 that Horace was at this time at Praeneste, within view of the Alban hills (v. 10), and was intending to go down to Velia or Salernum for the winter (Ep. I. 15). In this year also Augustus left Sicily for the East, and sent Agrippa (now married to Julia) to take charge of home affairs; hence Maecenas was relieved of his more important public duties, and would have been all the more at leisure to enjoy the society of Horace, so that he complained of his absence. But there are too many conjectural links in this chain of argument to enable us to accept it with

confidence. It is by no means certain that Ep. II. is to be assigned to B.C. 21. Horace was doubtless often at Praeneste, and perhaps spent more winters than one by the sea. Franke with not less probability assigns both this epistle and Ep. II. to B.C. 23. Sir T. Martin well remarks: 'This Epistle will always rank among the most valued of Horace's poems. It shows the man in his most attractive aspect,—simple, frank, affectionate, tactical, manly, and independent. No one can read it without feeling that dear as Maecenas was to Horace, and deeply grateful to him as he was for his generosity, and for the friendly spirit without which generosity itself would have been odious to the poet, not even for him would Horace forego a tittle of that freedom of thought and action which he deemed to be essential, not less for his self-respect than for his personal happiness'.

1—13. *I have stayed away from Rome much longer than I told you I should: but I am sure you will excuse me, Maecenas, for I am afraid to be in town at such an unhealthy season. I intend to go down to the sea for the winter, but I shall be back again with you in the spring.*

1. quinque dies; 'five days or so', a colloquial phrase, for any short period: cp. Sat. I. 3, 16 *quinque diebus nil erat in loculis.*

rure: this form for the locative *ruri* occurs again in Ep. I. 14, 10, twice in Ovid and twice in Tibullus. In Plaut. Trin. 166 it is found in the MSS. though Ritschl reads *ruri* (cp. Cas. I. 22), and Madvig leaves it in Liv. VII. 5, 9, XXXVIII. 53, 8. With an epithet the form *rure* is always used. Cp. Kühner II. 354. Roby § 1168, 1170. There is nothing to fix the meaning here to Praeneste, as Ritter supposes, or to Tibur, as others have argued from v. 45. Horace may probably refer rather to his Sabine farm.

2. Sextilem: this month received the name 'August' in B.C. 8 (Dion. Cass. LV. 6), cp. Merivale IV. 255.

desideror: Roby, § 1460; S. G. § 596. **atqui**: most MSS. have fallen into the very common error of substituting *atque.*

3. sanum recteque valentem, 'free from disease, and in sound health' as in Ep. I. 16, 21. Cp. Cic. Acad. II. 7, 19 *si [sensus] et sani sunt ac valentes.* The reading of some inferior MSS. *recteque videre valentem* is due solely to the wish to fill up the gap left by the accidental omission of *sanum;* Bentley's suggestion *recteque vigere valentem* is needless.

4. mihi das aegro, not (as Macleane) 'you let me go,

because I was sick', but 'you are ready to give me, if I am sick'.

5. **ficus prima**: the fig ripens towards the end of August and the beginning of September; cp. Carm. III. 23, 8 *pomifero grave tempus anno.* There were also early spring figs, formed even before the leaves (cp. Plin. XV. 18, 71 *sunt praeterea eaedem serotinae et praecoces, biferae, alba ac nigra, cum messe vindemiaque maturescentes;* XVI. 26, 113; Meyer on Matth. xxi. 19, Trench *Miracles*, p. 451), but these are of course not referred to here.

6. **dissignatorem**: this form is the only one recognized by good MSS. and by inscriptions. Cp. Ep. I. 5, 16. The *dissignator* was the man who marshalled the funeral procession, not the *dominus funeris* of Cic. de Leg. II. 24, 61 *dominusque funeris utatur accenso atque lictoribus* (as Macleane says), but one of his *accensi* (cp. Marquardt Privatalt. I. 357 note). Acron says here *designatores dicuntur qui ad locum [? lucum] Libitinae in funere praestanti conducuntur, ut defuncti cum honore efferantur.* The name was also given to the officials who assigned places in the theatre: cp. Plaut. Poen. prol. 18...*neu lictor verbum aut virgae muttiant, neu dissignator praeter os obambulet, neu sessum ducat, dum histrio in scaena siet,* whence it is clear that the *lictor* is here used generally for 'attendant', with no reference to magistrates, as Ritter supposes: cp. Lipsius ad loc.

7. **pueris**: cp. Mart. X. 62, 12 *aestate pueri si valent, satis discunt.*

8. **officiosa** 'in showing attentions': for *officia* in the sense of the duties of civility due from clients and from citizens generally see Mayor on Juv. III. 126. The term would include the morning *salutatio*, the *deductio in forum*, visits to the sick, attendance at weddings, funerals, or when the *toga virilis* was assumed, and the like.

opella 'petty business': cp. Ep. II. 2. 67. The word occurs only here and in Lucr. I. 1114.

9. **testamenta resignat** 'unseals wills', i.e. causes deaths. A will was usually written on tablets of wood or wax; a senatus-consultum (of the time of Nero, Suet. Ner. 17) enacted that they were to be tied up with a triple thread, and then wax was to be put over the thread and sealed by the testator, and also by witnesses. When sealed a will was deposited with some friend, or in a temple, or with the Vestal virgins. After the testator's death as many of the witnesses as possible were collected, and after they had acknowledged their seals, the thread was broken, and the will read. Cp. Huschke Jurispr. Ante-Just. p. 538.

10. Albanis: the snow would naturally lie on the Alban hills earlier than on the plain of the Campagna. **bruma** for winter generally, as in Carm. IV. 7, 12; Ep. I. 11, 19 and often. For the greater frequency of frost and snow in ancient times than at present in the same latitudes cp. Ep. I. 3, 3. **quod si**: cp. Verg, Aen. V. 64, *praeterea si nona diem mortalibus almum Aurora extulerit:* Catull. XIV. 17 *si luxerit* 'come dawn' (Ellis). So we find often *dicam...si prius dixero:* Cic. Acad. II. 20, 64, de Off. II. 6, 22, Plaut. Capt. 248, etc.

11. vates tuus, i.e. the humble friend whom you honour with the exalted title of 'bard': cp. Carm. I. 1, 35 *quodsi me lyricis vatibus inseres*, II. 6, 24 *vatis amici* etc. L. Müller *De Re Metrica* p. 65 ff. shows how this old-fashioned name fell into contempt in the early Latin poetry, and regained all its earlier honour with Vergil (e.g. Ecl. IX. 34). Cp. Munro on Lucret. I. 102: Ep. II. 1, 26.

12. contractus 'huddled up', ἐπικεκυφώς as in Lucian Saturn. 9, 9 ἐπικεκυφότες...ἀμφὶ τὴν κάμινον. Others take it as 'in retirement': cp. Verg. Moret. 77 *quis enim contractior illo?* Senec. de Tranq. An. 9 *habitare contractius;* others again compare *velis contractis*, and translate 'quietly'.

13. hirundine: the return of the swallow was proverbially the sign that spring had arrived: cp. Ov. Fast. II. 853 *veris praenuntia venit hirundo:* Cic. ad Att. X. 2 λαλαγεῦσα *iam adest:* Anth. Pal. II. 279 ὁ πλόος ὡραῖος. καὶ γὰρ λαλαγεῦσα χελιδὼν ἤδη μέμβλωκεν χὠ χαρίεις Ζέφυρος: Ar. Eq. 419 ὥρα νέα, χελιδών. Hesiod represents the song of the nightingale as commencing after the rising of Arcturus, i.e. sixty days after the winter solstice (Op. et Di. 568).

14—24. *You have not enriched me, as the boor did his guests, with what had no value for him. This would have been a natural reason for ingratitude. But you, while ready to satisfy the wants of those who deserve it, know the value of your gifts, and I will meet you worthily.*

14. Calaber: the name is chosen only to make the story more vivid. There seems to be no evidence that pears were especially abundant in Calabria.

16. benigne, 'I'm much obliged', a polite phrase for refusing the offer (cp. v. 62), like καλῶς, κάλλιστα and the like in Greek (Ar. Ran. 503 ff.).

19. relinques has much more support than *relinquis*.

20. sprevit et odit, 'does not value and in fact dislikes'.

22. ait esse paratus, a Greek construction, found first ap-

parently in Plaut. Asin. 634 *quas...Diabulus ipsi daturus dixit*: cp. Catull. IV. 1 *Phaselus ille...ait fuisse navium celerrimus*: cp. Carm. III. 27, 73 *uxor invicti Jovis esse nescis*. Plaut. Pers. 431, 642 has *omitto iratus esse*. Roby § 1350. **dignis** 'for the worthy', i.e. to meet their needs.

23. lupinis used to represent money on the stage, or for counters in games: cp. Plaut. Poen. III. 2, 20 AG. *agite, inspicite: durum est.* CO. *profecto, spectatores, comicum: macerato hoc pingues fiunt auro in barbaria boves.* They are still so used in Italy.

24. dignum pro laude 'worthy in accordance with the renown'; Munro on Lucret. V. 1 (*quis potis est dignum pollenti pectore carmen condere pro rerum maiestate*) quotes instances of *dignus pro* from Ter. Hec. 209, Cic. Div. in Caec. 13, 42 (where however Baiter rejects *dignum*), Sall. Cat. LI. 8. But Mr J. S. Reid has convinced me that the passage in Lucretius does not exhibit this construction, *dignum* going with *pectore*, and *pro maiestate* being parallel to *pro meritis* just below. *Laude* is the praise which Maecenas receives, not that which he gives: Martin's version, though neat, is in this respect misleading, 'For me, 'twill be my aim myself to raise, even to the flattering level of your praise'. Cp. A. P. 282, Cic. de Orat. II. 73, 296, Juv. VIII. 74.

merentis, sc. bene merentis, 'my benefactor'. Verg. Aen. VI. 664 *quique sui memores alios fecere merendo*; Prop. V. 11, 101 *sim digna merendo*. Ov. Pont. II. 2. 96 *laurea decreta merenti*. So very often in inscriptions, e.g. Wilmanns, 1382, 1389, 1398.

25—28. *But the service I can render must be proportional to my powers, and I am not young as I once was.*

25. usquam, with a verb of motion, also in Sat. II. 7, 30, I. 1, 37: *quoquam* and *nequoquam* are not common after Terence.

26. latus, chest, i.e. lungs: Ep. I. 12, 5, cp. Quint. XII. 11, 2 *neque enim scientia modo constet orator...sed voce, latere, firmitate*. **nigros**: Horace describes himself as *praecanus* (Ep. I. 20, 24): at this time he could not have been more than 45 at most. A *frons angusta* or *tenuis* (Carm. I. 35, 5) or *brevis* (Mart. IV. 42, 9), i.e. one on which the hair hung down low, was regarded as a beauty: Pliny describes the statue of an old man as having *rari et cedentes capilli, lata frons* (Ep. III. 6, 2).

27. loqui = τὸ λαλεῖν Roby § 1344, S. G. § 534, 'my pleasant voice and laugh, the tears I shed'. Con.

28. Cinarae, perhaps the only one of the women's names mentioned by Horace, which points to a real attachment on his

part: cp. Carm. IV. 1, 3 *bonae Cinarae*, IV. 13, 21, *Cinarae brevis annos fata dederunt:* Ep. I. 14, 33.

29—36. *If I am attacked as being like the fox which could not escape from the corn-bin in which it had eaten its fill, I will give you back everything: I am sincere in my preference of a simple life, and prefer my freedom to boundless wealth.*

29. volpecula: Bentley protests against this reading with more than his usual energy. He calls upon fox-hunters, farmers and men of science to bear witness that a fox could not eat corn if he were never so hungry: he has not the teeth to do it with. Besides no fox however lean could creep through a crevice in a corn-jar, unless it was large enough to let all the corn out. Again how could a fox, a creature haunting the woods, have got into a house at all, or have been content to remain within doors long enough to be positively fattened in the corn-jar? Besides St Jerome expressly mentions a mouse in referring to the fable by Aesop from which this is borrowed. Hence he confidently restores *nitedula* 'a shrew-mouse' for the present *volpecula*. Many recent editors, and both Conington and Martin in their translations, have followed him; but the soundest verdict has been given by Munro (Introd. p. xxiv.), 'Bentley's famous *nitedula* for *volpecula* deserves all praise: it is brilliant; is what Horace ought to have written:—but I sadly fear did not write, not from ignorance probably, but because he had in his thoughts some old-world fable, whose foxes were not as our foxes'. We might almost retort upon Lachmann, who strongly supports Bentley (on Lucret. III. 1014), in his own words 'vocabulum Horatio restitutum qui [non] accipiunt rationem et genera fabellarum ignorant'. Keller aptly remarks that the list of animals appearing in fables is a strictly limited one, that the fox often plays a part inconsistent with its natural habits, and finally that a weasel would be more likely to eat a mouse than to give it good advice! It may be noticed that the weasel (γαλῆ) was often tamed and kept in Greek and Roman houses on purpose to keep down the mice, the cat being comparatively rare, indeed not commonly used as a domestic animal until the third or fourth century A.D. Cp. *Academy* Vol. X., p. 317, Houghton's *Natural History of the Ancients*, pp. 40—50.

30. cumeram; cp. Sat. I. 1. 53, where Acron notes 'c. dicimus vas ingens vimineum, in quo frumenta conduntur...sive cumerae dicuntur vasa fictilia similia doliis, ubi frumentum suum reponebant agricolae'. **pasta,** the participle of the reflexive form *pascor*, used actively. S. G. § 567.

31. foras 'out'—of the corn-bin or of the house? The word is in the vast majority of instances used of coming out of a house; but occasionally (e.g. Caes. B. C. II. 11, 4: 14, 1) of a

town: hence the more indefinite meaning seems legitimate even in classical Latin: it is common in later Latin.—**pleno**, not necessarily as Bentley argued, of a fattened, but rather of a distended body: cp. Aesop, ἀλώπηξ ἐξογκωθεῖσα τὴν γαστέρα; so Babr. lxxxvi.

32. procul 'hard by': cp. Sat. II. 6, 105, Verg. Ecl. VI. 16, Geo. IV. 424, Ter. Hec. 607 *quem cum istoc sermonem habueris, procul hinc stans accepi.*

33. cavum, for a mouse's hole in Sat. II. 6, 116.

34. compellor 'assailed', Sat. II. 3, 297 *ne compellarer inultus:* cp. Cic. Phil. III. 7, 17 *Q. Ciceronem compellat edicto, nec sentit amens commendationem esse compellationem suam.* **resigno** 'I transfer back to you': Fest. p. 281 M. *resignare antiqui dicebant pro rescribere*, and Hor. Sat. II. 3, 76 *dictantis quod tu nunquam rescribere possis.*

35. satur altilium, i.e. only when I have myself had my fill of dainties. Carm. III. 16, 21—44 is the best commentary on this passage.

37—45. *You know that I have always been modest and grateful: but I will gladly give back your gifts which, if purchased at the cost of my independence, would be as unfit for me to receive, as horses were for Telemachus.*

37. verecundum, i.e. my modesty in not pushing my own claims, although, Horace goes on to add, I have always fully acknowledged my debts to you, both in your presence, and in your absence.

rex: 'patron', as in Ep. I. 17, 20 and 43. Juv. I. 136, V. 14, 161 (with Mayor's note).

38. audisti, 'you have been addressed', Ep. I. 16, 17, Sat. II. 6, 20: the Greek ἀκούειν, imitated by Milton P. L. III. 7 'or hear'st thou rather pure ethereal stream'.

39. si possum: Roby § 1755, S. G. § 747. **reponere**=resignare.

40. Telemachus: Hom. Od. IV. 601 ἵππους δ' εἰς Ἰθάκην οὐκ ἄξομαι, 605—7 ἐν δ' Ἰθάκῃ οὔτ' ἄρ δρόμοι εὐρέες οὔτε τι λειμών. αἰγίβοτος καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπήρατος ἱπποβότοιο. οὐ γάρ τις νήσων ἱππήλατος οὐδ' εὐλείμων. **patientis**, supported by much better MSS. than *sapientis*, and confirmed by Homer's epithets πολύτλας, πολυτλήμων, ταλασίφρων.

42. spatiis, i.q. στάδιον, Dor. σπάδιον (cp. Curt. Et. I. 337) 'courses': Verg. G. I. 513, Ep. I. 14, 9, etc.

43. Atride: cp. Sat. II. 3, 187 *Atridă, vetas cur?* Roby

§ 473, S. G. § 150. **tibi** seems to go equally with *apta* and *relinquam*.

44. regia of Rome as the *princeps urbium* (Carm. IV. 3, 13), the *domina* (Carm. IV. 14, 44), not merely 'magnificent' as in Carm. II. 15, 1.

45. vacuum: cp. Ep. II. 2, 81 *quod vacuas desumpsit Athenas:* 'quiet', free from disturbance, not 'desolate' as *vacuae Acerrae* in Verg. G. II. 225.

imbelle, 'peaceful': in Sat. II. 4, 34 the epithet *molle* applied to Tarentum has reference to its reputation for effeminate luxury, which can hardly be denoted here.

46—98. *A story will show how ill-suited gifts often bring ruin to the recipient.*

46. Philippus, L. Marcius (cons. B.C. 91), an orator distinguished for his energy and biting wit. Cp. Cic. de Orat. III. 1, 4 *homini et vehementi et diserto et imprimis forti ad resistendum, Philippo:* Brut. 47, 173 (there was in Philippus) *summa libertas in oratione, multae facetiae:...in altercando cum aliquo aculeo et maledicto facetus.* He was an adherent of Sulla in the civil wars. **fortis** refers to his boldness in oratory, not in war, in which he won no distinction. Cp. Liv. XXI. 4 *ubi quid fortiter et strenue agendum esset.*

octavam circiter horam, i.e. between 1 and 2 P.M. (not, as Orelli, between 2 and 3). Philippus had had a long morning's work: Martial (IV. 8) says *in quintam varios extendit Roma labores: sexta quies lassis, septima finis erit.* After the work of the day followed exercise and the bath: it was only the unemployed who could dine as early as the eighth hour: cp. Ep. I. 5, 3, and see below v. 71.

48. Carinas, a quarter (*vicus*) lying chiefly in the 4th *regio* of Rome, on that part of the Esquiline Mount, towards the West or South-West, which in earlier times was called the M. Oppius, above the Subura. Some said that its name was derived from the fact that viewed from the Palatine it bore some resemblance to the keel of a ship (*carina*), others that it was called so from naval decorations. The *Sacra Via* commenced at the *Streniae sacellum* in the Carinae, and Philippus would have gone along this road from the Forum to his house. The Carinae was a fashionable quarter (cp. Verg. VIII. 361 *lautis...Carinis*) where Q. Cicero had a house, and also Pompeius, Tiberius, and others. **nimium distare**: the farthest part of the Carinae can hardly have been more than half a mile from the Forum.

49. ut aiunt, 'as the story goes', Ep. I. 6, 40; 17, 18.

50. adrasum: all Keller's MSS. have this form, not *abrasum*, which is not only badly supported but incorrect, for *homo adraditur*, *barba abraditur*: *ad* is here intensive (Roby, § 1834, S. G. § 801) 'closely shaven', but as a man who has just been shaven is closely shaven, we may take it, if we please, here as = *recens rasum* with Orelli, without seeking (with Yonge) for any precise parallel. The word seems to apply to the beard only, not, as some take it, to the head, comparing Ep. I. 18, 7 where the connexion is quite different.

umbra, 'booth', as in Greek σκιά for σκηνή. The booth was empty, because the busier customers had been trimmed earlier in the day; the man was sitting, leisurely paring his own nails, a duty generally undertaken by the barber (cp. Plaut. Aul. 310 *quin ipse pridem tonsor unguis dempserat, collegit, omnia abstulit praesegmina*, Mart. III. 74), and his comfortable repose attracted the interest of Philippus. There is nothing to show (as Macleane supposes) that 'he was jealous, and resolved to spoil his independence, if he could': v. 74 certainly does not prove this.

52. non laeve = οὐ σκαιῶς: the adverbial form is not found elsewhere. Demetrius was the usual *pedisequus* of Philippus.

53. unde domo, 'where he comes from'. Cp. Verg. VIII. 114 *unde domo* = πόθεν οἰκόθεν. Orelli says the word is frequently used in inscriptions to denote the town from which a man comes.

54. quove patrono: a freedman had no father, in the eyes of the law, but his place was taken to a certain extent by his patronus. In the account brought back by Demetrius the mention of the name *Menas* (a Greek name contracted from *Menodorus*, like *Hermas* for *Hermodorus*, *Demas* for *Demodorus* (?) etc. cp. Moulton's Winer p. 128, Lightfoot on Coloss. IV. 12, 15) sufficed to show that he was a freedman; hence no further answer is given to this question, for *Volteius* must have been his patron.

55. Volteium: several of this *gens* are mentioned in history, and the name occurs on a Pompeian inscription, No. 1782 of the Corp. Inscr. Lat. Vol. IV.: *esse* is understood, and the following accusatives are in apposition.

56. praeconem: v. 65 shows that he was not an official herald, but an auctioneer: cp. A. P. 419: Cic. de Nat. Deor. III. 34, 84 *haec per praeconem vendidit.* Mayor on Juv. VII. 6.

sine crimine: for a preposition with its case serving as an adjective cp. Ov. Am. I. 3, 13 *sine crimine mores*, Trist. IV. 10,

71 *sine crimine coniunx*, Cic. de Orat. I. 23, 105 *loquacitatem sine usu* (note).

notum properare 'well known for working with energy': for the construction cp. Sil. Ital. XII. 330 *Delius avertet propiora pericula vates Troianos notus semper minuisse labores*. This is an instance of Horace's free use of the infinitive (cp. Ritter on Carm. I. 1, 18 or Wickham's Appendix II.) and is better than Orelli's interpretation, which places a comma after *notum* and takes it absolutely. Bentley inclines, though with doubt, to the reading *sine crimine natum*, but, besides having very slight MS. support, this is ill suited to a freedman *sine patre*.—**loco** 'at the right time', not quite (as Yonge) ὅταν τύχῃ, but rather ἐν καιρῷ. Cp. Carm. IV. 12, 28, Ter. Ad. 216, Roby § 1172, S. G. § 488.

cessare 'taking holiday': *cessare otiari et iucunde vivere* Comm. Cruq. Ep. I. 10, 46, II. 2, 183 &c.

58. **parvis** 'humble' like himself.—**lare certo** 'a house of his own'; he is not like Maenius in Ep. I. 15, 28. Bentley's suggestion *curto* would be redundant after *tenui censu*.

59. **ludis**: sc. scaenicis et circensibus: these were held only on days of general holiday, so the limitation *post decisa negotia* is not needed in this case.

campo, sc. Martio: Carm. I. 8, 4, Sat. II. 6, 49, Ep. I. 11, 4. The usual time for exercise in the *campus* was the eighth hour: the amusements there practised were running, jumping, wrestling, boxing, spear-throwing, riding, swimming in the Tiber, and ball-playing.

60. **scitari**, a good instance of the reflexive deponent 'to make myself informed', Roby, § 734, 1419: the word is not used in good prose.

61. **non sane** = οὐ πάνυ, but in both cases the question has been raised whether the negative is strengthened or weakened by the added particle. The former seems to be the case: cp. Cope's Gorgias App. ii., Cic. de Orat. II. 1, 5 (note), de Off. II. 2, 5 *haud sane intellego:* Ep. II. 1, 106, Sat. II. 3, 138. Hence we must reject Orelli's *vix* as an equivalent.

62. **benigne**: cp. v. 16.

63. **neget**, 'is he to refuse me?' Roby S. G. § 674. **improbus** 'the impudent fellow', from the point of view of Demetrius. We need not, with Orelli, try to weaken the force of the epithet by referring to our colloquial use of words like 'wretch', or 'rascal'.

64. **mane**, 'next morning'.

65. tunicato: the cumbrous toga was seldom worn by the poorer classes at Rome, except on ceremonial occasions. Tac. Dial. 7 *volgus imperitum et tunicatus hic populus.* Augustus was annoyed at the disuse of the national dress, and forbade the citizens to appear in the forum or circus without the toga (Suet. Aug. 40). In the country it was still less used: Juv. III. 171 *pars magna Italiae est...in quo nemo togam sumit nisi mortuus* (cp. Mayor's note); Mart. X. 47, 5 *toga rara;* 51. 6 *tunicata quies.*

scruta, 'odds and ends', the connexion commonly asserted with the equivalent Greek γρύτη is doubtful: cp. Vaniček p. 210 and 1121. *Scrutator* : *scruta* :: *chiffonier* : *chiffon.*

66. occupat = φθάνει, comes upon him before he sees him. **prior**: the inferior would naturally be the first to offer a salutation; cp. Mart. III. 95, 1 *nunquam dicis 'ave', sed reddis, Naevole, semper...cur hoc expectes a me, rogo, Naevole, dicas, nam puto, nec melior, Naevole, nec prior es.*

67. excusare 'began pleading...as his reason'. Cic. Phil. IX. 4, 8 *excusare morbum.*

mercennaria: all good MSS. here (as usually) give the *nn*, where the first *n* represents the assimilated *d* of *merced*, the second a suffix *-on:* cp. Roby § 942, 1. The meaning therefore cannot be (as Macleane says), 'the bonds of buying and selling', which would involve no *merces*, but his salaried duties, 'hireling bonds': cp. Sat. I. 6, 86 *si praeco parvas...mercedes sequerer.*

68. domum venisset, for the morning *salutatio*, which would be expected from an inferior after the compliment of such an invitation.

69. providisset: cp. Plaut. Asin. 447 *non hercle te providerem: quaeso ne vitio vortas;* Ter. Andr. 183 *erus est, neque provideram.* **sic...si** 'on condition that' Roby § 1571.

70. ut libet 'as you please', i.e. if you wish it.

72. dicenda...tacenda, i.e. whatever came into his head, with no suggestion of blame, as in Demosth. de Cor. § 157 καὶ βοᾷς ῥητὰ καὶ ἄρρητα ὀνομάζων. There is a similar asyndeton in *fanda nefanda* (Catull. LXIV. 405); cp. Cic. Tusc. V. 39, 114, where there is a series of such contrasts. In Pers. IV. 5 the phrase is used quite differently: see Gildersleeve's note or Conington.

73. dimittitur 'is allowed to go home.' Orelli's notion that Mena needed a kindly hint that it was time for him to go is not required. Like all the compounds of *mitto*, *dimitto* often means to allow to go, rather than to send.

74. **occultum**=*opertum* in Ep. I. 16, 51. **piscis**: the particle of comparison is omitted, and the metaphor is incorporated with the main clause, as often: cp. Ep. I. 1, 2.

75. **certus** 'regular', one who could be relied upon: Bentley's suggestion of *serus*, as in Sat. II. 8, 33, 'coming in at a moment's notice to fill up a gap', is quite needless.

76. **rura**, 'estates', has the construction of *rus*: cp. Verg. Aen. I. 2, *Lavinaque venit litora.*

indictis Latinis. The *feriae Latinae* were not *statae* but *conceptivae*, i.e. were held at a time fixed each year by the consuls, and proclaimed by a *praeco*. Until they had held this festival on the Alban Mount, the consuls were not allowed to leave Rome (Liv. XXI. 63). The festival was made the occasion for a general holiday, and was always accompanied by a *iustitium*, so that Philippus had no legal business to keep him in the city. Mommsen Hist. I. 41—42.

77. **impositus mannis**, not 'on horseback', in which case the plural (which some editors have explained as for *uni ex mannis*) would barely be justifiable; but in the carriage drawn by *manni*, as in Carm. III. 27, 7. Orelli quotes Ov. Pont. III. 4, 100 *filius et iunctis, ut prius, ibit equis*, where however *iunctis* determines the meaning of the phrase more clearly: as in Verg. Aen. XII. 736 *cum prima in proelia iunctos conscendebat equos.* In Verg. Aen. IX. 777 (quoted by Lewis and Short for the use of *equi* for a chariot) there is nothing to point to the singular force. But cp. Ov. Her. II. 80 *inque capistratis tigribus alta sedet* of the car of Bacchus drawn by tigers. Homer has often ἵπποι in this sense, e.g. Il. V. 13, τὼ μὲν ἀφ' ἵπποιιν, 46 ἵππων ἐπιβησόμενον, X. 330 μὴ μὴν τοῖς ἵπποισιν ἀνὴρ ἐποχήσεται ἄλλος.

manni 'were small Gallic horses ['cobs'] famous for swiftness and evidently in great demand at Rome for use in harness.' Munro on Lucret. III. 1063 *currit agens mannos ad villam praecipitantes*: cp. Ov. Am. II. 16, 49 *rapientibus esseda mannis*; but they were also used for riding; cp. Auson. Ep. VIII. 7 *vel celerem mannum vel ruptum terga veredum conscendas, propere dummodo iam venias*, though apparently only in an emergency. I cannot find the authority on which Forcellini (followed by Orelli) defines a *mannus* as 'animal ex equo et asina natum'.

Sabinum: the shortness of the holiday (six days) prevented Philippus from visiting any of the sea-side retreats in Campania. **arvum caelumque**, i.e. the fertility of the soil, and the pleasant climate. Probably the *praeco* had rarely been able to leave Rome; for as a rule a Sabine farm was not much valued: cp. Carm. II. 18, 14 and Ellis on Catull. XLIV. 2.

79. requiem 'recreation' (Cic. de Am. 15, 52). **risus** 'amusement' (Sat. II. 2, 107). **undique** 'from any source'= quoquo modo.

dum...donat 'by giving him': *dum* is used with an intentional negligenee in two slightly varying senses. **septem sestertia,** at this time worth about £60.

83. nitido 'trim townsman': Martin 'dapper cit'.

84. crepat, cp. Sat. I. 3, 13, *reges atque tetrarchos, omnia magna, loquens:* 'has nothing but furrows and vineyards on his lips'. Cp. Carm. I. 18, 5; Cic. de Orat. II. 22, 94 (note); Cic. ad Att. IX. 13, 1 *mera scelera loquuntur.*

praeparat ulmos, i.e. for vines, which were trained to grow up them, as still in Italy: cp. Carm. II. 15, 4 *platanusque caelebs* (which could not be used for this purpose, because of its broad and shady leaves) *evincat ulmos:* Epod. II. 10, *adulta vitium propagine altas maritat populos:* Verg. Georg. II. 361 *summasque sequi tabulata per ulmos.* Here Mena is represented as pruning the *tabulata* or tiers of branches by removing intermediate boughs and superfluous twigs. 'The trees were planted in rows, forty feet asunder, if the land between them was tilled for corn (as was usually the case), otherwise twenty feet; the distance between the trees in the row was to be twenty feet. The trees as they grew were to be pruned, so that the first seven or eight feet of their stem might be free from branches. Above that height the branches on each side were to be formed into *tabulata* or stories, three feet asunder, and not in the same plane, on which the vines might be trained. The vine was to be planted a foot and a half from the tree. Colum. V. 7, de Arb. 16, Plin. XVII. 23 [199—203]' Keightley on Vergil's Georgics p. 352. Pliny adds *nobilia vina non nisi in arbustis gigni* and *sexto anno maritantur.*

85. studiis dat. as in Quinct. IX. 3, 73 *immori legationi.* **senescit:** Ep. II. 2, 82.

87. mentita: Carm. III. 1, 30 *fundus mendax,* III. 16, 30 *segetis certa fides;* Sil. Ital. VII. 160 of the Falernian district *dives ea et nunquam tellus mentita colono.*

enectus: Priscian IX. 6, 34 quotes this line and compares Livy (XXI. 41) *fame frigore, illuvie squalore enecti* and Cic. Tusc. I. 5, 10 *enectus siti Tantalus* (in a quotation from an unknown poet), adding 'sed proprie necatus ferro, nectus vero alia vi peremptus dicitur'. Neue (*Formenlehre* II. 554) gives other instances of *enectus* but quotes only Pliny for *enecatus.* Ritter's notice that Mena worked his ox to death in trying to make up for his losses is a little farfetched: it is simpler to suppose that the soil of the farm was stony.

88. media de nocte: Roby § 1911, S. G. § 812 (*d*): he will not wait for the daylight before he carries out his impatient resolve. **caballum**, usually of a riding horse, as in Sat. I. 6, 59, Ep. I. 14, 43, Juv. X. 60 (cp. III. 118), but here probably of a cart-horse, as in Ep. I. 18, 36. Mena is not likely to have kept a 'cob', as some render it.

91. durus = *duri patiens laboris*: cp. Ep. I. 16, 70. **attentus** ad rem (Ter. Ad. 834): cp. Sat. II. 6, 82 *asper et attentus quaesitis.*

92. pol: Ep. II. 2, 138. This expression was used both by men and women (Gell. XI. 6, Macrob. I. 12, 28) though the latter preferred as a rule *mecastor*, probably because of the resemblance in sound to *castum* and *castitas* (Preller, Röm. Myth. p. 653). Terence never uses this form, but in Plautus it is common.

93. ponere = imponere: cp. Sat. I. 3, 42 *isti errori nomen virtus posuisset honestum*: so τιθέναι ὄνομα. The inferior MSS. give *dicere*, which is an explanatory gloss. Cp. Plaut. Pers. IV. 4, 25 *nunc et illum miserum et me miseram aequom est nominarier.*

94. quod, Roby § 2214, S. G. § 871, 5. Cp. Verg. Aen. II. 141 *quod te per superos...oro* with Conington's note: ib. VI. 363. Ter. Andr. 289 *quod ego per hanc te dextram oro et genium tuom* (Wagner). For the genius or tutelary spirit cp. Ep. II. 2, 187, and see Preller, Röm. Myth. p. 567: 'the genius as such is always good, and the source of the good gifts and hours which brighten the life of the individual man, and also the source of his physical and mental health, in a word, his good spirit: hence the oaths and conjurings by one's own genius or that of another, in which latter case along with the genius of a friend, his right hand, i.e. his honour, his eyes, i.e. the light of his body, or his Penates, i.e. the sanctities of his house and home, are often named'.

96. qui semel aspexit. Horace, after his fashion, sums up the lesson of the foregoing story in brief. The reading *semel* appears to be found only in the *cod. Mart.* of Cruquius: all other MSS. have the meaningless *simul*, which has come in from v. 90. It is possible that *aspexit* is due to a like blunder on the part of a copyist: in any case it is an awkward repetition, especially as the word is used in a somewhat different sense. But cp. *circumdata* in Sat. I. 2, 96, 99, *accedere*, Sat. II. 3, 149, 154. Keller conjectured, but has now withdrawn, *agnovit*. Cp. Ep. I. 17, 4.

98. verum, 'right', Sat. II. 3, 212, Ep. I. 12, 23. So often

in Livy. **pede**: apparently only a variation of the idea in *modulo*, 'foot-rule'.

EPISTLE VIII.

This Epistle was written in B.C. 20, and is addressed to the Celsus Albinovanus who is mentioned in Ep. I. 3, 15 as one of the suite accompanying Tiberius in his expedition to Armenia. It may possibly have been sent at the same time as Ep. III. The tone is curiously self-reproachful; it is not likely to have been adopted by Horace simply in order to relieve his own feelings: such a view would be inconsistent with the relations which seem to have existed between Horace and Celsus, who was probably young enough to have been his son. It is more likely assumed to prepare for, and at the same time to soften, the kindly warning to a friend whose pride in his advancement at court seemed to require a check.

1—12. *Bear my greetings, Muse, to Celsus; and if he asks of me, tell him that I am but ill content with my own temper, sloth and fickleness.*

1. gaudere et bene rem gerere, 'greeting and good wishes' =χαίρειν καὶ εὖ πράττειν: cp. Plaut. Trin. 772—3 *salutem ei nuntiet verbis patris: illum bene gerere rem et valere et vivere.* Perhaps there is here a reference also to his duties as secretary (*scriba*): 'wishes for his success in his new office'. **Albinovano**: an instance of an *agnomen* added to a *cognomen*, as in the case of the poet *Pedo Albinovanus:* the origin of the name is obscure; Ritter suggests Albium Intimalium (now Ventimiglia) in Liguria as a possible place of origin. The name was borne by a P. Tullius sixty years before this in the civil wars (Appian, B.C. I. 62), and by a M. Tullius contemporary with Cicero (ad Quint. Fr. II. 3, 5).

2. rogata, sc. a me 'at my request'. **refer** 'bear', as often with *mandata* etc., where *re* has the meaning not of 'back', but of execution of a duty; cp. the similar use of ἀποδίδωμι; there is no reason to suppose this letter an answer to one from Celsus. **comiti**: Mommsen (*Hermes*, IV. p. 122) argues that *comes* is used here merely as 'companion on a journey', not technically, as in Ep. I. 3, 6. In v. 14 *cohorti* denotes the suite.

3. quid agam: cp. Ov. Trist. I. 1, 17 *si quis quid agam forte requirat erit, vivere me dices, salvum tamen esse negabis.*

multa et pulchra minantem, 'in spite of many fine promises', not limited to literary work, but extending to the conduct of life generally. For the phrase see Sat. II. 3, 9.

4. **grando**: Carm. III. 1, 29 *non verberatae grandine vineae.*

5. **oleamve**: supported by good MSS. against the vulgate *oleamque*, which Bentley first expelled. Either would stand, but the former is better. **aestus**, Carm. I. 17, 18. **momorderit**, Sat. II. 6, 45.

6. **longinquis**. Cattle were driven from farms in the mountains to the 'distant' pastures of Apulia and Lucania in the summer-time, as is still the custom. Cp. Epod. I. 27, 28, Carm. I. 31, 5.

8. **velim**, reported reason after *dic.*

10. **cur**, 'because': Carm. I. 33, 3 *neu decantes elegos cur tibi iunior laesa praeniteat fide:* Cic. ad Att. III. 13, 2 *me saepe accusas, cur hunc meum casum tam graviter feram:* so in Ver. III. 7, 16 *primum illud reprehendo et accuso, cur in re tam vetere quicquam novi feceris.* In all these instances 'asking why' perhaps gives the true force better.

arcere: the construction is as in Ep. I. 1, 31, A. P. 64.

12. **ventosus**, 'fickle as the wind'. Ep. I. 19, 37. Even Bentley does not attempt to defend the reading of the vet. Bland. *venturus*, though supported by some of his own older MSS., as against the express testimony of Servius on Aen. IV. 224, which is older than any of our MSS. It is evidently only the correction of a grammarian who thought that *Tibure* must mean 'from Tibur'; and is another indication that in some places at all events the famous Blandinian MSS. give us a clever recension, rather than a genuine tradition.

Tibur: Horace frequently represents himself as staying at Tibur; and Suetonius (Vit. Horat.) says *vixit plurimum in secessu ruris sui Sabini aut Tiburtini, domusque eius ostenditur circa Tiburni luculum.* I think it quite impossible with Orelli to understand such passages as Carm. IV. 2, 30—32, IV. 3, 10 as referring to Horace's Sabine farm, which must have been at least 12 miles from Tibur (cp. also Carm. III. 4, 21—24): Carm. II. 18, 14 would at most prove that seven or eight years before the date of this epistle he had only one estate in the country, and (especially if we accept Madvig's interpretation of *satis* as abl. of *sata*) would not tell at all against his ownership of a *domus* elsewhere, which would not bring him any income. Ritter's notion that a house at Tibur was given to Horace by Augustus as a reward for the *carmen saeculare* in B.C. 17 is ingenious, but has little support. I do not see why we should reject the clear testimony of Suetonius: Horace does not describe his house at Rome any more than that at Tibur, but

no one doubts that he possessed one. It seems better to punctuate after than before *ventosus*, in spite of Ritter's pleading for the latter.

13—17. *If all is well with him, bid him bear his fortune wisely, if he wishes to retain our regard.*

13. rem gerat et se, 'he prospers in his duties and in himself'.

14. iuveni, at this time 23 years of age. **ut,** cp. Ep. I. 3, 12.

15. subinde 'then', not as in Sat. II. 5, 103 'from time to time'. The word is often used in both senses by Livy: cp. VIII. 27, 1 *aliud subinde bellum* with IX. 16, 4 *itaque subinde exsecuntur legati:* cp. Kühnast Liv. Synt. p. 357: but is not used by any earlier author.

17. ut tu, etc. The tendency to vanity, which seems to have exposed Celsus to the danger of publishing poems with little originality in them (Ep. I. 3, 15), here called for a friendly warning, strangely misunderstood by some editors, who have found in it a serious censure.

EPISTLE IX.

Septimius, on whose behalf this charming letter of introduction was addressed to Tiberius Claudius, was undoubtedly the friend who is greeted with so much affection in Carm. II. 6. The Comm. Cruq. says that his name was Titius Septimius, and identifies him with the Titius of Ep. I. 3, 9. This is highly improbable, for the combination of two gentile names was at this time unknown. There is no other reason, besides this assumed identity, to suppose that the occasion of this letter was the expedition of Tiberius to the East; and the omission of the name of Septimius in Ep. I. 3 makes it improbable; *domo* (v. 4) and *gregis* (v. 13) point rather to an introduction of the usual kind. There is nothing to determine the date, except that it is likely to have been before rather than after B.C. 20.

1—13. *Septimius of course knows better than I do, Claudius, what influence I have with you. I have tried to excuse myself, but I would rather appear forward than selfish, and therefore I venture to introduce him to you as worthy of your friendship.*

1. nimirum 'of course', used by Horace ironically in Sat. II. 2, 106; but not in Sat. II. 3, 120, Ep. I. 14, 11; 15, 42, II. 2, 141. (L. and S. are misleading here.) Lucretius and Cicero seem always to use the word seriously: Livy and Tacitus have

the ironical force. Cp. Hand Tursell. IV. 203 ff. **unus** 'is the only man who', not quite 'better than all others' as in Sat. II. 6, 57 and often with superlatives.

3. **scilicet** 'you must know', i.e. just fancy! Sat. II. 2, 140. **tradere** 'introduce', as in Sat. I. 9, 47 *hunc hominem si velles tradere:* Ep. I. 18, 78; Cic. ad Fam. VII. 17, 2 *sic ei te commendavi et tradidi, ut gravissime diligentissimeque potui.*

4. **mente** 'judgment', i.e. approval. **Neronis** 'of a man like Nero', more emphatic than *tua.*

legentis honesta: cp. Tac. Ann. VI. 51 of Tiberius *egregius vita famaque, quoad privatus vel in imperio sub Augusto fuit.* Ep. I. 3, 6. The discretion of Tiberius was so conspicuous at an early age that he was called ὁ πρεσβύτης: cp. Philo Leg. ad Caium § 26: πρὸς τὸ σεμνότερόν τε καὶ αὐστηρότερον σχέδον ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας ἐπικλινῶς εἶχεν. Horace shows admirable tact in the manner in which he adapts his language at once to the elevated tastes and the reserved temper of Tiberius.

honesta 'all that is virtuous': cp. Sat. I. 6, 63 *qui turpi secernis honestum:* the expression is somewhat more general, and therefore more complimentary, than if the masculine had been used, as in Sat. I. 6, 51 *cautum dignos adsumere:* cp. Carm. I. 34, 14 *insignem attenuat deus, obscura promens.* We find however *prima virorum* (Lucr. I. 86 'a harsh expression' Munro), *summa ducum Atrides* (Ov. Am. I. 9, 37).

6. **valdius** 'better', A. P. 321 *valdius oblectat.*

8. **mea minora**, i.e. my influence as less than it really was.

9. **dissimulator**, like the εἴρων who δοκεῖ ἀρνεῖσθαι τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἢ ἐλάττω ποιεῖν (Ar. Eth. IV. 3).

opis 'power', as in Verg. Aen. I. 601 *non opis est nostrae.*

commodus 'willing to oblige'.

10. **maioris culpae**, i.e. selfishness.

11. **frontis urbanae**, the cool assurance of a man accustomed to society (Ep. I. 15, 27), as opposed to the *pudor rusticus* (cp. Cic. ad Fam. V. 12, 1 *deterruit pudor quidam paene subrusticus*). *frons* never (like *os*, e.g. Cic. de Orat. I. 38, 175) carries in itself the meaning of boldness or impudence, but derives this force from the adjective: cp. Carm. II. 5, 15 *proterva fronte:* Quint. II. 4, 16 *inverecunda frons.* **praemia**, not 'prizes' but 'privileges' or advantages. Cic. Tusc. V. 7, 20 *Xerxes refertus omnibus praemiis donisque fortunae:* **descendi** 'I have made up my mind to avail myself' with a certain notion

of reluctance: Cic. ad Fam. VIII. 8, 9 *alteram utram ad condicionem descendere volt Caesar;* Liv. XXIII. 14, 3 *ad ultimum prope desperatae reipublicae auxilium...descendit;* Verg. Aen. V. 782 *preces descendere in omnes.* Hence there is no reference whatever to the arena (as Macleane supposes), as though it could be regarded as the summit of impudence for Horace to introduce a friend.

12. depositum laudas pudorem 'you praise me for putting my blushes by'.

13. tui gregis 'as one of your company', not = *cohors* 'suite', but much more general. Cp. Cic. de Orat. II. 62, 253 *gregales:* ad Fam. VII. 33, 1 *gregalibus illis, quibus te plaudente vigilamus amissis.* For the gen. cp. Carm. III. 13, 13 *fies nobilium tu quoque fontium.* Madvig § 284, obs. 2 quotes Cic. pro Caec. 35, 102 *Ariminenses, quos quis ignorat duodecim coloniarum fuisse?* Cp. Roby § 1290. S. G. § 520.

fortem bonumque. a conventional phrase of commendation like καλὸν κἀγαθόν 'true-hearted worthy man': cp. Sat. II. 5, 102.

EPISTLE X.

Aristius Fuscus was an intimate friend of Horace, addressed by him in Carm. I. 22, and mentioned also in Sat. I. 9, 61; 10, 83, in the former case as playing a mischievous joke upon him, in the latter among other friends as *optimus.* Some MSS. here have the heading *Ad Aristium Fuscum Grammaticum,* and Acron on Sat. I. 9, 61 says *hic fuit grammaticus illius temporis doctissimus:* here he says he was a writer of tragedies, while Porphyrion calls him a writer of comedies. There is mention also of *Aristii Fusci grammatici liber ad Asinium Pollionem* (cp. Orelli ad Sat. l. l.). It is clear that he was a literary man, and from this epistle it appears that he did not share Horace's love for the country and its pursuits. There is nothing to determine the date of this epistle, but it may well come within the limits assigned to the others in this book, i.e. between B.C. 22 and B.C. 20.

1—11. *Greeting to my friend Fuscus, so like me in everything, except that he is a lover of the town, I of the country; for I can now only enjoy a simple life.*

1. iubemus, plural for the singular, as so commonly in Cicero: it is less common to have a plural substantive: but cp. Cic. ad Att. I. 1, 2 *excurremus legati ad Pisonem:* Roby § 2298, S. G. § 904.

8. **dissimiles**: to take this (with Krüger) as 'unlike him', still referring to Horace alone, while *gemelli* is a true plural, is very harsh. It is much better to punctuate more fully at *amatores*.

at cetera has not so much support from the better MSS. as *ad cetera;* but the latter is so evidently the grammatical correction of a copyist, who did not see the construction of *cetera* ('as to all other things', as below in l. 50; cp. Carm. IV. 2, 60; Verg. Aen. III. 594 *at cetera Graius*) that all good recent editors have without hesitation adopted it. The punctuation of these lines is very uncertain. Bentley has *amatores;...dissimiles:...animis:—pariter: columbi,* Orelli *amatores,...dissimiles,...animis ...pariter...columbi.* Munro again *amatores...dissimiles,...animis, ...pariter:...columbi,* Krüger *amatores,...dissimiles:...animis... pariter...columbi:* Keller agrees with Munro's view, which is virtually the same as Bentley's. It is clearly better (1) to connect *dissimiles* with *gemelli* rather than *amatores,* (2) to take *columbi* with *nidum servas* rather than *adnuimus.* Orelli unnaturally refers *adnuimus* to the action of the pigeons *rostra amantissime conserentes,* which was called *columbari.* Translate 'A lover of the country, I send my greeting to Fuscus, a lover of the city. In this one matter, to be sure, much unlike, but in all else all but twins, with the hearts of brothers; whatever one denies, the other denies too, and we assent alike: we are like a pair of pigeons long attached and well known to each other, but you keep your nest, I praise &c.'

paene, a much better orthography than *pene,* which Munro prints here, apparently only by oversight. Cp. Carm. II. 13, 21; Sat. I. 2, 101; 5, 72; Ellendt on Cic. de Orat. I. 3, 10. C. I. L. I. 1009.

5. **vetuli**: Fuscus appears on intimate terms with Horace in Sat. I. 9, which must have been written about 15 years before this epistle.

7. **circumlita** 'overspread': the unusual expression for *circumdata* seems intended to suggest the smooth softness of the moss.

8. **quid quaeris?** 'in short', a very common phrase, especially in Cicero's letters, when a writer drops details and makes a general statement: cp. Cic. ad Att. II. 1, 2 with Boot's note. It is not quite as Orelli says 'ultro tibi omnia dicam': but rather 'why ask about each point?' The rendering in the Globe edition 'do you ask why?' is a very curious slip.

regno 'I feel myself a king'.

9. **effertis**; the authority for this form is too strong to

allow us to reject it, with some good editors, as simply a gloss on *fertis;* and the rhythm, which would be decisive in Vergil, carries far less weight in Horace. Cp. Cic. Ep. IX. 14. 1 *te summis laudibus ad caelum extulerunt.*

rumore secundo 'with loud applause', lit. 'with approving cries'. The phrase seems to have been a poetical commonplace: Macrobius (Sat. VI. 1, 37) in illustration of Verg. Aen. VIII. 90 *ergo iter inceptum peragunt rumore secundo* quotes from Sueius [of uncertain date] *redeunt referunt rumore petita secundo;* and Nonius (p. 444, 2) adds to the line from Vergil one from Ennius (Annal. VII.) *populi rumore secundo,* and an example in prose from Fenestella, a later contemporary of Livy. Cp. Cic. de Div. I. 16, 29; Tac. Ann. III. 29.

10. liba 'cakes' made of flour and milk or oil (Athen. III. 125 f. πλακοῦς ἐκ γάλακτος ἰτρίων τε καὶ μέλιτος ὃν Ῥωμαῖοι λίβον καλοῦσι), and often spread with honey. Cato de R. Rust. LXXV. directs that they should be made of pounded cheese, fine flour, and an egg. For the *placenta* (which is here identical with the *libum*) he gives much more elaborate directions in c. LXXVI. *Placenta* is a curious instance of a Greek loan-word (πλακόεντα acc.) transformed by popular etymology at an early stage: cp. Hehn Kulturpflanzen[3] p. 492, Mommsen I. 206; *libum* is identical with our *loaf*, and has lost an initial *c*, as that has lost an *h* (A. S. *hláf*); cp. Corssen Nachtr. p. 36. The priest's slave ran away, because he was tired of being fed on the sacrificial cakes.

11. pane egeo: Horace has the ablative also in Carm. I. 22, 2; but the genitive eight times: in four other instances the word is used absolutely. Cicero has the ablative frequently, the genitive only in two doubtful instances (ad Att. VII. 22, 2 cp. Boot; ad Fam. IX. 3, 2); Plautus, Sallust, Livy (twice; but more usually the ablative), and later writers have the genitive.

12—21. *There is no place better than the country for leading a life of simple conformity with nature: the climate is so mild, the herbage so fragrant, the water so pure.*

12. convenienter naturae; i.e. if we are to take the rule of the Stoics as our guide, which makes it the *summum bonum* ὁμολογουμένως τῇ φύσει ζῆν: this Cicero (de Off. III. 3, 13) explains to mean *cum virtute congruere semper, cetera autem, quae secundum naturam essent, ita legere, si ea virtuti non repugnarent.* But probably Horace used the phrase in a looser fashion.

13. ponendaeque domo: it is apparently only the rarity of the form *domo* for the dative—Neue Formenlehre I. 520 quotes it

only from Cato (three times) and an inscription—which has led to the reading *ponendaque* in the *vet. Bland.*, although Neue thinks the ablative may possibly be defended by Tac. Ann. III. 19 *is finis fuit ulciscenda Germanici morte*, XIV. 4 *prosequitur abeuntem artius oculis et pectori haerens, sive explenda simulatione seu* etc. But this construction is too unnatural to be forced upon Horace without overwhelming authority, which there certainly is not here. The thought is compressed, and, if expanded, would run somewhat thus, 'and if the first thing to be done is to choose the suitable sphere, as you would first choose the site if you were building a house'.

15. **tepeant**; of course the winters are not milder in the country than in town; but Horace is thinking of his own country-house, sheltered by hills from the colder winds.

16. **rabiem Canis**: the dog-star rises on July 20th, but becomes visible only on July 26th. The sun enters the constellation Leo on July 23rd.

momenta: perhaps best taken as in Ep. I. 6, 4 of 'motions', i.e. the celestial movements which bring the Sun near to the Lion, which his keen rays are represented as stinging into a fury, thus causing intense heat. Others translate 'time' during which Leo is passing, 'influence' or 'attacks'. Conington renders 'Or when the Lion feels in every vein, The sun's sharp thrill, and maddens with the pain'. *Momentum* means sometimes a motion, sometimes a moving force.

18. **divellat**=*abrumpat*. This is better than the v. l. *depellat*, both as better supported on the whole, and as a less obvious reading. Cp. Verg. G. III. 530 *somnos abrumpit cura*: Ov. Am. II. 10, 19 *amor somnos abrumpat*.

19. **olet**: the mosaic pavements, so well known to us from the remains of Roman villas (cp. Becker Gallus II. 245—251), were often sprinkled with perfumes. **Libycis**; the Numidian marble is often mentioned: e.g. Carm. II. 18, 4: cp. Plin. H. N. XXXVI. 8, 6.

lapillis: 2000 distinct pieces of coloured marble have been counted in a single square foot of one of the mosaics at Pompeii (Becker p. 249).

20. **vicis** 'quarters' or 'streets' of the city. **plumbum**: in the time of Horace water was brought into Rome by five or six large aqueducts (afterwards increased to fourteen), each supplying one large reservoir (*castellum*). Sometimes leaden pipes (*fistulae* or *tubuli*) were used instead of or within the water-channel (*specus*) of the aqueduct; but more commonly they were employed to distribute the water from the *castellum* to the public

pools and fountains (*lacus et salientes*), from which water was fetched for domestic purposes (cp. Sat. I. 4, 37), or afterwards to *castella privata*. Cp. Martinus *de Aquaeductibus Urbis Romae*, Becker Röm. Alt. I. pp. 701—708, or the excellent article on *Aquaeductus* by P. S. in the Dict. Ant.

22—25. *Even those who live in towns endeavour to imitate the charms of the country: so powerful is nature.*

22. nempe 'why', quoting something which is universally admitted: cp. Sat. I. 10, 1. Roby § 517, S.G. § 218. **varias** 'variegated', referring to the diversified colours of the marble, the *marmor maculosum* of Plin. H. N. XXXVI. 5; cp. Sen. Thyest. 646 *immane tectum, cuius auratae trabes variis columnae nobiles maculis ferunt*, Epist. 115, 8 *nos* [delectant] *ingentium maculae columnarum*. Becker *Gallus* I. 36 mentions six different kinds of variegated marble in fashion at Rome, Numidian, Phrygian (or Synnadic), Taenarian, Laconian, Thessalian, and Carystian.

silva, the *nemus inter pulchra satum tecta* of Carm. III. 10, 5; at the back of a Roman house there was very commonly a garden surrounded by a colonnade (*peristylium*); to this some have given the special name *viridarium*, but it seems very doubtful whether the word was so restricted. Cp. Suet. Tib. LX, Cic. ad Att. II. 3, 2 (where the *viridaria* are seen through the windows of the house), Petron. c. IX, etc. The *silva* belonging to the house of Atticus on the Quirinal (Corn. Nepos Att. XIII. 2), to which Orelli refers, does not appear to have been within the building.

23. quae prospicit agros: it appears from Carm. III. 29, 5 that the town-house of Maecenas on the Esquiline had a view over the plain as far as Tibur and Tusculum.

24. expelles is found 'in all MSS. of any critical value' (Keller), and was shown by Bentley to be the true reading: Macleane does not notice it, even as a variant! The tense seems to carry here the notion of an incomplete action, i.e. a fruitless endeavour. For the metaphor here used for violent and contumelious ejection, cp. Catull. CV. 2 *Musae furcillis praecipitem eiciunt*, where Ellis quotes δικροῖς ὠθεῖν from Ar. Pax 638 and Cic. ad Att. XVI. 2, 4 *furcilla extrudimur*.

25. mala fastidia 'perverse daintiness', **furtim** Ep. I. 1, 18.

26—33. *A knowledge of the truth, indifference to fortune, and contentment with a little are the true essentials to happiness.*

26. Sidonio, etc. The very expensive true Tyrian or Sidonian purple was imitated by a dye extracted from a kind of lichen or

litmus (now called archil or cudbear): cp. Quint. XII. 10, 75 *ut lana tincta fuco citra purpuras* [i.e. without any admixture of the genuine purple] *placet; at si contuleris Tyriae lacernae, conspectu melioris obruatur, ut Ovidius* [Rem. Am. 707] *ait.* Aquinum was at this time a large and flourishing city, but there is nowhere else any reference to its dye-works. For *purpura*, cp. Mayor's full note on Juv. I. 27. The stem of Sidon is always Sidōn-, except once in Silius, but *ŏ* is often found for metrical reasons in the adjective. **callidus** 'as a connoisseur', Sat. II. 7, 101. **ostro** dative.

28. propiusve medullis 'closer to his heart', i.e. one which he will feel more deeply: **propiusve** has far more support than *propiusque*, and was rightly restored by Bentley: Macleane writes 'I prefer -que'.

30. plus nimio 'quite too much', lit. much more than they should: *nimio* is the abl. of measure, and is used in the sense so common in comedy, = *multo.* So not only in a letter by Antonius (Cic. ad Att. X. 8, A) but five or six times in Livy, e.g. I. 2, 3 *tum nimio plus quam satis tutum esset accolis rem Troianam crescere ratus*, II. 37, 4 *nimio plus quam vellem nostrorum ingenia sunt mobilia.* It is somewhat conversational, but cp. Carm. I. 18, 15; 33, 1.

31. quatient: Carm. III. 3, 4 *mente quatit solida.* **pones**, as in Sat. II. 3, 16 *ponendum aequo animo*, Ep. I. 1, 10; 16, 35, Carm. III. 10, 9.

33. reges 'princes', i.e. the wealthy, as in Sat. I. 2, 86, not, I think, as Orelli takes it, with a reference to the Stoic paradox.

34. cervus equum: this familiar story is said to have been invented by Stesichorus, in order to warn the people of Himera not to place themselves in the power of Phalaris (Arist. Rhet. II. 20, 5). Bentley *on Phalaris* I. p. 106 oddly prefers the authority of Conon 'a writer in Julius Caesar's time' who gives Gelon as the name of the tyrant: but cp. Cope's note on Aristotle.

35. minor = ἥττων, as *melior* = κρείττων.

36. opes 'help', so more commonly in the singular.

37. victo ridens: I have followed L. Müller and Munro in admitting this conjecture into the text, although Bentley's words perhaps remain the fittest commentary; 'illud *victor violens* in mendo cubare facile sentio; medicinam tamen polliceri vix audeo'. *Violens* can hardly bear the sense which Ritter assigns to it 'qui vim sive exitium hosti tulit'; still less can it express (as Macleane thinks) the struggle with which the horse won his

victory, of which the fable has no trace; and as Bentley shows no epithet to *victor* is really wanted. Haupt's *victo ridens* is an ideal emendation so far as the *ductus litterarum* goes, and answers to the phrase in Phaedrus (IV. 3, 5) where a like fable is told of the horse and the boar, *quem dorso levans, it in hostem laetus*. The horse may doubtless be permitted to laugh as a sign of triumph in fable. Bentley had already suggested *victo*, and the addition of the *r* is still more easily explained if the next word began with that letter.

39. **metallis**: a considerable portion of the Roman *vectigalia* was derived from mines in the provinces. Those in Italy were forbidden by a decree of the senate to be worked. Cp. Dict. Ant. p. 1184 *b*. Plin. N. H. XXXIII. 78.

40. **improbus** 'in his greed:' **vehet** has a great predominance of authority in its favour, and is not to be rejected for *vehit* simply on the ground of the preceding *caret*, nor need we regard it as assimilated to the following subjunctives.

42. **olim** of any indefinite time, as in Sat. I. 1, 25 *ut pueris olim dant crustula blandi doctores*, Plaut. Mil. 2 *clarior quam solis radii esse olim quam sudumst solent*.

43. **uret** 'will gall', Ep. I. 13, 6; Prop. IV. (V.) 3, 23 *num teneros urit lorica lacertos?* so *uri* 'to smart' in Sat. II. 7, 58; Ep. I. 16, 47. As in Ep. I. 1, 2; 7, 74, etc. the main thought and the comparison are blended in the form of the expression. If a man has a fortune too large for his position and needs, he will be led into extravagance and so ruined; if he has too small a one, he will be pinched.

44. **laetus** 'if you are well pleased with your lot': **vives** is the future after an expression, equivalent to a hypothetical clause, analogous to the subjunctives in Roby § 1534; but **dimittes** is equivalent to an imperative, Roby § 1589, S. G. § 665 (*b*).

45. **plura cogere**, the last reproach, one would think, to which Horace was open.

46. **cessare**. Ep. I. 7, 57.

48. **tortum digna sequi...funem**: the general meaning of the metaphor is plain enough: its exact reference has been much disputed. Various commentators have thought of a prisoner led by his captor, an animal led to sacrifice, a rope wound round a windlass, a tow-rope, the 'tug of war', or even of a dance (cp. *tu inter eas restim ductans saltabis*, Ter. Ad. 752, Spengel). As *tortus* is a standing epithet of a rope (Verg. Aen. IV. 575; Ov. Met. III. 679; Catull. LXIV. 235, Pers. V. 146), no special force need be assigned to it here: hence the first or second view

is the simplest. Mr Reid writes: 'perhaps the line should be explained by Prop. iv (v) 3, 21 *dignior obliquo funem qui torqueat Ocno, aeternusque tuam pascat, aselle, famem.* Ocnus, eternally twisting the rope for the donkey to eat, was a favorite subject with painters, and even a remote allusion to it would be easily caught. In this case Horace has strongly personified *pecunia*, and says in effect that it oftener represents the imperious donkey, which swallows up the labours of Ocnus, than the patient Ocnus who serves the donkey. This view is not free from objections, but every other interpretation leaves *tortum* quite otiose'.

49. dictabam, the epistolary past imperfect, used from the point of view of the recipient, Roby § 1468, S. G. § 604. **putre** 'crumbling': an inscription has been found referring to the restoration of this very temple, vetus]*tate dilapsam*, by Vespasian; and the ruins of the temple have been discovered by F. Belli: cp. *Bullet. dell' Inst.* 1857, p. 151 ff.

Vacunae, the name of a Sabine goddess very variously identified. Acron quotes Varro as identifying her with Victoria *et ea maxime hi gaudent qui sapientia vincunt:* but Comm. Cruq. quotes the same passage from Varro as showing that she was Minerva *quod ea maxime hi gaudent, qui sapientiae vacant.* Others compared her with Bellona, Diana, Ceres or Venus, so little did her attributes suit any goddess in particular. The fact that Vespasian in restoring her temple dedicated it to Victoria proves that this identification became the official one. But doubtless Horace is here playing on an assumed connexion of her name with *vacare*, as the patron goddess of holidays. Preller (Röm. Myth. p. 360) believes that it is derived rather from *vacuo*, and that it refers to her patronage of the drainage so necessary for the swampy land near Reate, where was her principal temple (cp. Ov. Fast. VI. 301, Merkel).

50. excepto, Roby § 1250, S. G. § 505. **esses,** Roby § 1744, S. G. § 740. 2. **cetera,** Roby § 1102, S. G. § 462.

EPISTLE XI.

Nothing is known of the Bullatius to whom this Epistle is addressed. There is no reason to assume (with Ritter) that he must have visited Asia in the train of Augustus, when he made his tour in the East in B.C. 21—19. Hence there is nothing whatever to determine the date of the letter.

1—6. *What did you think of the famous cities of Asia? Have they no charm in your eyes in comparison with Rome? Or are you enchanted with one of the towns in Pergamus? Or are*

you so tired of travelling that you are contented with any quiet resting-place?

1. **Quid tibi visa** 'what did you think of?' Orelli needlessly supposes a confusion between *quid tibi videtur de...?* and *qualis tibi videtur?* Cp. Ter. Eun. 273 *sed quid videtur hoc tibi mancipium?* Cic. ad Fam. IX. 21. 1 *quid tibi videor in epistulis?*

2. **concinna** 'handsome', apparently from the fine buildings which adorned it, especially the famous temple of Juno: *concinnus* usually carries the meaning of neatness and regularity, and therefore cannot mean (as Ritter says) *grata et apta ad habitandum.* Augustus spent two winters there, B.C. 31—30, and B.C. 30—29.

regia 'royal seat': *Sardis* is nom. plur. *αἱ Σάρδεις.*

3. **Zmyrna**: no good MSS. give the form *Smyrna*, either here or in Cicero (cp. de Rep. I. 8, 13, pro Balb. 11, 28, Phil. XI. 2, 5). The views of the grammarians are discussed by Mr Ellis, *Catullus*[2] p. 344. Cp. Munro on Lucret. IV. 1126.

minorave fama: a much-disputed passage. The MS. evidence seems decidedly in favour of *minorave*, not *minorane.* Keller warmly supports the former, reading *fama?* and takes it as a poetical equivalent for *et cetera*, interpreting 'what did you think of the other towns, whether greater or less in repute?' e.g. Ephesus, Miletus, Pergamum, etc. Munro has the same reading, without comment. It is not possible to translate 'were they greater or less than their reputation?' for *-ve* is never used in disjunctive questions, where two alternatives are contrasted. (Cases like Verg. Aen. X. 93 *aut ego tela dedi, fovive Cupidine bella?* are quite different.) If this is to be the meaning, it is necessary to read *minorane fama?* But it is better with Dillenburger to place a comma after *minorave fama*, translating 'are all, whether greater or less than their reputation, of little account in your eyes compared with?' etc.

4. **sordent?** Some editors print a comma here, instead of beginning a fresh question with *an venit*: the point is not of much importance, but it is perhaps better if we read *minorave*, to make the first question end at *sordent.* There is no grammatical objection to *-ne, an, an*, introducing three alternatives.

campo, at once the finest part of Rome, since the erection of stately buildings there by Agrippa and others, and the scene of its most fashionable life.

5. **An venit**, etc. 'or have you set your heart upon one of the cities of Attalus as your home?' e.g. Pergamum, Apollonia, Thyatira.

6. Lebedum, a small town on the sea between Smyrna and Colophon. **odio maris**, cp. Carm. II. 6, 7 *lasso maris et viarum;* Tac. Ann. II. 14 *taedio viarum ac maris;* Cic. ad Fam. XVI. 4, 1 *non dubito quin, quoad plane valeas, te neque navigationi neque viae committas.*

7—10. These lines are marked in the codd. Bland. as a dialogue between Bullatius and Horace, thus: BULL. *Scis...sit?* HOR. *Gabiis...vicus.* BULL. *tamen...furentem.* We need not assign *Gabiis...vicus* to Horace: but it is very probable that the whole passage is to be regarded as spoken by Bullatius. There is a close parallel in Ep. I. 16, 41—43, where the answer of a supposed interlocutor is similarly brought in without any introductory word, and Horace demurs with a sentence beginning with *sed.* We get additional point in line 26, if we suppose the reference there to be to Lebedus. This view has the support of Haupt and other good recent editors. Sir T. Martin supposes that Bullatius had expressed himself to this effect in some letter to Horace: this is hardly necessary. The idea may have been drawn from his character. *Lebedus is a desolate place, but I should be glad to live there in retirement, watching the raging sea.*

7. Gabiis: cp. Juv. VI. 56, X. 100, where Gabii and Fidenae are coupled as unimportant places. Of Gabii, Dionys. Hal. Ant. R. IV. 53 says *νῦν μὲν οὐκέτι συνοικουμένη πᾶσα, πλὴν ὅσα μέρη πανδοκεύεται κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν* [i.e. the road to Praeneste] *τότε δὲ πολυάνθρωπος καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλη μεγάλη.*

8. Fidenis: Verg. Aen. VI. 773 shortens the first syllable, *urbemque Fidenam*, Juvenal l.c. like Prop. IV. (V) 1, 36 lengthens it.

vellem. Roby § 1536, S. G. § 644.

9. oblitus, 'my friends forgetting, by my friends forgot,' Con. and Martin; a version imitated from Pope's imitation of Horace, Eloisa to Abelard, 207:

> 'How happy is the blameless Vestal's lot,
> The world forgetting, by the world forgot.'

11. lutoque. Some commentators have gravely doubted whether there was mud in the Appian Way. Lucilius (Frag. 88 Lachm.) seems to have found some: *omne iter est hoc labosum atque lutosum.* The road was at this time strewn with gravel (*glarea*) instead of *silex.* Wilmanns, no. 935.

11—16. *Nay, but what may be good enough for a time, will not satisfy one always.*

12. caupona. The metaphor of an inn was commonly employed by the philosophers of the time, e.g. Arrian Epict.

II. 23, 36. Dean Alford had inscribed on his tomb DEVERSORIUM VIATORIS HIEROSOLYMAM PROFICISCENTIS.

13. frigus collegit, 'has got thoroughly chilled': cp. Verg. Georg. III. 327 *ubi sitim collegerit hora:* so in Ov. Met. V. 446 the inferior MSS. have *sitim collegerat*, though there the better have *conceperat*. It is more common to find *frigus contrahere*.

furnos, used in Sat. I. 4, 37 as a place of public resort, though not, as the dictionaries based on Freund have it, as 'a warming-place'; apparently the *furni* were public bake-houses (Juv. VII. 4), and Horace means to say that when a man has got very cold, he will go anywhere where he can be well warmed, without meaning to stay there.

17—21. *The pleasure resorts of the East do not suit one who is in sound health.*

17. Incolumi facit [id] **quod**, 'is to a healthy man what.' Editors generally quote as parallel the use of *facere* with the dative for 'to suit', as in Prop. IV. (III) 1, 20 *non faciet capiti dura corona meo*, or more commonly with *ad*, as in Ov. Am. I. 2, 16 *frena minus sentit quisquis ad arma facit*, Her. VI. 128 *Medeae faciunt ad scelus omne manus*. But in this construction an object is never expressed or (as here) implied.

18. paenula, a rough woollen or leather cloak worn in rainy weather: cp. Juv. V. 79 *cum...multo stillaret paenula nimbo*, with Mayor's note. The Greek form φαινόλης is perhaps only an attempt at assimilation from the better-established φελόνης: cp. Tisch. and W. H. on 2 Tim. iv. 13. Nothing is known of the derivation of the word in either language.

campestre, i. q. *subligaculum*, a light apron, originally worn under the toga in the place of the tunic, a custom retained by candidates for office, and by some old-fashioned people (cp. on A. P. 50), but more commonly retained only as the sole garment worn in the exercises of the Campus. Lewis and Short are misleading in supposing it to have been *generally* worn in hot weather in place of the tunic. Cp. Marquardt *Röm. Privatalt.* II. 159 with the references there.

19. Tiberis, in summer it was customary to bathe in the Tiber: Carm. III. 12, 6, Sat. II. 1, 8.

caminus [whence our *chimney*, Fr. *chéminée*, through *caminata*] a fixed 'stove', as compared with the moveable *foculus* or brazier. Chimneys do not appear to have been common in South Italy, and few have been found at Pompeii except in baths and bake-houses, but in Rome and in Northern Italy they were doubtless frequently in use. Cp. Overbeck *Pompeii*, p. 340, and hence correct Becker *Gallus*, II. 269.

20. voltum 'look', expression: cp. Conington on Verg. Ecl. I. 64, and Ov. Trist. I. 5, 27 *dum iuvat et voltu ridet Fortuna sereno.*

21. laudetur: cp. Verg. Georg. II. 412 *laudato ingentia rura, exiguum colito* with Conington's note.

22—30. *Enjoy then thankfully and without delay any happiness that Heaven may grant you, and never mind where you are living. That does not secure happiness; it is not a change of place but a tranquil mind which makes one happy.*

22. fortunaverit, 'has made a happy one', so used by Cicero (in his Epistles) and Livy.

23. in annum, of an indefinite time, as in Ep. I. 2, 38.

24. te vixisse libenter 'that you have enjoyed your life'.

26. arbiter 'that commands', quite like our own idiom. Lebedus stands quite out into the sea, and commands a view of the Caystrian gulf.

27. non animum mutant: cp. Aesch. in Ctes. § 78 *οὐ γὰρ τὸν τρόπον, ἀλλὰ τὸν τόπον μόνον μετήλλαξεν.* Cp. Ep. I. 14, 12, Carm. II. 16, 19 ff.

28. strenua inertia, an ὀξύμωρον: 'ever-busy idlers that we are', Martin. Cp. Senec. de Tranq. 12. 2 *inquieta inertia,* de Brev. 11, 3 *desidiosa occupatio.*

exercet 'torments'.

29. bene vivere. Roby, § 1344, S. G. § 534.

30. Ulubris, called *vacuas* by Juv. X. 102. It was a dull village in the Pomptine marshes.

EPISTLE XII.

In Carm. I. 29 Iccius is represented as about to join the expedition of Aelius Gallus against the Arabs (B.C. 25), and Horace makes merry over his abandonment of philosophical studies for military aspirations. From this Epistle, written about five years later (v. 26), we learn that he had been placed in charge of the Sicilian estates of Agrippa, and that he was now acting as his agent (*procurator*), a position with which, Horace tells him, he ought to be well content. Agrippa had doubtless received land in Sicily in acknowledgement of his services in the war against Sextus Pompeius (B.C. 36), possibly also when he was summoned to Sicily to marry the emperor's daughter Julia (B.C. 22). This letter seems to be an answer to one from Iccius, in which he appears to have lamented that the claims of his duties left him little leisure for his studies. Commentators have

busied themselves much with the character of Iccius. It is evident that he was not as well satisfied with his post as Horace thought that he ought to have been : but apparently only because he would gladly have had more time for philosophy. There is nothing to stamp him as either miser or misanthrope. Pompeius Grosphus, whom Horace here introduces to his friend, was a rich Sicilian knight (Carm. II. 16, 33—36): it is a plausible conjecture that he was the son or grandson of a Sicilian Greek Eubulidas, surnamed Grosphus, of high character and great wealth (Cic. in Verr. II. 3, 23, 56), who may have received the franchise through Cn. Pompeius, and so have taken his name.

1—6. *You need pray for no greater blessings, Iccius, than are within your reach already. With health, a competence is all that is to be desired.*

1. fructibus 'revenues', lit. produce: so Liv. XXI. 7 *in tantas creverant opes seu maritimis seu terrestribus fructibus seu* etc.

2. recte, not 'wisely', or 'with discretion', but 'aright', as you are entitled to.

non est ut = *οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως*: cp. Carm. III. 1, 9 *est ut viro vir latius ordinet arbusta sulcis;* Lucr. V. 147 *illud item non est ut possis credere:*

3. Tolle querellas 'a truce to murmuring', Con.

4. rerum usus 'the right to enjoy things', as contrasted with the actual ownership: cp. Ep. II. 2, 158 ff. **suppetit** 'is sufficiently supplied': cp. Cic. de Orat. III. 35, 142 *cui res non suppetat.*

5—6. Taken from Theognis v. 719 *ἶσόν τοι πλουτοῦσιν ὅτῳ πολὺς ἄργυρός ἐστιν...καὶ ᾧ τὰ δέοντα πάρεστιν γαστρί τε καὶ πλευραῖς καὶ ποσὶν ἁβρὰ παθεῖν.* Cp. Plutarch Solon, c. 1.

lateri: Ep. I. 7, 26. It is better to regard this as referring to health, than (with Schütz) to food and clothing.

7—11. *A man who is accustomed to live simply, will not change his habits, if he grows wealthy.*

7. in medio positorum 'what is within your reach': cp. Sat. I. 2, 108 *transvolat in medio posita et fugientia captat.* Cic. de Orat. I. 3, 12 (note). There is no reference here, as Macleane supposes, to the use of *ponere* for 'to place upon the table', as in Sat. II. 2, 23. The genitive is governed by *abstemius:* cp. Plin. XXII. 24, 115 *mulieres vini abstemiae:* Roby § 1336, S. G. § 530.

forte simply generalizes, and shows that Horace is not speaking of Iccius in particular, but is assuming a case.

8. urtica 'nettles', according to Plin. XXI. 55, 15 and Celsus II. 20 a common article of food among the poor, as indeed they are still. Sea-urchins (*urtica marina*) are a delicacy, and cannot be meant here.

sic vives protinus 'you will go on to live in the same way'. **ut** 'even if', Roby § 1706; S. G. § 714 (*d*).

9. Fortunae rivus, apparently a somewhat inaccurate reminiscence of the story of Midas, who by bathing in the Pactolus transferred to that river his fatal gift of turning all that he touched to gold. Cp. Ov. Met. XI. 142—5 *rex iussae succedit aquae: vis aurea tinxit flumen et humano de corpore cessit in amnem. Nunc quoque iam veteris percepto semine venae arva rigent, auro madidis pallentia glaebis.* But Prop. I. 14, 11 *tum mihi Pactoli veniunt sub tecta liquores*, shows how proverbial the reference had become. For the derivation of **confestim** cp. Roby I. p. 220 note. It is not certain, however, that there was not a form of the root *fed* as well as *fend*, to which this group of words might be referred: cp. Vaniček p. 392.

10. vel quia...vel quia: i.e. if a man's previous abstemiousness was due to a love of economy, this will not be changed with his fortune; or if it was due to a contempt for pleasure in comparison with virtue, this will be equally unchanged.

11. cuncta, as the Stoics would teach.

12—20. *You have shown much greater wisdom than Democritus in not neglecting your duties, and yet continuing your interest in philosophy.*

12. miramur 'we wonder', not in admiration, but rather in astonishment that a philosopher should be so abstracted, although it is much more astonishing that you with all your business cares should find leisure for such profound enquiries.

pecus edit agellos: cp. Cic. de Fin. V. 29, 87 *Democritus... ut quam minime animus a cogitationibus abduceretur, patrimonium neglexit, agros deseruit incultos.* Zeller doubts even the statement that he neglected his property, much more the exaggerated stories connected with it. Cp. *Pre-Socratic Philosophy* II. 213 note.

13. peregre est 'was roaming'.

14. cum tu 'and that though you'. **inter** 'surrounded by', cp. Ep. I. 4, 12.

scabiem et contagia lucri 'contagious itching for pelf'. Iccius must have been frequently brought into contact with men whose hearts were set upon making money, but was not carried away by their example.

15. nil parvum: cp. Thuc. VII. 87, 4 *οὐδὲν ὀλίγον ἐς οὐδὲν κακοπαθήσαντες*. **adhuc** 'still, as of old'. **sublimia** = *τὰ μετέωρα*, *caelestia*, themes such as those mentioned in the following lines.

16. quae mare conpescant causae: cp. Verg. Georg. II. 479 *qua vi maria alta tumescant obicibus ruptis rursusque in se ipsa residant.*

quid temperet annum, i.e. causes the various seasons: cp. Carm. I. 12, 15 *qui mare ac terras variisque mundum temperat horis.*

17. sponte as the Epicureans would maintain: **iussae** as the Stoics held, who believed in a controlling Deity. Vergil's *palantesque polo stellas* (Aen. IX. 21) is not parallel, for the reference there is to a miraculous phenomenon; but cp. Cic. de Rep. I. 14, 22 *earum quinque stellarum quae errantes et quasi vagae nominarentur.* Hence the *stellae* here are the planets, though Cic. de Nat. De. II. 20, 51 denies that they can properly be called *errantes.*

18. premat obscurum 'hides in darkness': *obscurum* is predicative. The reference is to the phases of the moon, not to eclipses.

19. quid velit et possit 'what is the purpose, and what the effects of...'

concordia discors, an oxymoron: cp. Ep. I. 11, 28. Cp. Senec. Nat. Quaest. VII. 27, 3 *non vides quam contraria inter se elementa sint? Gravia et levia sunt, frigida et calida, umida et sicca. Tota huius mundi concordia ex discordibus constat.* The doctrine of Empedocles was (Diog. Laert. VIII. 76) *στοιχεῖα μὲν εἶναι τέτταρα, πῦρ, ὕδωρ, γῆν, ἀέρα, φιλίαν τε ᾗ συγκρίνεται καὶ νεῖκος ᾧ διακρίνεται.* Cp. Reid on Cic. Lael. 7, 24; and Plato Soph. p. 242 E: 'Ionian, and more recently Sicilian muses speak of a one and many, which are held together by enmity and friendship, ever parting, ever meeting' (Jowett's Introduction Vol. III². p. 395).

20. Stertinius is mentioned in Sat. II. 3, 33, and called *sapientum octavus* (ib. 296). The Scholiasts say that he wrote 220 books on the Stoic philosophy. Nothing else is known of him. The name is made without change into an adjective, as is usual with proper names: cp. lex Julia, via Appia etc., and very commonly in poetry, though Madvig § 189, 11 limits this to 'a man's public or political works and undertakings': so Kühner I. p. 672. Cp. Carm. IV. 12, 18 *Sulpiciis...horreis.* Translate 'whether E. or the shrewdness of Stertinius dotes'.

21—24. *Whatever your views on philosophy, it will be worth your while to make a friend of Grosphus.*

21. seu piscis seu, etc. i.e. whatever the simple fare that you are living on, for simple I know it is. Fish is not, I think, mentioned here as a delicacy, as in Sat. II. 2, 120; 4, 37, Ep. I. 15, 23: there is usually something in the context to point to that suggestion, where it is found; and the thought *sive laute sive parce vivis* (Comm. Cruq.) is out of place in connexion with the philosophic Iccius. In **trucidas** there is a reference to the Pythagorean doctrine of metempsychosis, accepted by Empedocles: cp. Hieronym. ad Iovin. II. p. 331 *probabo non Empedoclis et Pythagorae nos dogma sectari, qui propter μετεμψύχωσιν omne quod movetur et vivit edendum non putant, et eiusdem criminis reos arbitrantur, qui abietem quercumque succiderint, cuius parricidae sunt et venefici.* 'Whatever the lives which you are sacrificing for your food, whether those of fishes, or only those of leeks and onions,' i.e. whether you follow Empedocles in believing that even vegetables have souls, or do not. Ritter objects that we do not hear elsewhere that the Pythagoreans abstained from leeks and onions. Horace does not imply that they did, but only that in eating them they thought they were destroying living beings. They would have had little enough to live on, if they had abstained from everything which involved the death of either animal or vegetable. His own notion that Horace is asking Iccius to employ Grosphus in catching fish and gathering onions as part of the *fructus Agrippae* is not likely to find many supporters.

22. utere 'make a friend of'. Ep. I. 17, 2.

ultro involves a slight oxymoron after 'si quid petet', for it properly means 'unasked'. Here we may translate 'readily'.

23. verum 'right', Ep. I. 7, 98. Cp. Milton *Par. L.* IV. 750.

24. vilis est annona 'the price is low': Horace derives this expression from Xen. Mem. II. 10, 4 νῦν δὲ διὰ τὰ πράγματα εὐωνοτάτους ἔστι φίλους ἀγαθοὺς κτήσασθαι, but whereas Socrates there means to say 'the times are so bad, that a small service is enough to secure a man's friendship', Horace's thought seems to be rather that when a good man is in want, his demands are not likely to be exorbitant, and hence it will not cost much to secure his friendship.

25—29. *I can send you news from Rome of victories in the West and East, and of an excellent harvest.*

25. ne ignores...loco res: for the accidental Leonine verse, produced by the assonance of these two phrases, cp. Ep. I. 14, 7; Wagner on Verg. Georg. I. 157; Aen. IX. 634 *transigit. I, verbis virtutem illude superbis*, where the rhythm is perhaps intentional. Ov. Met. XIII. 378 *Si Troiae fatis aliquid restare putatis* is

probably spurious. For the construction cp. Ep. I. 1, 13; 18, 58; 19, 26; 58; II. 1, 208.

26. Cantaber: Dio Cass. LIV. 11 *τούς τε ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ πάντας ὀλίγου διέφθειρε καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς τά τε ὅπλα ἀφείλετο καὶ ἐς τὰ πεδία ἐκ τῶν ἐρυμνῶν κατεβίβασεν*. This was in B.C. 20, although the campaign was not closed till B.C. 19. Cp. Merivale IV. 120.

27. Armenius. The submission of Armenia to Tiberius had been a bloodless one. Cp. Tac. Ann. II. 3. At the request of the Armenians Augustus had sent to them Tigranes, a prince who had been living in exile at Rome, to take the place of a king whom they had dethroned and murdered. For the various coins of Augustus, bearing the legend ARMENIA CAPTA, cp. Mommsen Mon. Ancyr. p. 77. Orelli refers also to one having a figure of Armenia on bended knee, but I have not been able to verify his reference.

Prahates is the spelling of the better MSS.: *Phraates* has much less authority, both here and in Carm. II. 2, 17. The Mon. Ancyr. V. 54, VI. 1, 4 has *Phrates*.

28. genibus minor=*supplex: genibus* is to be referred to Prahates 'inferior by his (bended) knees', i.e. thus testifying his humbled position, not, as apparently Orelli, at the knees of Caesar. There is something of exaggeration here too, although Tacitus (Ann. II. 1) says *cuncta venerantium officia ad Augustum verterat*, and in the Mon. Ancyr. (p. 84 Momms.) Augustus says *Parthos trium exercituum Romanorum spolia et signa reddere mihi supplicesque amicitiam populi Romani petere coegi*. Horace refers to these surrendered standards again in Ep. I. 18, 56; Carm. IV. 15, 6; Ovid in Trist. II. 227 and Fast. VI. 465.

29. defundit: the present seems to point to the time of writing as that of late summer in B.C. 20. The perfect *defudit* has less support, and is due to a wrong assimilation to *cecidit* and *accepit*: *diffundit* or *diffudit* have but slight authority and are not so suitable in meaning here. It is needless to suppose with Ritter that this letter was written in the summer of B.C. 19. There would have been time enough for news of the successes in Spain and the East in B.C. 20 to reach Rome before the end of the summer: and Ep. I. 3, 3 does not necessarily imply that it was winter when Horace wrote that letter.

EPISTLE XIII.

This letter is nominally addressed to a certain Vinius, who has been charged with the delivery of some of Horace's poems to Augustus. From the jest in v. 8 it is clear that his cognomen was Asina, or perhaps (as Porphyrion calls him) Asella; the more usual form of the name being however Asellus (e.g. Claudius Asellus in Cic. de Orat. II. 64, 258, Annius Asellus in Cic. in Verr. Act. II. 1, 41, 104). Acron calls him C. Vinius Fronto, giving Asella as his father's cognomen. From his possession of three names it is clear that he was not a slave: on the other hand the tone, which Horace adopts in addressing him, shows that he was not, as some have supposed, a friend of the Emperor. It is a plausible conjecture, although nothing more than a conjecture, which finds in him one of the five yeomen farmers on Horace's Sabine estate (Ep. I. 14, 3). The real purpose of the letter was doubtless to indicate to Augustus that Horace had no intention to thrust his trifles upon him, when not in the humour for them. It has been generally assumed that the *volumina* contained the first three books of the Odes. If this was the case, we must assume that this Epistle was considerably earlier than Epist. 1, the first lines of which cannot have been written immediately after the publication of the first important collection of Horace's lyrics. There is nothing in this letter which tells against Franke's (very generally accepted) view, that the first three books of the Odes were published together in B.C. 23. Nor on the other hand is there anything in it inconsistent with Christ's belief that they were not published before B.C. 20. This question must be decided by other considerations, mainly by the interpretation of Carm. I. 3, and II. 9. Cp. Wickham's Introduction.—Augustus was absent from Italy from the latter part of B.C. 22 until October B.C. 19. It has been generally assumed that Horace sent Vinius from his Sabine villa to Augustus at Rome. If so, the date assigned by Christ becomes untenable. But he argues with some force that as Horace's publishers, the Sosii, were at Rome, it is much more probable that a copy of his poems was sent from the capital to Augustus when he was still abroad. Certainly the language of v. 10 is almost too exaggerated to be humorous, if applied to the five and twenty miles or so of excellent road (the *via Valeria* and *via Tiburtina*) which lay between Varia and Rome. Ritter supposes the date to have been the early part of B.C. 18, which is probably too late. Cp. Introduction.—There is little to be said in favour of the view, which some have adopted, that the Satires were the *volumina* sent at this time to Augustus. The Satires were probably completed by B.C. 30;

and they must have been familiar to Augustus long before any date plausibly assigned to any one of the Epistles. For the story told by Suetonius which Ritter here presses into his service see the Introduction to Ep. II. 1.

1—9. *Give my volumes, Vinius, to Augustus, if you find he is in the humour for them, but do not annoy him by obtrusiveness. If the burden is too much for you, drop it rather than deliver it clumsily.*

2. reddes: Ep. I. 10, 44 (note). **Vini**: the MS. evidence is in favour of *Vinni*, but inscriptions have *Vinius*, and this form is the one used by Tacitus (Hist. I. 1) and Suetonius (Galba xiv.) for Galba's colleague in the consulship.

3. validus: Augustus was always a valetudinarian (Suet. Aug. LXXXI. *graves et periculosas valetudines per omnem vitam aliquot expertus est*), and had several serious illnesses at this time of his life. Cp. Sat. II. 1, 18 *nisi dextro tempore Flacci verba per attentam non ibunt Caesaris aurem*; Ov. Trist. I. 1. 92 *si poteris* [sc. liber] *vacuo tradi, si cuncta videbis mitia, si vires fregerit ira suas.*

4. ne pecces: Sat. II. 3, 88 *ne sis patruus mihi* shows that this *may* be taken as a negative imperative; but it may quite as well be regarded as final. Cp. Roby § 1600 (note), S. G. § 668.

5. sedulus 'officious': cp. Ep. II. 1, 260, Sat. I. 5. 71.

opera vehemente 'by your impetuous zeal'.

6. uret 'galls', Ep. I. 10, 43. **sarcina**: the quantity of the *i* is to be accounted for by the fact that *sarcio* has also the shorter stem *sarc-*.

chartae: 'In Catullus' days the Romans used only papyrus, never parchment, for a regular *liber* or *volumen*. Books made up like ours and written on parchment seem to have come into use about Martial's time.' Munro on Catullus p. 53.

7. perferre like *abicito* has for its object *sarcinam*, not *clitellas*, as Ritter takes it. To *quo* supply the antecedent *ibi*, to go with **inpingas** 'dash down'.

8. ferus 'wildly', like an unbroken animal.

9. fabula 'the talk of the town': cp. Epod. XI. 8 *fabula quanta fui.*

10—19. *Push on to Rome: but don't carry my book like a clown, a drunken slave-girl, or a humble guest; nor tell every one that you are on your way to Caesar. Take good care of it.*

10. lamas: 'lacunas maiores, continentes aquam pluviam seu caelestem, ἀπὸ τοῦ λαιμοῦ, quae ingluvies est et vorago viarum

seu fossae fluviorum. Hinc quoque dictae sunt Lamiae puerorum voratrices. Ennius: *silvarum saltus, latebras lamasque lutosas*' Comm. Cruq. The derivation which he suggests is of course absurd: *lāma* is for *lac-ma* (cp. *lūna* for *luc-na, exāmen* for *exag-men, limus* for *lic-mus*), while *Lămia* (A. P. 340) = Λάμια is akin to Λαμυρός 'greedy'. From the fact that the word is found nowhere else (except in Festus) until it reappears in the Romance languages (cp. Diez *Romance Dictionary* (ed. Donkin) p. 266; and Dante Inf. xx. 99 *non molto ha corso, che trova una lama*), it seems to have belonged to the popular dialect. 'Push on stoutly over hills, streams and bogs.' If Horace is really referring to the road between his Sabine estate and Rome, these words are a ludicrous exaggeration, hardly to be defended by the plea that the expression may have been proverbial.

11. Victor propositi 'achieving your purpose', ἐγκρατὴς τοῦ σκοποῦ Or. 'But when you've quell'd the perils of the road' Con.

12. sic...ne A. P. 152. Roby § 1650. S. G. § 684.

13. rusticus agnum: 'imaginem ridiculam propter continuas bestiolae motus et curam hominis ne in solum desiliat, ne ab ipso fortasse laedatur.' Or.

14. glomus has the support of the best MSS. *Glomos*, though the usual reading before Bentley, has but slight support, and is not Latin: *globos* has still less. Lucret. I. 360 has *in lanae glōmere*, but the derivatives are always *glŏmero* etc.

Pyrria or the corrupted *Pirria* is the reading of all MSS. collated by Keller. Most editors have adopted the form *Pyrrhia*, but as Lachmann (on Lucret. p. 408) first remarked '*neque Graecae neque Romanae feminae nomen est*'. Macleane explains it as 'formed from Pyrrha, the name of a town in Lesbos, like Lesbia, Delia etc.' But the adjective from Pyrrha is *Pyrrhias* (Ov. Her. xv. 15), while *Lesbius, Delius*, &c., are common. The name of a *male* slave, *Pyrria*, in the Andria of Terence seems a corruption of Πυρρίας, which occurs in Aristophanes and elsewhere, and is derived from πύρρος, 'red'. The Scholiasts tell us that Pyrria was the name of an *ancilla* in a play by Titinius, who stole a ball of wool, but being drunk at the time, carried it so clumsily that she was easily detected. As Titinius wrote *comoediae togatae* it is probable that the girl was an Italian, in which case her name may well have been *Purria*, the form found in the MSS. being then a corruption like *Sylla* for *Sulla*. Porphyrion actually has *Purria*, and *P. Purreius* is found on an inscription. L. Müller, Meineke and others simply mark the word as corrupt.

15. pilleolo, a much better form than *pileolo*: cp. Fleckeisen, *Fünfzig Art.* 25. All good MSS. give it here.

tribulis properly means a man of the same tribe, and perhaps it is best taken so here, the notion being that a wealthy man at Rome has invited to dinner a poor member of the same tribe, living in the country, doubtless with a view to his vote and interest. But as the *tribus* came to be used in contrast with the *equites* and the Senate (cp. Mart. VIII. 15, 3 *dat populus, dat gratus eques, dat tura Senatus, et ditant Latias tertia dona tribus*) so *tribulis* acquired the meaning of plebeian: cp. Mart. IX. 50, 7 of a toga *nunc anus et tremulo vix accipienda tribuli*, ib. 58, 8. Hence it is *possible* that this may be the meaning here: but we have no evidence of this force of the word in the time of Horace. The humble guest comes bringing under his arm the dress-shoes (*soleae*) in which he would be expected to appear in the dining-room, although he would put them off when he took his place at table (Sat. II. 8, 77), and the felt cap which he would need when he went home at night. He cannot afford to come in a litter, nor even to have a slave to attend upon him.

16. **Ne** seems to have far more support than Bentley's *neu* or L. Müller's *nec* and there is something not unpleasant in the abruptness, even if we retain the semi-colon at *Caesaris*. The stress lies on the last word. Vinius is not to tell everybody that the reason why he is in such hot haste is that he is on his way to Augustus.

narres, evidently imperative here. Cp. l. 4.

18. **nitere porro**, 'push on'. Horace humorously supposes that people will come crowding round his messenger, eager to know what he has brought. Bentley (without remark, and Orelli supposes, by accident) printed *nitere. porro*, and this reading has been adopted by some editors; but *nitere* seems to require an adverb much more than *vade*, and the rhythm is certainly against the pause after the fifth foot. For *porro* of place, not time, cp. Liv. I. 7, 6 *agere porro armentum occepit;* IX. 2, 8 *si ire porro pergas*.

19. **cave**, scanned, as so often in Plautus and Terence, *căvĕ:* cp. Sat. II. 3, 38, 177; 5, 75; the pronunciation *cau* is not on the whole so probable, though apparently supported by the story in Cic. de Div. II. 40, 84. Persius (I. 108) has *vidĕ*.

titubes, often used, like our 'trip', of blundering generally (cp. Ter. Haut. 361 *verum illa ne quid titubet*, and Plaut. Pseud. 939 *at vide ne titubes*, Mil. 248, 946 &c.), but here still keeping up the jest of v. 10: if an ass were to stumble and fall, he might smash his load, if fragile, as Horace represents his poetry to be. At the same time, as Orelli points out, we find the phrases *foedus, fidem, iura* or *leges frangere*.

EPISTLE XIV.

This letter, though nominally addressed to Horace's farm-bailiff, may be regarded as really an apology for his love for the country, intended for his friends at Rome. It thus takes up the theme of Ep. X. and of the earlier part of Ep. VII., while it is the reverse of Sat. II. 7. Whether the bailiff deserved all the hard things here said of him is a question which has been asked, but cannot be answered. Horace may have been intending to give an example of the class of bailiffs, against whom Columella utters his warning (I. 8, 1): *praemoneo ne vilicum ex eo genere servorum, qui corpore placuerunt, instituamus: ne ex eo quidem ordine, qui urbanas ac delicatas artes exercuerit. Socors et somniculosum genus id mancipiorum, otiis, campis, circo, theatris, aleae, popinae, lupanaribus consuetum, nunquam non easdem ineptias somniat* (quoted by Orelli). There is no indication of the date.

1—5. *Come, bailiff, let us see whether you or I best do our duty.*

1. Vilice: the form invariably found in good MSS. and inscriptions. Lachmann on Lucret. I. 331 showed that *l* not *ll* was used between a long *i* and a short one: so *mille*, but *milia*, *villa*, but *vilicus*: cp. Roby § 177. The *vilicus* was the head slave on a farm, whose duty it was to look after the proper discharge of all farm works: Cato de Re Rust. CXLII. *vilici officia quae sunt, quae dominus praecepit, ea omnia quae in fundo fieri oportet, quaeque emi pararique oportet, eadem uti curet faciatque moneo, dominoque dicto audiens sit.* Cato gives in c. II. a very amusing account of the way in which a good economist will call his *vilicus* to a strict account for any neglect or deficiency.

mihi me reddentis, 'that makes me my own master again', i.e. where I can live as I please, without being distracted by the endless claims made upon me at Rome. Cp. Sat. II. 6, 23—39, 60 ff. The woods on Horace's Sabine estate are mentioned in Carm. III. 16, 29 *silvaque iugerum paucorum*, and in Ep. I. 16, 9.

2. habitatum quinque focis, 'though it furnishes a home for five families'. Horace in Sat. II. 7, 118 speaks of his *familia rustica* as consisting of eight *operae* ('hands'). Hence Ritter presses the force of the past participle, thinking the meaning to be that whereas five free *coloni* formerly worked the estate, now eight slaves tilled it. But the lack of a present participle passive in Latin often leads to the use of the perfect participle, where a present would have been more natural (e.g. Liv. XXX.

30 *sperata victoria*): hence we may fairly translate by the present. Horace wishes to indicate that his estate, though small, is no contemptible one, and it is more to the purpose to refer to its present tenants than to its past occupiers. The eight *operae* doubtless tilled the 'home-farm' under the *vilicus*. The **patres** were probably free *coloni* (Carm. I. 35, 6 *pauper ruris colonus*: II. 14, 12 *sive inopes erimus coloni*), who tilled the rest of the estate, paying to Horace as the *dominus* either a fixed rent, or as so often now in Italy, a portion of the produce. In the former case they would be said *ad pecuniam numeratam conducere*, in the latter they were called *partiarii*, i. e. métayers. Cp. Dig. XIX. 2, 25, § 6. Others, less plausibly, suppose them to have been free hired labourers, under the direction of the *vilicus*. Sir T. Martin, for instance (Life of Horace, p. lxxiv.), says 'the farm gave employment to five families of free *coloni*, who were under the superintendence of a bailiff: and the poet's domestic establishment was composed of eight slaves'. His version is inconsistent with this view, but not, I think, less incorrect :—

'That small domain which, though you hold it cheap,
Sufficed of old five families to keep,
And into Varia sent, in days gone by,
Five worthy heads of houses.'

Conington's rendering,

'Which though ye sniff at it, could once support
Five hearths and send five statesmen to the court'

might be misleading to one not familiar with the provincial use of 'statesman' for a small landholder (cp. Halliwell's Dict. s. v.). He evidently regards the *patres* as Horace's predecessors in the ownership of the estate.

focis 'households': cp. Herod. I. 176 *αἱ δὲ ὀγδώκοντα ἱστίαι αὗται ἔτυχον τηνικαῦτα ἐκδημέουσαι, καὶ οὕτω περιεγένοντο.*

3. Variam, a town on the Anio, eight miles above Tibur, on the *via Valeria*, just where the valley of the Digentia, in which Horace's estate lay, joined that of the Anio. The *patres* probably went there to market, and for local elections etc. It is now called Vicovaro.

4. spinas used of vices or lesser failings in Ep. II. 2. 212. Cp. also Sat. I. 3, 34—37. 'Let us see which can root out the thorns the more stoutly, I from my breast, or you from the land.'

5. res = fundus.

6—10. *We differ very widely in our views of town and country life.*

6. Lamiae pietas et cura 'Lamia's love and trouble': this cannot mean, as some have taken it, 'my love for Lamia': *pietas* seems never to be used with an objective genitive, and it is doubtful whether it could denote an affection not based upon any natural ties, such as exist in the case of parents or kinsmen. L. Aelius Lamia is the man to whom Carm. III. 17 is addressed, and who is also mentioned in Carm. I. 26, 8. He was of a noble and wealthy plebeian family (cp. Juv. IV. 154, VI. 384, Tac. Ann. VI. 27), and attained the consulship in A.D. 3. He held high office under Tiberius, and was honoured with a public funeral when he died in A.D. 33. The name of Q. Aelius Lamia occurs on a coin of this date, and this appears to be the brother here referred to. Lucius must have been the elder brother, as he bore his father's praenomen, but he must himself have been young at this time, for we cannot date this epistle less than about fifty-five years before his death, and as he was appointed *praefectus urbi* in A.D. 32 he cannot have attained extreme old age, though Tacitus speaks of his *vivida senectus.* The date of Carm. I. 26 is uncertain, but is probably as early as B.C. 30.

moratur has much more authority than *moretur. Quamvis* is followed by the indic. also in Ep. I. 17, 1 and 22; 18, 59; Sat. I. 3, 129, II. 2, 29; 5, 15; Carm. I. 28, 11, III. 7, 25; 10, 13; A. P. 355; by the subjunctive only in Carm. III. 11, 17, IV. 2, 39; 6, 6: Ep. I. 18, 92, II. 2, 113 (where see notes) the word is twice used adverbially. Vergil uses it only twice with the indic. (Ecl. III. 84, Aen. 542), but often with the subjunctive, once at least adverbially (Aen. VII. 492). Livy frequently uses it adverbially, twice with the indic. (II. 40, 7; XXXIII. 19, 2), never with the subjunctive. Ovid often has the indicative. So have Celsus and Nepos, both prose writers, probably contemporaries of Horace.

7. maerentis—dolentis: the assonance is doubtless accidental: cp. note on Ep. I. 12, 25. *Maereo* is to express grief, *doleo* is to feel it: cp. Cic. ad Att. XII. 28, 2 *maerorem minui, dolorem nec potui, nec, si possem, vellem.*

8. insolabiliter, a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον. About 80 of these have been noted in the works of Horace. **istuc** 'where you are now', i.e. to the woods and fields. **mens animusque** = νοῦς καὶ θυμός: 'mens meliora intellegit, animus adesse cupit', Ritter, 'my judgment and my heart'.

9. fert 'would fain hurry me': **amat** 'would gladly': cp. Carm. III. 9, 24 *tecum vivere amem.* Bentley's conjecture *avet* is thus needless.

spatiis, Ep. I. 7, 42. '**claustra** sunt carceres et est translatio ab equis circensibus facta': Porph. The bars in front of the *carceres* or stalls, in which the chariots and horses were posted, kept them from the course, until the signal was given. The *calx* was not, as Macleane says, the line from which they started, but that which marked the goal, and hence it is often contrasted with *carceres*, e.g. Cic. de Sen. 23, 83 *nec vero velim quasi decurso spatio ad carceres a calce revocari.*

10. rure. Ep. I. 7, 1 (note): 'you praise the townsman's, I the rustic's state' Con. I do not see why we may not take it thus: but Krüger contends this would have required *viventes*, as in Sat. I. 1, 12, and with Ritter regards the phrase as a brachylogy for *ego te viventem rure, tu me viventem in urbe beatum dicis.* Carm. IV. 9, 45 *non possidentem multa vocaveris recte beatum* supports the former view.

11—17. *The fault is not in the place. You are fickle, but I am consistent.*

11. nimirum 'of course' carries with it no irony here; cp. Ep. I. 9, 1 (note).

12. uterque. Although Horace passed in v. 11 from the case of his bailiff and himself to a general reflexion, he still has in his mind the position of two men wishing to exchange stations. We may retain the indefiniteness of 'either' in translation. **stultus** 'in his folly'. **inmeritum** 'innocent': Carm. I. 17, 28 *immeritam...vestem:* Sat. II. 3, 7 *immeritus...paries.*

13. se effugit: Carm. II. 16, 20 *patriae quis exsul se quoque fugit?*

14. mediastinus 'drudge', one who was placed *in medio*, at every one's beck and call. The Scholiasts (followed by Roby § 840) suppose some connexion with ἄστυ, and limit the use to town-slaves; but the word may be used of any kind of drudge: cp. Columella I. 9, 3 *mediastinus qualiscunque status potest esse, dummodo perpetiendo labori sit idoneus.* Lucil. ap. Nonium, p. 143 (l. 418 Lachm.) *vilicum Aristocratem, mediastinum atque bubulcum.* *Astu* was not indeed unknown to archaic Latin: but it seems more probable that the word was formed after the analogy of *clandestinus*, where, if *-des-* was originally, as Corssen I² 462 thinks, the stem of *dies*, all consciousness of its origin had long been lost. Orelli's derivation of *mesquin* from this word is erroneous: cp. Diez, Etym. Dict. Prof. Palmer suggests that *mediastinus* = vicarius, a middle man, who stands between the slave and his labour.

tacita prece: cp. Ep. I. 16, 60, Pers. V. 184 *labra moves tacitus.*

16. constare: his character was changed then since Sat. II. 7, 28!

18—30. *You care only for the low sensual pleasures of the town; and hate hard work.*

18. miramur, Ep. I. 6, 9. **disconvenit,** Ep. I. 1, 99.

19. tesqua 'wilds'. The scholiasts say that this was a Sabine word; it seems to have no extant cognates, except perhaps in the Sanskrit *tuk'k'hq* (phonetically equivalent to *tuska*) 'empty'. Cp. Vaniček p. 315. Lucan Phars. VI. 41 has *saltus nemorosaque tesca:* otherwise the word is found only in archaic writers. *Tesca* is coupled with *templum* in the augurial formula quoted by Varro, L. L. VII. 8. Horace probably uses a colloquial term suitable to the supposed speaker.

20. amoena: Ep. I. 16, 15.

21. fornix 'brothel', originally an arched vault: Juv. III. 156, XI. 171.

uncta 'greasy'. Orelli prefers the explanation of the Comm. Cruq. 'nidore redolens, et optimis cibis plena'; because Horace elsewhere uses the word in the sense of 'luxurious' or 'rich': Ep. I. 15, 44; 17, 12. But here some contempt is evidently implied: cp. Sat. II. 2, 62 *quaecunque immundis fervent allata popinis.* The *popina* 'cook-shop' was a place of low resort: the form of the word points probably to a Campanian, not a Greek origin, as Lewis and Short suppose. It would regularly correspond in Oscan to a Latin *coquina*, only found in late writers. Cp. Curtius Gr. Etym. II. 65.

22. incutiunt 'inspire'; more commonly with *metum, timorem* and the like: but cp. Lucret. I. 19 *omnibus incutiens blandum per pectora amorem.*

23. angulus iste, a contemptuous term used by the *vilicus*, as we might say 'hole and corner'. Pepper and frankincense of course did not grow in Italy at all; Horace nowhere speaks of wine as produced on his own estate (cp. Ep. I. 16, Carm. II. 18, 14): the *vile Sabinum* of Carm. I. 20 may have been bought in the *dolium* and only bottled by Horace. This is better than to assume that the wine, good enough to put before Maecenas, did not deserve to be called wine in the opinion of the *vilicus.*

uva=*quam uvam.* All the good MSS. of Horace give *tus*, wherever the word occurs: hence we cannot with Orelli defend *thus*, on the strength of two inscriptions of the time of Augustus, which have *thurarii.*

24. taberna. The *villa* of Horace was some three or four miles from the nearest high road, which might be expected to be supplied with *tabernae diversoriae.* Orelli quotes from Varro de Re Rust. I. 2, 23 *si ager secundum viam et opportunus viatoribus locus, aedificandae tabernae diversoriae, quae sunt...fructuosae.*

26. strepitum 'strains': not, as Orelli takes it, 'cantum crepitantem atque absonum': cp. Ep. I. 2, 31, and Carm. IV, 3, 18 *dulcem quae strepitum, Pieri, temperas*.

terrae gravis 'with lumbering tread', lit. 'a heavy burden to the earth'.

et tamen, i.e. and yet, though you can get no diversions as you complain, you have to work hard. Conington takes it somewhat differently: 'And yet methinks you've plenty on your hands'.

27. iampridem, taken by some editors to imply a reproach to the *vilicus* who ought to have seen to these fields long before: but it may also mean that the land had been long neglected when it came into the hands of Horace.

28. strictis frondibus: Verg. Ecl. 9, 60 *hic ubi densas agricolae stringunt frondes*. This was done when the herbage was parched, in the summer and autumn. Cp. Columella VI. 3 *a quo tempore* (Kalendis Juliis) *in Kalendas Novembres tota aestate et deinde autumno satientur fronde*. **exples**: Verg. Georg. III. 431 *ingluviem explet*.

29. rivus, the Digentia (Ep. I. 18, 104): **pigro**, i.e. if you have nothing else to do.

30. docendus: cp. A. P. 67 *amnis doctus iter melius*.

31—39. *I once liked a gay town-life: now I care only for the quiet of the country.*

31. nostrum concentum dividat 'breaks up our harmony'.

32. tenues...togae, opposed to *crassae* (Sat. I. 3, 15), were worn by men who cared about their dress. They do not seem identical with the *togae rasae* of Mart. II. 85, which were only worn in the summer; still less with the *syntheses* (as Ritter says), for these are expressly contrasted with the *toga* in Mart. VI. 24; but were of a finer stuff than the ordinary toga. Cp. Becker Gallus III[3] 206.

nitidi, i.e. with perfumed oils, not only at banquets, but in some cases all day long: cp. Cic. in Cat. II. 10, 22 *pexo capillo nitidos*, pro Sest. 8, 18 *unguentis affluens, calamistrata coma*. Ov. A. A. III. 443 *nec coma vos fallat liquido nitidissima nardo, ...nec toga decipiat filo tenuissima*.

33. inmunem 'though I brought no gift': cp. Carm. III. 23, 17 *immunis aram si tetigit manus*, IV. 12, 22 *non ego te meis immunem meditor tingere poculis*. **Cinarae**: Ep. I. 7, 28.

34. liquidi 'clear', i.e. strained through a *colum*, or otherwise refined: cp. Sat. II. 4, 51—58, Mart. XII. 60 *b pallere...ut*

liquidum potet Alauda merum, turbida sollicito transmittere Caecuba sacco. This process was necessary for the stronger wines, so that the epithet is not out of place here, as Ritter thinks.

36. **incidere** 'to cut short'. Verg. Ecl. 9, 14 *novas incidere lites.* There is a kind of zeugma, *puderet* being understood with *incidere.*

'No shame I deem it to have had my sport:
The shame had been in frolics not cut short'. CON.

38. **limat** from *lima* 'a file', hence 'to diminish' or 'disparage'. But Lachmann on Lucret. III. 11 (p. 143) justly pointed out that Horace here intends a play upon the phrase *limis oculis = obliquo oculo* 'askance', and compares the Plautine *dolum dolare* (Mil. 938).

morsuque: cp. Carm. IV. 3, 16 *iam dente minus mordeor invido.*

venenat, 'nove, id est *fascinat*' Comm. Cruq. Horace seems to have been the first to use the word in a metaphorical sense. It occurs with its literal force in Lucret. VI. 820.

39. **rident**: doubtless good-humouredly, but Horace's figure and habits must have unfitted him for active exercise. Hence Dill. is hardly right in his note 'non ob imperitiam poetae, sed quod elegantiorem hominem his laboribus exerceri vident et mirantur'.

glaeba and *gleba* seem equally well authenticated forms, but the former is the earlier; so too *caepe* and *cepe.* Cp. Ribbeck *Prol. Verg.* p. 414, Brambach *Hülfsb.* s. v.

Madvig (Advers. Crit. II. 61) argues that the stop should follow *servis* not *moventem.* The emphasis, he says, lies upon *urbana,* which must therefore be brought into prominence, and *cum servis* is out of place in the second sentence, for the *vilicus* would be in the company of slaves quite as much in the country as in the town. But a *vilicus* would not be allowanced in the country. Besides, as Keller justly points out, *horum* then becomes unintelligible. The juxtaposition of *servis* and *urbana,* though not quite a hypallage, naturally suggests to the mind the notion of town-slaves, which *horum* takes up.

40—44. *You would fain change your place, though others envy you. Every one should be contented with what he is most fit for.*

40. **diaria**: one or two MSS. have *cibaria* as a gloss, and this has displaced the true reading in some other MSS. Keller thinks it was an innovation of Mavortius. **rodere**, 'munch', suggests poor and limited fare.

41. horum voto ruis: 'you would fain hasten to join their number'.

usum lignorum: Nonius p. 164 quotes from Pomponius the Atellan poet, *longe ab urbe vilicari, quo erus rarenter venit, non vilicari sed dominari est mea sententia.*

42. calo is properly a soldier's servant, and so Ritter takes it here, supposing that the *calo* envies the *vilicus* his enjoyment of what he himself cannot get in the camp. But the word came to mean, not only a groom in general (Sat. I. 6, 103), but any low servant, or drudge (Sat. I. 2, 44: Senec. Ep. CX. 17 *lectica formosis imposita calonibus*): hence it is better to regard it as = *mediastinus*.

argutus 'shrewd' as in Sat. I. 10, 40, A. P. 364; the man is sharp enough to know where he would be better off. Macleane's suggested alternative 'noisy' is quite out of place: besides, when applied by Horace to persons with reference to the voice, it is always a term of praise: cp. Carm. III. 14, 21, IV. 6, 25, Ep. II. 2, 90.

43. piger goes best with *caballus;* it is not only laziness which makes one dissatisfied with his condition; and the ox would have had a more active life, if he could have taken the place of the horse. The rhythm points in the same direction, but not very cogently: cp. Ep. I. 5, 7: 6, 48; II. 2, 75. Many editors take it as going with both substantives.

44. quam scit etc. The line of Aristophanes (Vesp. 1431) *ἔρδοι τις ἣν ἕκαστος εἰδείη τέχνην* had passed into a proverb, as we see from Cic. Tusc. I. 18, 41 *bene enim illo proverbio Graeco praecipitur: quam quisque norit artem, in hac se exerceat.*

EPISTLE XV.

This Epistle must have been written after the famous physician Antonius Musa had brought the cold-water treatment into fashion by his cure of Augustus in the year B.C. 23; and probably not long after, although the arguments by which Ritter attempts to fix the date as the autumn of B.C. 21 are more ingenious than convincing. Horace writes to a friend, who is called in the MSS. inscriptions C. Numonius Vala, to tell him that he cannot spend the coming winter, as he had previously done, at Baiae, and to make enquiries about Velia and Salernum. He humorously compares himself to a certain Maenius who liked to have the best of fare, when he could get it, but put up readily with plain dishes, when nothing better offered.

1—25. *You must tell me all about the climate, the food, the water, the game and fish of Velia and Salernum; for my doctor tells me I may no longer winter at Baiae, much as the place grumbles at my desertion.*

1. sit (like **pascat** in v. 14, **bibant** in v. 15, **educet** in v. 22, and **celent** in v. 23) depends upon *scribere* in line 25. The involved structure of these lines, with their two long parentheses, is intended to preserve the negligent tone of a familiar letter.

Veliae, a town of Lucania originally founded by the Phocaeans, when driven out of Corsica, where they had for a time found a home after the destruction of Phocaea, about B.C. 540. Its Greek name was Ὑέλη or Ἐλέα. It was a prosperous commercial town, and was noted for its excellent climate, so that Aemilius Paullus, the conqueror of Perseus, was sent there by his physicians when suffering from a troublesome disease (Plut. Aem. c. XXXV). The soil in the neighbourhood according to Strabo (VI. p. 254) was poor (v. 14), and hence the inhabitants lived largely by fisheries (v. 23). Not long after its foundation it became the seat of the famous Eleatic school (Xenophanes, Parmenides, Zeno). **Salernum** was a Campanian town delightfully situated on the north shore of the modern gulf of Salerno. It was of much importance in the Middle Ages, when it belonged to the Normans, and afterwards to the Hohenstaufen, and the House of Anjou, and was the seat of the greatest medical school in Europe. Some modern authorities (e.g. Swinburne, *Travels in the Two Sicilies*, III. 185) consider it unhealthy because it is screened from the north, and exposed to the south wind, which brings up 'most pernicious miasma' from the plain stretching to the south, toward Paestum. The town still has a population of over 20,000.

2. via: Horace would travel from Capua as far as Salernum by the excellent *via Popilia*, a branch of the *via Appia:* he could get on to Paestum (about half way to Velia) by a fair branch road; but there seems to have been no Roman road for the rest of the way.

Baias: Ep. I. 1, 83. The epithet *liquidae* applied to it in Carm. III. 4, 24 shows that the air of Baiae was noted for its clearness: Cicero however (Ep. Fam. IX. 12) speaks as if there were some at any rate whom it did not suit: *gratulor Baiis nostris, siquidem, ut scribis, salubres repente factae sunt: nisi forte te amant et tibi adsentantur, et tamdiu dum tu ades sunt oblitae sui.* In any case Horace's physician had forbidden him to go there, as he had usually done in the winter.

3. Antonius Musa, a freedman physician, had cured Augustus in B.C. 23 of a serious liver complaint by the cold-

water treatment (Suet. Oct. LXXXI) and by a free use of lettuces (Plin. N. H. XIX. 8, 38). He now recommended the former to Horace, who therefore had no need to resort to the vapour baths over the sulphur springs at Baiae.

tamen, although it is Musa's fault, not mine.

4. **gelida**: Plin. H. N. XXIX. 1, 5 mentions a certain Charmis of Massilia, who *frigida etiam hibernis algoribus lavari persuasit. Mersit aegros in lacus. Videbamus senes consulares usque in ostentationem rigentes.*

cum = 'now that'.

5. **murteta**: Celsus III. 27 *siccus calor est et arenae calidae, et laconici, et clibani, et quarundam naturalium sudationum ubi a terra profusus calidus vapor aedificio includitur, sicut super Baias in murtetis habemus.* Vitruv. II. 6 also describes the buildings erected over the natural jets of sulphurous vapour.

6. **cessantem** 'chronic', lingering. **nervis**: apparently these vapour baths were especially efficacious in cases of muscular rheumatism.

elidere 'to drive out', a technical medical term: cf. Cels. II. 15 *gestatio utilissima est...eis quibus lentae morborum reliquiae remanent, neque aliter* eliduntur. Baiae is represented as bearing a grudge against invalids who have courage to follow Musa's severe régime.

8. **caput**: Celsus recommends the douche for strengthening the head and stomach: I. 4 *capiti nihil aeque prodest atque aqua frigida: itaque is, cui hoc infirmum est, per aestatem id bene largo canali quotidie debet aliquamdiu subicere:* IV. 5 *qui stomachi resolutione laborant, his perfundi frigida, atque in eadem natare, canalibus eiusdem subicere etiam stomachum ipsum...consistere in frigidis medicatisque fontibus...salutare est.*

9. **Clusinis**: at Clusium itself there do not appear to have been any springs of note; and the place itself was unhealthy, because of the miasma arising from the marshes produced by the overflowing of the Clanis (Tac. Ann. I. 79), until these were drained by the grand-dukes of the house of Lorraine. At S. Casciano de Bagni, about twelve miles to the south of Clusium, there are baths of ancient date, and it has been suggested (Dennis *Cities of Etruria* II. p. 291) that Horace may have been referring to these. There is no important town nearer to these than Clusium. But perhaps Horace's language does not require anything more than the ordinary springs, not wanting in the hilly country round Clusium itself. It has been suggested that the baths (mentioned by Tibull. III. 5, 1 *vos tenet Etruscis manat quae fontibus unda, unda sub aestivum non adeunda canem*) may

have been those at Clusium: but as Heyne justly observes 'habuit autem et olim et nunc Etruria aquas salubres pluribus locis'. Besides those were clearly hot baths, while the springs at Clusium were cold.

Gabios: Ep. I. 11, 7: Strabo v. 3 *ἐν δὲ τῷ πεδίῳ τούτῳ ὁ Ἀνίων διέξεισι καὶ τὰ Ἄλβουλα καλούμενα ῥεῖ ὕδατα ψυχρὰ ἐκ πολλῶν πηγῶν, πρὸς ποικίλας νόσους καὶ πίνουσι καὶ ἐγκαθημένοις ὑγιεινά*. In Juv. VII. 4 *cum iam celebres notique poetae balneolum Gabiis conducere temptarent* Prof. Mayor thinks the point to be that in so small a place but little custom could be expected. But there are indications that owing to its cold baths it to some extent recovered its prosperity: cf. Burn's *Rome and the Campagna* p. 382.

10. nota, sc. *equo*. The horse wanted to turn down to the right, as usual, where the road branched off, and led through Cumae to Baiae. This was apparently at Capua: the *via Domitiana*, which led straight from Sinuessa to Cumae along the coast, was made by the Emperor Domitian (Stat. Silv. IV. 3): Orelli is misleading here.

12. stomachosus habena 'pulling angrily at the rein': *habena* is the ablative of instrument; 'venting his anger with'. *Habena* is strictly a single strap or rein; hence usually in the plural of a bridle.

13. sed, i.e. but it is no good saying anything, for &c.

equis: the singular *equi*, according to Keller, has more authority: but Bentley seems right in regarding this clause as a general reflexion, in which case the dative, as he has shown, is the case required: *equi* must then be regarded as wrongly assimilated to *eques*.

14. populum, not an uncommon expression for the inhabitants of a *municipium*: cp. Wilmanns *Ex. Inscr. Lat.* 1194, 1219 *a*, 1804, 1809, &c., where we have S. P. Q. T. of Tibur.

15. collectos...imbres, i.e. in tanks (*lacus*).

16. iugis might seem redundant after **perennis**: hence some editors have read *dulcis*, the reading of the vet. Bland. and a few other MSS. But, as Bentley saw, *dulcis* is here out of place: rain-water is not less *dulcis*, i.e. not more salt or bitter, than spring-water. We have therefore here another instance of an attempt at emendation in the vet. Bland., which though at first sight attractive, will not bear examination. The pleonasm is not offensive or unparalleled: cp. Ep. I. 7, 42, Cic. de Or. III. 48, 184 *perennis et profluens*. Bentley quotes from Arnobius *perpetuae et iuges calamitates*: *iugiter et perpetuo* is a law-term, and Doederlein (Syn. I. 10) thinks that *iuge* and *perenne auspicium* are the

same, in spite of Cic. de Div. II. 36, 77 and Servius on Verg. Aen. III. 537. Brugman (Curt. Stud. IV. 148) regards *iugis* 'living' applied to water as quite a different word from *iugis* 'constant'. *Iugis* may be used either of the water (Cic. de Div. II. 13, 31 *aquae iugis colore*) or of the spring (de Div. I. 50, 112 *haustam aquam de iugi puteo;* de Nat. D. II. 9, 25 *ex puteis iugibus aquam calidam trahi:* cp. Sat. II. 6, 2 *iugis aquae fons.* Cp. Roby § 784.

nihil moror 'I don't care about': cp. Plaut. Trin. 297 *nil ego istos moror faeceos mores*, with Brix's note; and ib. 337. Horace knew that the wine was indifferent, and was therefore prepared to take his own supply with him. The wine of Surrentum, not far from Salernum, was a thin light wine, recommended to convalescents (Plin. H. N. XIV. 8), called by Tiberius *generosum acetum* and by Caligula *nobilis vappa*, though Persius speaks of it as *lene* (III. 93): Horace (Sat. II. 4, 55) seems to regard it as requiring to be mixed with strong Falernian, before it was good to drink.

17. **quidvis** 'anything', not 'any kind of wine', which would necessarily have been *quodvis*, as Heinsius pointed out.

19. **cum spe divite**: cp. Ep. I. 5, 17.

21. **iuvenem**, i. e. as though I were young again. **Lucanae** shows that Horace is now thinking of Velia, not of Salernum.

22. **apros**: Lucanian boars are mentioned in Sat. II. 3, 234; 8, 6. Cp. Mayor on Juv. I. 140—141, V. 116.

educet; cp. Ov. Pont. I. 10, 9 *quod mare, quod tellus, adpone, quod educat aer.*

23. **echinos** 'sea-urchins': Sat. II. 4, 33 *Miseno oriuntur echini;* Juv. IV. 143 *semel aspecti litus dicebat echini:* Plin. Ep. I. 15, 3 *ostrea, vulvas, echinas*, as the dainties at a banquet. Athenaeus III. 41 says '*Echini* if eaten with vinegar and honey, parsley and mint, are sweet and easy of digestion'.

24. **Phaeax**, i. e. like one of the courtiers of Alcinous: Ep. I. 2, 28.

25. **accredere**, a rare word, used however by Plaut. Asin. 620, 845; Lucret. III. 856 and Cic. ad Att. VI. 2, 3. In Plautus the preposition seems to have no especial force, in Lucretius the force is 'to believe this too'; in Cicero (*vix accredens*) and here *ad* seems to be intensive 'fully believe'.

26—46. *Maenius of old liked to get the daintiest fare he could, by the exercise of his wit; but if at any time his gluttony was reduced to satisfy itself on plain coarse food, he was a merciless*

censurer of epicures. I am like him, and fully appreciate comfort when I can get it.

26. Many MSS. and some old editions begin a new epistle here, failing to notice the connexion between this sketch of Maenius the glutton, and Horace's humorous expression of his intention to live on the best fare that he can get. For the rapid transition cp. Ep. I. 7, 14, and 46.

Maenius, a character attacked also by Lucilius, and mentioned in Sat. I. 3, 21, perhaps also in Sat. I. 1, 101 (but cp. Ritter ad loc.). Porphyrion says 'qui de personis Horatianis scripserunt, aiunt Maenium scurrilitate notissimum Romae'. He was said to have prayed aloud in the Capitol on the Kalends of January that he might owe 400,000 sesterces, explaining his prayer to one who asked him the meaning of it, by saying that he owed at the time 800,000. Some have supposed, but without good grounds, that he was the Pantolabus of Sat. I. 8, 11.

27. fortiter 'in a spirited fashion'; ironical, like Pers. VI. 21 *hic bona dente grandia magnanimus peragit puer.*

urbanus (Ep. I. 9, 11) is best connected with **scurra**, as in Plaut. Most. 15 *tu urbanus vero scurra, deliciae popli, rus mihi tu obiectas?* From Plaut. Trin. 202 *urbani assidui cives, quos scurras vocant*, we see that *scurra* had not quite the same sense as in Horace, but meant rather 'lounger', 'gossip'. In Catull. XXII. 2 the *urbanus* equals the *scurra* of v. 12, a 'wit', quite in a good sense, a meaning which is found even in Cicero (pro Quinct. 3. 11 *nam neque parum facetus scurra Sex. Naevius neque inhumanus praeco est unquam existimatus*), although from de Orat. II. 60, 247 it appears that the bad sense was beginning to be predominant. Hor. Sat. I. 5, 52 shows the change complete; *scurra = parasitus* 'spunger'.

28. praesepe 'crib', cp. Plaut. Curc. 227 *tormento non retineri potuit ferreo quin reciperet se huc esum ad praesepim suam:* so Eur. Eurysth. fr. 6 ἢν τις οἴκουν πλουσίαν ἔχῃ φάτνην.

29. inpransus, i.e. if he had had no meal that day: the *prandium* was the first substantial meal of the day, usually taken at midday.

civem...hoste 'friend from foe': the earlier meaning of the word *hostis*='foreigner' (Cic. de Off. I. 12, 37; Varro L. L. V. 3 *tum eo verbo dicebant peregrinum*) had become obsolete by the time of Horace, and should not be thrust upon him here; cp. Plaut. Trin. 102 *hostisne an civis comedis, parvi pendere.* The form *dignoscere* has no support here: the word occurs first in Horace (cp. Ep. II. 2, 44), then in Ovid; in prose in Columella and Pliny. Cp. Brambach *Hülfsb.* p. 34.

30. saevus fingere: similar infinitives after adjectives, called prolative or complementary infin. by Kennedy and Wickham, occur in Ep. I. 1, 14; 2, 64; 7, 57; 16, 12; 17, 47; A. P. 163, 165, 204; in the Satires in I. 4, 8, 12; II. 3, 313; 7, 85; 8, 24; and no less than 24 times in the Odes. They form a marked feature in the style of Horace.

31. pernicies...macelli 'the ruin, and storm and abyss of the market', because he burst down upon it, carrying havoc with him, and swept off everything into his insatiable maw. Cp. Plaut. Capt. 903, 911. For the *barathrum* at Athens see Dr Hager in Journ. Phil. VIII. 12. The word is used somewhat differently in Sat. II. 3, 166, but cp. Plaut. Curc. 122 *age ecfunde hoc* [vinum] *cito in barathrum*. *macellum* seems to have denoted originally a slaughter-house, thence a meat-market, but it came to be applied to a market for all kinds of provisions: cp. Varro L. L. V. 147, Donatus on Ter. Eun. 255, Curt. Gr. Etym. I. 407.

32. donabat will stand very well as the main verb of the sentence. Bentley's conjecture *donaret* leaves *Maenius* without any proper construction; and the reading *donarat* of the vet. Bland. and other important MSS. on which it is based seems only an assimilation to *quaesierat*.

33. nequitiae 'his wicked wit'.

35. vilis is evidently needed with **agninae** more than with **omasi** [like 'tripe' a Keltic word] which was always a cheap coarse food; there are many instances in the Satires of *et* in the second place in its clause: e.g. I. 3, 54; 6, 11; 10, 71 etc. Plautus (Capt. 816) complains of the butchers who sold lamb dear: apparently he expected it to be cheap. It is nowhere mentioned as a dainty.

36. lamna, contracted for *lamina* [better spelt *lammina*], as in Carm. II. 2, 2. Torture by the application of red-hot plates of metal is often mentioned, e.g. in Plaut. As. 543 *adversum stetimus lamminas crucesque compedesque, nervos, catenas, carcerem, numellas, pedicas, boias, impactoresque acerrumos gnarosque nostri tergi:* Lucret. III. 1017, *verbera, carnifices, robur, pix, lammina, taedae,* Cic. in Verr. V. 63, 163 *cum ignes ardentesque lamminae ceterique cruciatus admovebantur.*

ut diceret: the man's coarse gluttony is humorously represented as entitling him to censure severely epicures, and spendthrifts.

nepotum, Epod. 1, 34: Sat. I. 4, 49 (*nepos filius*); 8, 11; Sat. II. 1, 53; 3, 225; Ep. II. 2, 193. The word is also common in Cicero in this sense, but not apparently elsewhere.

37. **Bestius** is introduced also by Persius VI. 37, but so as to add nothing to what we can gather from this passage. He was evidently an extravagant liver so long as his means held out, and afterwards an unsparing critic of extravagance. The character may very probably have been derived from Lucilius. All the MSS. have either **correctus** or *correptus:* the latter appears to give no good sense; but the former may, I think, well be interpreted 'like Bestius after his reformation'. Lambinus asserted that he had found 'in antiquissimo codice' *corrector*, and this reading, though probably only a conjecture, has been adopted by many subsequent editors. Bentley warmly defends it, quoting, with his usual readiness, several passages in which *corrector* is used for 'critic' or 'censor', and assuming that Bestius was a proverbially severe censor. As the reading found in all known MSS. yields a sufficiently good sense, I have followed Ritter and Keller in retaining it.—**Maenius** is of course the subject of **diceret**, and **Bestius** is in apposition, as in Vell. Pat. II. 18 *Mithridates...odio in Romanos Hannibal.*

39. **verterat in fumum**, a proverbial expression for 'consumed': we need not enquire what particular metaphor was in the mind of Horace.

miror—si: Roby § 1757, S. G. § 747. Cp. *θαυμάζω εἰ.*

41. **turdo**: Sat. II. 2, 74; 5, 10. **volva**: the *matrix* of a sow was and still is considered a great delicacy in Italy. It was prepared with spices and vinegar, and eaten as a relish with wine: Athen. III. 59 *ἐμπίνοντι δέ σοι φερέτω τοιόνδε τράγημα, γαστέρα καὶ μήτραν ἑφθὴν ὑός, ἔν τε κυμίνῳ ἔν τ' ὄξει δριμεῖ καὶ σιλφίῳ ἐμβεβαῶσαν.* It was more costly than any other kind of meat commonly eaten, as Keller shows from Diocletian's edict of A. D. 301 *de pretiis venalium* (c. iv. 3 ed. Mommsen). Prof. Palmer quotes very happily Alexis (Meineke Com. Graec. p. 738 ed. min.) *ὑπὲρ πάτρας μὲν πᾶς τις ἀποθνήσκειν θέλει, ὑπὲρ δὲ μήτρας Καλλιμέδων ὁ Κάραβος ἑφθῆς ἴσως προσεῖτ' ἂν ἀποθανεῖν.*

42. **hic**: cp. Ep. I. 6, 40. It is of course the pronoun, although Macleane by comparing *ἐνταῦθ' εἰμί* seems to take it as the adverb. In Ter. Andr. 310 *tu si hic sis aliter sentias, hic = ego*, not *in hoc loco:* cp. Spengel's note *ad loc.*

44. **unctius** 'richer' of food, as in Ep. I. 17, 12 of persons. Cp. Mart. V. 44, 7 *unctior cena.*

46. **fundata** 'based upon', not quite 'invested in': the meaning seems to be that no man is in this case considered wise and fortunate, unless all can see from his handsome marble (*nitidis*) villas how firm is the basis on which his financial prosperity rests. Cp. Cic. p. C. Rab. Post. I. 1 *fortunas fundatas*

atque optime constitutas. The wealthier Romans possessed a surprising number of country seats. Cicero was never accounted a very rich man; but he had fourteen or fifteen, eight of them of considerable size and beauty. (Watson *Select Epistles*, p. 127.)

EPISTLE XVI.

The tone adopted in vv. 17 ff. of this Epistle makes it pretty clear that the Quinctius, to whom it is addressed, was a man younger than Horace. The eleventh Ode of the second book is addressed to a Quinctius Hirpinus; and it has been argued from the mention of *cani capilli* in v. 15 of that Ode that this Quinctius must have been at least as old as Horace. But it is probable that the reference there is only to the poet himself, and that the *levis iuventus* of v. 6 is more applicable to his friend. There is therefore nothing to prevent us from supposing that the Ode and the Epistle are addressed to the same man. He appears to have already attained conspicuous success in his ambitious career; and may with some probability be identified with T. Quinctius Crispinus, the consul of B.C. 9. (The surname *Hirpinus* of Carm. II. 11 presents difficulties as yet unsolved: cp. Wickham's Introduction.) Chronology, as well as his character as *optimus*, prevents us from identifying him with the worthless T. Quinctius Crispinus, praetor in A.D. 2: but Orelli thinks that he may have been his father. The Epistle cannot have been written before B.C. 27, when Octavianus received the title of Augustus (v. 29); as Horace was in possession of his Sabine estate by B.C. 33, and as Quinctius at this time knew very little about it, this goes to show that the friendship between Horace and himself was not of long standing. There is nothing to fix the date more precisely.

1—16. *I will tell you all about my Sabine estate, Quinctius, that you may not have the trouble of asking me as to its produce. It lies in a shady valley: the climate is good, trees abundant, and the stream as cool and clear as the Hebrus. This dear and charming retreat keeps me in health even in autumn.*

1. ne, not imperative, but dependent on *scribetur* (v. 4). **Quincti**, the form found on coins of the Augustan time: the great majority of MSS. have *Quinti*, but some (including the vet. Bland.) have retained the earlier form.

2. arvo, properly land prepared for corn, but not yet sown: cp. Varro R. R. I. 29, 1 *seges dicitur quod aratum satum est; arvum, quod aratum necdum satum est:* but the word is commonly used for corn-land generally. Mr Simcox (*Hist. Rom.*

Lit. I. 309) says: 'We see that most (?) of his friends thought more of the value of his farm than of its beauty, and turned first to the question whether it grew corn or oil, because there was a profit to be got out of oil, while corn could not be depended upon for more than a living'. This last statement is correct (cp. Mommsen *Hist.* II. 375, 6), but it may be doubted whether the fact was in the mind of Quinctius. The various alternatives are not, strictly speaking, mutually exclusive: the orchard was sown like any corn-field, and where the vine was trained on living trees, corn was cultivated in the intervals between them (Mommsen II. 364 note).

bacis, here, as always (Ribbeck Proll. Verg. p. 391), better established than *baccis*.

opulentet, a rare word, found for the first time here.

3. **an pratis**. Keller strenuously, but not successfully, defends the reading *et pratis*, which would join two substantives, not more closely connected than any other two in the list. Bentley restored *an* from the vet. Bland. and other good MSS.

amicta: Ep. I. 7, 84 (note). I cannot think, with Macleane, that these two lines are 'to be understood as a description,' and that Horace is recounting the different productions of his farm. H. puts aside the question as to the productiveness of his estate, and dwells in preference on its natural charms.

4. **forma** 'nature' or 'character': Varro R. R. I. 6, 1 *formae cum duo genera sint, una, quam natura dat, altera, quam sationes imponunt* etc.

loquaciter, i.e. with all the fulness of a proud owner. The most recent descriptions of the estate are to be found in Martin's Horace (Vol. II. p. 233), and in the *Antiquarian Magazine* for June 1883: cp. also the account in Milman's *Life of Horace* (p. 101), and that reprinted in Martin's Horace (Ancient Classics for English Readers) pp. 70—72 from the *Pall Mall Gazette*. The main point at issue is whether the farm lay on an elevated plateau near Rocca Giovane (as Rosa thinks), or on the right bank of the Digentia, two or three miles further up the valley, opposite to the village of Licenza. The latter view is far more probable.

5. **continui montes**, not quite, as Conington, 'in long continuous lines the mountains run': there are no marked mountain chains in this part of the Sabine territory, but rather a broad continuous mass, broken only by the valley of the Digentia, running from north to south. The most conspicuous of these mountains is the Monte Gennaro (4163 ft.), rising high above the rest as seen from the plain of the Campagna; this

was probably Horace's Lucretilis, though some have found this in the Monte Corrignaleto, above Rocca Giovane.

ni 'except that': with **continui** we must understand *sunt;* a general statement is made, and then a qualification is introduced, which modifies it (Roby § 1574, S. G. § 654). The full expression of the thought would be 'the mass of the hills is unbroken, at least it would be, supposing they were not to be parted by' etc. Keller argues strongly in favour of the reading *si*, which is found in some MSS., and which he supposes (though apparently without sufficient reason) to be implied in Porphyrion's interpretation. He urges that the reading *ni* implies that the estate *consisted* mainly of a mass of mountains, and Schütz admits this; but I cannot see that this necessarily follows. Even if it is too much to say with Krüger that we must supply as predicate 'are in the neighbourhood, surround my estate', there is no great ambiguity in beginning the description by saying 'the mountains are unbroken'; Quinctius knew that Horace lived in a mountainous district. Keller takes **si continui montes dissocientur** as the protasis, and **laudes** as the apodosis, which produces a cumbrous sentence, not in Horace's style. Besides this strains the meaning of *continui,* which he interprets as 'separated only by a narrow valley'. He seems also to be wrong in his view of the nature of the valley. He regards it as running east and west, so as to be protected by the mountains on the one hand from the north wind, on the other from the noonday sun and the scirocco. But the valley of the Digentia runs nearly due north and south; and this is clearly implied in vv. 5—6. **dextrum** must be used, just as we use 'right bank' of a river, for that part which is on the right hand of one following the course of the stream. Thus the rising sun shines on the slopes of the hills to the west of the river, which face the east; and the setting sun shines in the same way on the slopes to the east. Krüger thinks that the *villa* must be regarded as facing the north, so that its right (eastern) wall would catch the rising sun, but there is nothing to suggest the villa as the standpoint. Some maps appear to mark a small valley branching off from the valley of the Digentia, and running east and west, just where the villa of Horace is placed by Rosa (so Müller in Smith's Atlas and Piale's *Pianta della Campagna Romana*); but this is not well defined, and is several hundreds of feet above the course of the stream. Hence it seems more probable that Horace is referring to the main valley.

sed ut, limiting: the valley is on the whole shady, but yet such that the sun shines upon one side of it in the morning, upon the other in the evening.

7. discedens has better authority than the old reading

descendens. Bentley read *decedens*, quoting in support Verg. Ecl. II. 67, Georg. I. 222, IV. 466, and Ep. I. 6, 3; but it is not necessary to depart from the MSS.

vaporet may mean simply 'warms' as often in Lucretius *vapor* means 'heat' (cp. V. 1131); but perhaps it is better to interpret with Orelli 'tepido vapore obducat'.

8. quid, si ferant, sc. *dicas*. The subj. pres. does not here suggest that the hypothesis is merely imaginary, but *ferant* is attracted into the mood of *dicas*: 'if you were to learn this, you would say', &c. Bentley reads *ferunt* and *iuvat*, which would be necessary if *dicas* did not follow, suggesting the same form to be supplied after *quid*. Macleane's comma after *umbra*, instead of a note of interrogation, makes the construction unintelligible. Prof. Palmer believes the true reading to be *quid quod* here and *quod* for *si* in v. 9: *quod* then fell out after *quid* in v. 8, and before *quercus* in v. 9. Several good MSS. omit *si* and have *et* in v. 9, and some have *quodsi* here, which facts seem to point to some corruption. Certainly *quid si* as it stands here, seems quite unparalleled. In that case, we must of course read *ferunt*.

benigni has better authority, and is more poetical than *benigne*: some MSS. have *benignae*: Lucretius IV. 60 uses *vepris* as a feminine, and Priscian (V. 8, 42) says that the gender was common with 'vetustissimi'; but Vergil (Georg. III. 444, Aen. VIII. 645) and Columella treat it as masculine. Munro thinks that the evidence points to the feminine here (note on Lucret. l. c.) though he prints *benigni*. Cp. *benignus ager* Ov. Am. I. 10, 56.

9. vepres 'bushes': usually thorn-bushes, as in Verg. Georg. III. 444 *hirsuti secuerunt corpora vepres*; but not necessarily, nor apparently here, for although the sloe-tree (*prunus spinosa*) has thorns, the wild cherry (*cornus mascula*) has not. A *senatus consultum* in Front. Aquaed. 129 has *arbores, vites, vepres, sentes*. The wild cherry is indigenous in Italy, although the cherry proper was only introduced in Cicero's time. For sloes cp. Plin. N. H. XV. 13, 44 *pruna silvestria ubique nasci certum est*.

10. fruge, here equivalent to *glandibus*, but in Cic. Or. 9, 30 of corn contrasted with acorns: *ut inventis frugibus glande vescantur*.

11. Tarentum: the charms of Tarentum are sung of in Carm. II. 6, 9—20, where Horace places it next to Tibur. Lenormant (*La Grande-Grèce* I. 20) writes of the little village of Citrezze near Tarentum, with its little chapel of S. Maria di Galeso: 'la beauté des eaux, et l'ombrage des arbres touffus, créent une sensation de fraîcheur dont le charme, sous ce climat

ardent, ne saurait se décrire'. Hence De Chaupy (quoted by Macleane) is hardly justified in saying that the valley of Licenza now not only equals but infinitely surpasses the verdure of Tarentum.

12. fons, identified by the scholiasts with the *fons Bandusiae* of Carm. III. 13, 1: but it is not even certain that the latter was not in Apulia. The name of this spring must have been the same as that of the stream, i.e. Digentia (Ep. I. 18, 104).

dare idoneus, a Greek construction: cp. Ep. I. 2, 27 (note).

13. frigidior: Ep. I. 3, 3 (note). **ambiat** 'flows winding through', not 'flows around'. We should say rather 'so that Hebrus is not cooler or clearer in its winding course through Thrace'.

14. capiti...alvo: Ep. I. 15, 8 (note).

utilis, utilis: the repetition is not out of keeping with the negligent style of a familiar letter, and is supported by a great preponderance of authority. Either from a deliberate correction or from the loss of one of the words (actually occurring in one MS.), some MSS. read *aptus et utilis*.

15. dulces 'dear to me'. **amoenae** 'charming in themselves', objectively. Bentley read *et* (*iam si credis*), 'and, if you believe it, now that you have heard my account', and several good editors have followed him. But there is sufficient distinction between *dulces* and *amoenae* in meaning, to bear the weight of the **etiam** 'and even'. Mr Reid thinks all attempts to explain *si credis* unsatisfactory, and suggests that Horace may have written the very common *si quaeris*: cp. Lucil. 1006 (Lachm.) *sermone bono, et, si quaeri', libenter*. This does not touch the difficulty as to the force of *amoenae*.

16. tibi, ethic dative, showing that the health of Horace was a matter of interest to Quinctius. **Septembribus horis**: cp. Ep. I. 7, 5 ff., Sat. II. 6, 19.

17—24. *You are universally accounted a happy man: but don't trust the judgment of others in this: for they may not know your weak points, and no one is really happy but the good.*

17. quod audis 'what you are said to be': Sat. II. 3, 298; 6, 20; Ep. I. 7, 38. Cp. Xen. Mem. II. 6, 39 ἀλλὰ συντομωτάτη τε καὶ ἀσφαλεστάτη καὶ καλλίστη ὁδός, ὦ Κριτόβουλε, ὅ τι ἂν βούλῃ δοκεῖν ἀγαθὸς εἶναι, τοῦτο καὶ γενέσθαι ἀγαθὸν πειρᾶσθαι, translated by Cic. Off. II. 12, 43.

18. iactamus 'we have been speaking of', without any notion of boasting: there may perhaps be, as Ritter thinks, a

suggestion of thoughtlessness in the language. • Cp. Conington on Verg. Aen. I. 102. For the construction with *omnis Roma* cp. Carm. IV. 2, 50 *non semel dicemus 'io triumphe' civitas omnis.*

19. plus quam tibi: Acron well compares for the thought Pers. I. 7 *nec te quaesiveris extra.*

20. alium sapiente: *alius* has the construction of a comparative also in Ep. II. 1, 240 *alius Lysippo*, and in Sat. II. 3, 208 *species alias veris.* Cp. Cic. ad Fam. XI. 2 (in a letter written by Brutus) *nec quicquam aliud libertate communi quaesivisse:* Roby § 1268, S. G. § 513. Cp. Xen. Mem. IV. 4, 25 ἄλλα τῶν δικαίων.

21. sanum: the metaphor, as is frequently the case in these epistles, is made the main proposition. We should say rather 'and act like a man who should conceal a disease' etc.

22. sub 'up to': Mr Roby (§ 2129) admits for *sub* with acc. of time only the meaning 'just after': but usage and the origin of the construction alike seem to point to 'towards, just before' as a force quite as legitimate. Cp. Sat. I. 1, 10; II. 1, 9; 7, 33, 109; and Palmer's notes on the Satires, p. 380.

23. tremor: cp. Pers. III. 100 ff. Some editors suppose that the sick man disguises his fever until dinner-time that he may not have to sacrifice his meal, others that he may spare the feelings of his guests (!): but Horace appears to mean simply that a vice not cured may break out at the most inconvenient times.

unctis, food was commonly taken in the fingers, forks being unknown except for kitchen purposes, and spoons little used: cp. Ov. A. A. III. 755 *carpe cibos digitis.*

24. pudor malus 'a false shame'.

25—31. *Praise only suited to Augustus you would refuse to take to yourself. Why take credit for wisdom and virtue?*

25. tibi with **pugnata**, not with **dicat**: the latter construction, defended by Schütz, requires us to give to *dicat* the meaning *adsignet*, which is without authority. The scholiasts however take *tibi=in tuum honorem.*

26. vacuas 'open' to flattery, called by Persius IV. 50 *bibulas.*

27—28. tene—Iuppiter, a quotation, according to the scholiasts, from the *panegyricus Augusti* by L. Varius, the tragic poet.

30. pateris seems to be the best supported reading: *poteris* of some MSS. is only a corruption, and *cupias* of others a gloss upon it. For the construction, which is a Grecism, cp. Carm. I. 2, 43 *patiens vocari Caesaris ultor;* and Ep. I. 5, 15.

31—40. *The pleasure naturally derived from a reputation for virtue rests on no sure basis: and unfounded praise is as worthless as groundless blame.*

31. sodes: Ep. I. 1, 62 (note). **respondesne**: Schütz argues that *-ne* must here, as in Ep. I. 17, 38, and as so often in Plautus and Terence,—in Cicero only in *videsne* etc.—have the force of *nonne*, the fact being assumed that it is so. This seems to be right, *cum pateris* being 'in allowing yourself to be' etc. (Roby § 1729, S. G. § 731). The metaphor is derived from a levy or a census, where the citizen answers, when he hears his own name called. Cp. Liv. III. 41 *edicitur dilectus: iuniores ad nomina respondent.*

nempe admits the justice of the implied assertion: 'to be sure I do, for' etc.

33. qui sc. populus.

34. indigno sc. *cui deferantur fasces*. **detrahet** has somewhat better support than *detrahit*. The illustration is not very suitable: for the *abrogatio imperii*, although theoretically possible, was exceedingly rare. Cp. Mommsen *Röm. Staatsr.* I[2] 606—609.

35. pone=*depone:* Carm. III. 2, 19 *nec sumit aut ponit secures arbitrio popularis aurae*. The object of *pone* is, as Bentley saw, *hoc*, i.e. *nomen viri boni et prudentis;* the intervening mention of the *fasces*, being thrown in parenthetically by way of comparison, is no sufficient objection to this view, as Schütz argues. If we take *fasces* as the object, we are compelled to give a forced meaning to **meum**, 'it is my prerogative to give and to take away offices': besides, we lose the contrast between *tristis* and *delector*.

pono: Horace uses the first person here only in order to avoid the apparent invidiousness of the second. The fact that he himself never stood for any office conferred by popular election, thus does not at all come into the question.

36. idem. Bentley argued that this must be of the first person, connecting it with *mordear*, and putting a full stop, not a note of interrogation, at *colores*. His notion of the drift of the passage is:—if I am elated by praise which I do not deserve, I should also be stung by charges however groundless. He rightly sees that the *falsus honor* and the *mendax infamia* affect the same man. But Horace's point seems rather to be that as false charges would not affect the man, in whose position he is for the moment placing himself, so an unfounded reputation for virtue ought not to delight him. Hence **idem** is best taken with **clamet**, of the *populus*.

furem sc. *me esse.* **pudicum**, always in a sense more restricted than our 'chaste', of freedom from the worst forms of vice.

37. **laqueo collum pressisse paternum**, used for the extreme of villany in Carm. II. 13, 5 *illum et parentis crediderim sui fregisse cervicem*, Epod. III. 1 *parentis olim si quis impia manu senile guttur fregerit.*

38. **colores**, much better supported than *colorem*. Bentley admitted that the singular was much more common (cp. Carm. I. 13, 5; IV. 13, 17), but held that the plural could be explained of the colour coming and going, the man turning red, then pale, then red again. And this is probably right. He quotes Prop. I. 15, 39 *quis te cogebat multos pallere colores?*—the force of which Schütz in vain endeavours to impair—and Lucian Eun. 11 παντοῖος ἦν ἐς μυρία τραπόμενος χρώματα. So too Plato Lys. 222 B παντοδαπὰ ἠφίει χρώματα. Browning's 'cheek that changes to all kinds of white' is a close parallel to the phrase in Propertius.

40. **medicandum** is unquestionably the right reading, being supported alike by the weight of MS. authority, and by the requirements of the sense. The old reading *mendacem* still retained by Krüger, involves a false antithesis: for there is no reason why *mendax infamia* should terrify *mendaces* especially. The genesis of this blunder is made clear by the various readings in the inferior MSS.: a copyist's slip must have given *mendicandum* by assimilation to *mendax* and *mendosum*, and from this came by conjectural correction *mendacem* and *mendicum*. A *mendosus* requires *curatio;* he is conscious of serious faults, though not those which a *mendax infamia* ascribes to him.

41—45. *The popular judgment of a man is often erroneous, being based on mere external correctness of conduct.*

41. **qui servat.** The definition of the 'good man' is that which would be given by the popular judgment, one having in view only external rectitude of conduct, and a good reputation. But Horace shows that these may go along with grave moral defects, known to all who are familiar with the man, as he really is. Schütz well reminds us of the Pharisees of the Gospels.

consulta patrum: i.e. the man is a *bonus* in Cicero's sense of the word, a good Conservative, not inclined to make light of the authorities.

leges iuraque: *leges* are the positive enactments or 'statutes' of the *comitia centuriata*, with which the plebiscita of the *comitia tributa* came to be practically identical: *ius* is 'law' in its widest sense, *iura* being either the various component parts of

ius, or 'rules of law', legal provisions, either contained in the XII. tables, or added by the praetors. Cp. Dict. Ant. s.v. *Ius:* and Gaius I. 2 *constant autem iura populi Romani ex legibus, plebis consultis, constitutionibus principum, edictis eorum qui ius edicendi habent, responsis prudentium.*

42. iudice: in private suits a single *iudex* decided questions of fact, after a praetor had put the case into the proper form for hearing, and settled any question of law involved. Cp. Gaius IV. 39—43.

43. res sponsore. *All* MSS. except the vet. Bland. have *responsore*, which Ritter in vain endeavours to defend. Bentley showed convincingly that *responsor* is never used for *qui iura respondet*, and that if it was, the word would be out of place here, for a good man is not required to be a learned lawyer. But *sponsor* is the regular word for one who stands as surety, and thus secures a man his property. Cp. Corn. Nep. Att. 9 *ipsi autem Fulviae tanta diligentia officium suum praestitit, ut nullum stiterit vadimonium sine Attico, sponsor omnium rerum fuerit.* Bentley well quotes Pers. V. 78—81 as giving all the three characters here mentioned by Horace: *verterit hunc dominus? momento turbinis exit Marcus Dama. Papae! Marco* spondente *recusas credere tu nummos? Marco sub* iudice *palles? Marcus* dixit: *ita est. adsigna, Marce, tabellas.*

causae: the form *caussa* (like *cassus* and *divissiones*) was used, according to Quint. I. 7, 20, in the autographs of Cicero and Vergil: but it has no authority here, though Bentley adopts it.

44. vicinia, the people of the same quarter or *vicus:* Sat. II. 5, 106, Ep. I. 17, 62.

45. introrsum is supported by much better authority than *introrsus*, which Bentley prefers for the sake of euphony: some inferior MSS. have *hunc prorsus.*

46—56. *A man may possess some merits without possessing all, and he may be kept from sin only by the fear of detection.*

46. dicat: *dicit* which would be more regular has very little authority.

47. loris non ureris: cp. Epod. IV. 3 *Ibericis peruste funibus.*

49. bonus et frugi: '*bonus* servus honesta sequitur, *frugi* domino utilia'. Ritter.

negitatque is unquestionably right, although many good MSS. have carelessly enough *negat atque.* It is very doubtful

whether *negitat*, which is found not only in Plautus, Lucretius and Sallust, but also in Cicero, is intended here to have any archaistic tinge, as some have supposed.

Sabellus: Porphyrion says this means Horace himself, adding 'sed in hoc nomine est quaedam facies integritatis. Vergilius [Aen. VIII. 638] *Curibusque severis*'. Horace is then speaking in his character as a Sabine land-owner 'a plain Sabine like myself'. Lachmann however says (on Lucret. III. 1034) 'Apuli sunt huic (Lucilio) pro importunis ac petulantibus, ut Horatio pro simplice Sabellus'. The meaning is then 'a man who speaks his mind'. The term is a little out of place here: one does not see why great frankness was needed to dispose of a slave's assumptions.

50. foveam 'the pitfall': A. P. 459. Cicero Phil. IV. 5, 12 compares Antonius to an *immanis tetraque belua quae in foveam incidit.*

51. opertum sc. *esca*: cp. Ep. I. 7, 74 *occultum ad hamum.*

miluus, a dactyl, as in Epod. XVI. 32, and always in Plautus and Phaedrus. Cp. Wagner on Plaut. Aul. 314, Lachmann on Lucret. VI. 552, Bentley on Phaedr. I. 31, 1. The trochaic scansion appears first in Pers. IV. 26. The form *milvius* is very late. The 'kite-fish' is mentioned by Pliny Nat. Hist. IX. 26, 82 along with the *hirundo* as a flying fish. (In Ov. Hal. 95 the best editors now read *iuli.*) Orelli calls it 'piscis rapax ex doradum genere', but what these *dorades* are, I cannot discover. The flying gurnard is now called by zoologists *dactylopterus*, the *triglo hirundo* being the sapphirine gurnard: the *milvus* may perhaps be the *coryphaena*, a fish which changes its colours very beautifully in dying; this is not the case with the true dolphin, which is really a mammal, like the porpoise.

53. tu is anybody, not Quinctius in particular nor the slave addressed.—**in te** added because of the indefiniteness of **nihil**: with a more definite object like *scelus*, *dedecus*, *facinus* and the like, it would not have been used.

54. sit, jussive: cp. Mart. VIII. 56, 5 *sint Maecenates, non deerunt, Flacce, Marones.* **miscebis**, 'you will make no difference between': cp. A. P. 397.

55. unum, sc. modium: the suggested reading *unam* would involve a ridiculous exaggeration. The reading of the text was that familiar to Augustine (quoted by Keller) who has *si de innumeris milibus frumentorum amittat unum modium* (de Mendac. XII).

56. non facinus: Horace is not, as Orelli supposes, speaking as a Stoic, and adopting the paradox that all sins are equal, which he ridicules in Sat. I. 3, 96. Nor is he, as Ritter thinks, making the master discourse like a Stoic to his slave; but he simply asserts that if the extent of the pilfering is limited only by the fear of detection, this does not affect the character of the act, a view in which there is nothing paradoxical.

57—62. *One who is virtuous to outward appearance may cherish evil desires in secret.*

57. omne forum, not, as Macleane seems to suppose, all the *fora*, but like *omnis domus* in v. 44, 'the whole forum'. At the date of this Epistle the *forum Augusti* was probably not finished, for we know from the story in Macrob. Sat. II. 4 that Augustus was much dissatisfied with its slow progress. The temple of Mars Ultor, which formed part of it, was not dedicated until B.C. 2, although part of the forum was opened before this date (Suet. Aug. XXIX). Hence only the *forum Romanum* and the small *forum Julium* were in use at this time. There were several *tribunalia* in the forum, but the 'vir bonus' would only attract the eyes of those around the one, at which he happened to be acting at the time as *iudex.*

58. vel porco vel bove. According to the rules of the pontiffs an ox was the proper animal to sacrifice to Juppiter, Neptune, Mars, or to Apollo: a pig to Juno Lucina, Ceres, Bona Dea, and Silvanus. Cp. Marquardt *Röm. Staatsverw.* III. 168. But doubtless the victims varied with the means of the sacrificer.

59. clare: Martial (I. 39, 6) quotes among the signs of a good man *nihil arcano qui roget ore deos;* and the rule of Pythagoras (quoted by Clem. Alex. Strom. IV. 26, 173) was μετὰ φωνῆς εὔχεσθαι. This passage of Horace is imitated by Pers. II. 3—16; and in Ovid Fast. V. 675—690 a merchant is represented as coming to the fountain of Mercury near the Capene gate, in order to get the god's pardon for his deceit in the past, and his aid for similar tricks in the future. Conington (on Persius l. c.) says 'Horace apparently merely means that while the worshipper asks the gods for one thing his bent is set on another': but this view is hardly reconcileable with the language of the text.

60. Laverna, the Roman equivalent to our Saint Nicholas: cp. Shakspere, *Henry IV.*, Part I., Act II., Sc. I: 'If they meet not with Saint Nicholas' clerks, I'll give thee this neck'. Schol. Cruq. derives the name from *latere*, because thieves, he says, were once called *laterniones* and *laverniones* (cp. Gadshill's words

in Shakspere, l.c., 'we have the receipt of fern-seed, we walk invisible'), a derivation accepted by Donaldson on the strength of the more than doubtful identity of *Lavinus* and *Latinus*. Acron connects the word with *lavare*, thieves being called *lavatores*, I suppose, because they 'clean out' travellers. But the only legitimate derivation is from the root *lu* or *lau* 'to gain', found in ἀπο-λαύ-ω, λῃΐς, *lucrum*, *latro*, etc. (Curt. *Gr. Etym.* No. 536). Arnobius IV. 24 says of Laverna, *cum Mercurio simul fraudibus praesidet furtivis*. Preller, *Röm. Myth.* p. 218 (cp. p. 459) considers *Laverna* a bye-form of *Lara* (the *Dea Muta* and *Mater Larum*), a goddess of the dark and silent under-world, and hence the patroness of thieves (as St Nicholas is said to have acquired his functions from a confusion with 'Old Nick'), but this does not account satisfactorily for the form of the word.

61. da with inf., as *dones* in Carm. I. 31, 17.

iusto sanctoque restored by Bentley from the vet. Bland. and other good MSS. for the old reading *iustum sanctumque*, which is only a copyist's alteration: cp. Sat. I. 1, 19 *atqui licet esse beatis*, I. 6, 25 *fierique tribuno*. Cp. Roby § 1357, S. G. § 537 (*c*).

62. obice: the form *obiice* is found in no good MS. here, or in Carm. III. 10, 3. Roby § 144.

63—72. *One who is a slave to his baser passions is no free man, but should be treated as a cowardly prisoner of war, and set to some useful toil.*

63. qui 'how': Ep. I. 6, 42; Sat. II. 2, 19; 3, 241, 260, 275, 311, etc.

64. in triviis fixum: repeated by Pers. V. 111 *inque luto fixum possis transcendere nummum*, where the scholiast says that it was a common joke with boys at Rome to solder a coin to the pavement (*assem in silice plumbatum infigere*) in order to ridicule those who stooped to pick it up, crying 'try again!' Schütz considers this a forced explanation, and takes *fixum* as 'sticking', somewhat as in Sat. II. 3, 294. The exaggerated phrase of Petronius c. XLIII. *ab asse crevit et paratus fuit quadrantem de stercore mordicus tollere* rather points to this view.

66. mihi 'in my eyes' Roby § 1148, S. G. § 477.

67. perdidit arma, i.e. is a ῥίψασπις, a coward who has flung away his arms. Bentley showed that this phrase was quite the correct one: '*prodere* enim *signa* publica recte dixeris: privata cuiusque *arma* non item: sed *tradere arma*, *proicere*, *abicere*, *amittere*, *perdere*'. Cp. Plaut. Epid. 55 (Goetz) *ei! me perdidit. quis? ille qui arma perdidit.*

69. captivum: i.e. a man who is absorbed in the pursuit of money, is not worthy of the name of a free man: treat him as a captive, and let him do the work for which he is fit. Lehrs objects that the passage is out of place here, and that v. 73 follows v. 68 better, if the intervening lines are omitted. But they add a touch of scorn to Horace's treatment of the man who 'makes haste to be rich', and are in his best style.

70. durus 'unsparingly', Ep. I. 7, 91.

72. annonae prosit, i.e. let him serve to keep down the price of corn, by bringing in plenty from abroad. For the effect of imported corn on agriculture in Italy, cp. Mommsen, *Hist.* III. 77.

penusque: this neuter form is quoted from Horace by Servius and Priscian: some inferior MSS. have *penum:* Roby § 398, S. G. § 121. Cp. Cic. de Nat. De. II. 27, 68 *est omne, quo vescuntur homines, penus.*

73—79. *A truly good man will maintain his fearless independence.* An admirably vivid and dramatic adaptation of Eur. Bacch. 492—498. Dionysus, in the guise of a young Lydian stranger is brought before Pentheus, king of Thebes, charged with introducing the Bacchic orgies among the Theban women. Students of contemporary literature will remember how happily this passage is used by Cardinal Newman (*History of my Religious Opinions*, p. 294).

74. patique: Ep. I. 15, 17. Cic. Tusc. II. 7, 17 *patietur, perferet, non succumbet.*

75. indignum: cp. v. 34. **bona**, in Euripides the long tresses and the thyrsus, borne in honour of the god.

76. lectos, the most valuable part of the furniture of the house. Ep. I. 1, 91. Cp. Cic. Parad. I. 8 *neque ego unquam bona perdidisse dicam, si quis pecus aut supellectilem amiserit.*

argentum: Ep. I. 6, 17.

in manicis: *εἱρκταῖσι τ' ἔνδον σῶμα σὸν φυλάξομεν.* Eur.

79. hoc sentit: in Eur. the delivery is brought about by a miraculous shaking of the palace of Pentheus (v. 605), but Horace interprets to suit his own purpose.

moriar: cp. Sen. de Prov. 6, 7 *ante omnia cavi* (*deus*), *ne quid vos teneret invitos: patet exitus: si pugnare non vultis, licet fugere.*

linea, the *calx* or winning line (our 'tape') at the end of a race-course: i.q. *γραμμή*; cp. Eur. Antig. fr. 13 *ἐπ' ἄκρὰν ἥκομεν γραμμὴν κακῶν.* Electr. 953 f. *πρὶν ἂν τέλος γραμμῆς ἵκηται καὶ πέρας κάμψῃ βίου.*

EPISTLE XVII.

This Epistle contains advice to a certain Scaeva, as to the course which should be adopted to secure and to profit by the favour of the great. Nothing is known or conjectured with probability of the man to whom it was addressed. The scholiasts say that his name was Lollius Scaeva, and that he was a Roman knight. This notion is based upon the assumption that this Epistle and the next are addressed to the same man, which is demonstrably false. The cognomen Scaeva is found at this period in use with the Junian and Cassian *gentes*, but there is no evidence to connect Horace's friend with either of them. Nor is there any indication of its date, unless indeed we may assume that in writing v. 33 Horace had in his mind the triumph of Augustus in B.C. 29. But in any case the Epistle must have been written after that date. Some critics have found grievous fault with the tone which Horace here adopts. But it does not come to much more than this, that a cynic's life is not necessarily the best, and that modesty is the best policy: no very degrading doctrine, if not ideally elevated.

1—5. *I will give you some advice, Scaeva, as your elder, though I know you do not need it.*

1. consulis. Ep. I. 14, *6* (note).

2. tandem: Horkel's conjecture *tenuem* is very ingenious, and has been actually adopted by Meineke: but it is not necessary. No parallel seems to have been adduced for the use of *tandem* in dependent-questions: but there is no reason why it should not be retained from the direct interrogation; and although it usually denotes some slight impatience on the part of the speaker, this is often so slight as to be hardly perceptible.

uti 'to associate with' = χρῆσθαι.

3. docendus adhuc evidently goes with *amiculus:* it would be quite superfluous, if referred to Scaeva. The diminutive has the force of 'your humble friend'.

4. adspice, siquid: Roby § 1754, S. G. § 748.

5. cures = *velis*. For the perf. inf. cp. A. P. 98, Sat. I. 2, 28, II. 3, 187; the construction is archaic and poetic, not in Cicero or Caesar: Dräger, *Hist. Synt.* § 128.

6—12. *Choose the line of life which has most attractions for you. There is much to be said for a life of retirement, as well as for one of self-advancement.*

6. primam in horam: the client would have to be up and out before sunrise, in order that he might greet his patron be-

times: cp. Mart. IV. 8, 1 *prima salutantes atque altera conterit hora.*

8. **laedit**: most MSS. have *laedet*, which is only a careless assimilation to *iubebo.*—**Ferentinum**, a lonely place in the Hernican country, according to the Schol. Cruq. *municipium viae Labicanae ad xlviii lapidem.* The town is often mentioned by Livy: Horace evidently speaks of it as a proverbially quiet place, although the extant remains show that it was a considerable town. There is no mention of it in history after B.C. 211, so that it may have been a decaying place in the time of Horace. It must be distinguished both from an Etruscan town of the same name (Tac. Hist. II. 50) which some however have supposed to be intended here, and from the *Ferentinae lucus* (Liv. I. 50), *ad caput Ferentinum* (Liv. II. 38) which was at Marino, near Alba Longa. Cp. Dict. Geogr.

10. **fefellit** 'has passed unnoticed' = λέληθεν. Cp. Ep. I. 18, 103. The word is used with an accusative of the person in Carm. III. 16, 32, and Epod. III. 7, without one in Liv. XXII. 33, 1 *speculator Carthaginiensium, qui per biennium fefellerat, Romae deprehensus*, who often has it in both constructions: cp. Fabri on Liv. XXI. 48, 5. Ovid's line (Trist. III. 4, 25) *crede mihi bene qui latuit, bene vixit* has become proverbial: both Horace and he seem to have borrowed the thought from the saying ascribed to Epicurus λάθε βιώσας, criticized by Plutarch in his treatise εἰ καλῶς εἴρηται τὸ λάθε βιώσας.

11. **prodesse tuis**: cp. v. 46, which can hardly however have a direct reference to Scaeva, as Schütz supposes.

12. **siccus**, not quite, as in Ep. I. 19, 9, Carm. I. 18, 3, IV. 5, 39, Sat. II. 3, 281, 'sober', but rather 'hungry' as in Sat. II. 2, 14; cp. *faucibus siccis* of hungry wolves in Verg. Aen. II. 388. Macleane's quotation of ἐπὶ ξηροῖσι from Theocr. I. 51 is not really parallel.

ad unctum: Comm. Cruq. explains 'pauper et tenuis ad opulentum et locupletem', and this view has found much support. But it is very doubtful whether in any of the passages where *unctus* is applied to persons, it can have this force. On the other hand *unctum* is used several times for 'a rich meal': cp. A. P. 422, and Pers. VI. 16 *cenare sine uncto:* so Ep. I. 15, 44 *melius et unctius.* Hence it is better to take the word here too as a neuter.

13—42. *A life such as Aristippus led is pleasant and profitable* (13—22), *fits a man for any position* (23—32), *and is no dishonour* (33—42).

13. **si pranderet holus**: so *prandere luscinias* in Sat. II. 3,

245; the story is told by Diog. Laert. II. 8, 68 *παριόντα ποτὲ αὐτὸν* (*Ἀρίστιππον*) *λάχανα πλύνων Διογένης ἔσκωψε καὶ φησίν, εἰ ταῦτα ἔμαθες προσφέρεσθαι, οὐκ ἂν τυράννων αὐλὰς ἐθεράπευες. ὁ δὲ καὶ σύ, εἶπεν, εἴπερ ᾔδεις ἀνθρώποις ὁμιλεῖν, οὐκ ἂν λάχανα ἔπλυνες.* **patienter** 'contentedly'. **regibus**, the words of Diog. Laert. show that we need not take this in the more general meaning of 'the wealthy', as in Sat. I. 2, 86: the reference is in the first place to Dionysius the elder, at whose court Aristippus spent some time (Lucian Paras. 33). Orelli thinks that *prandere* is used instead of *cenare* here, because *holus* was better suited to the light *déjeûner* than to the more substantial dinner; but cp. Ep. II. 2, 168 *emptum cenat holus*, of one who is certainly not poor. Besides it would weaken the point to say 'if you could make your *lighter* meal off vegetables': if the difference is to be pressed, surely the main meal of the day ought to have been mentioned. Ritter rather daringly suggests that the Greek is incorrectly recorded by Diog. Laert. and that a pun may have been intended: *εἰ ἀριστῴη Ἀρίστιππος λάχανα κ.τ.λ.* But the aor. ind. is the right tense, not the pres. opt. Hence we must be content with supposing that Aristippus passed Diogenes in the morning, when the latter was washing vegetables for his *prandium*. The modern Italian *prandio* or *pranzo* is 'dinner' as opposed to *colazione* 'breakfast', but the word seems never to be used so in good Latin.

14. **si sciret regibus uti**: Orelli reminds us of the saying of Epicurus (Diog. Laert. X. 121) *καὶ μόναρχον ἐν καιρῷ θεραπεῦσαι τὸν σοφόν.*

15. **utrius**: Horace has *illīus* always with the exception of Sat. I. 10, 67, and so *alterīus*, *utrīus*, *utrīusque*, *ullīus*, *unīus* (but *unĭus* in Carm. IV. 9, 390, *nullīus* (but *nullius* in v. 22, and in I. 1, 14). For Cicero's practice cp. De Orat. III. 47, 183 (note).

18. **eludebat** 'parried': the reading *illudebat* has little authority and is unsuited to the passage, in which there is no mockery.

19. **mihi** 'for my own profit'. **hoc** 'this conduct of mine', not referring to the latter of the two alternatives, but to that which is nearer to the thought of the speaker. Cp. Sat. II. 2, 29.

20. **equus ut me portet**: Bentley first showed clearly that this goes with *officium facio*, not as previous editors had taken it with *est*. The phrase was a proverbial one in Greek: *ἵππος με φέρει, βασιλεύς με τρέφει*: cp. Diogen. Paroem. V. 31, where it is explained as the answer of a certain Corraeus in service under Philip, when his mother begged him to ask for his discharge.

21. officium facio: 'I pay my court': for *officia* in this sense cp. Ep. I. 7, 8 (note).

vilia, verum: this is the reading of the Scholiast, supported by *all* MSS. of any critical value, and is rightly adopted by the best modern editors, as Ritter, Schütz and Keller, Munro being the only important exception: *vilia rerum* might be defended by *ficta rerum* Sat. II. 8, 83, *vana rerum* Sat. II. 2, 25, *abdita rerum* A. P. 49, *amara curarum* Carm. IV. 12, 19 etc.: cp. Munro on Lucr. I. 315 *strata viarum*. But on the other hand Horace is fond of ending a line with *verum*: cp. Sat. I. 2, 92, Ep. I. 1, 80, II. 2, 70 (where some MSS. have *rerum*, as here, against the sense), 106, A. P. 303: hence there is no reason for departing from the great preponderance of authority. The best MSS. have simply *verum*; some have *verum es*, which is more likely to be a grammatical correction, and this is a case where the harder reading is to be preferred. The construction apparently is 'tu poscis vilia, verum poscis dante minor', i.e. but in making your demand you place yourself in a position of inferiority to the bestower.

22. fers 'you boast'; Verg. Aen. V. 373 *qui se Bebrycia veniens de gente ferebat.*

nullius is masculine: *neminis* occurs in Plaut. Capt. 761 (Brix), but fell out of use before the time of Cicero.

23. color: 'form of life': Sat. II. 1, 60 *quisquis erit vitae color.*

24. temptantem 'aiming at'. **praesentibus aequum**: cp. Carm. III. 29, 33 *quod adest, memento componere aequus.* **praesentibus** appears to be the dative of the neuter plural, 'equal to the circumstances of the moment'; although Klotz (*Dict.*) takes it as ablative, and some translators follow him, rendering 'content with his present lot'. But is there any parallel to this use of *aequus?* The commentators as a rule ignore the difficulty. **fere** Ep. I. 6, 9 (note). Diog. Laert. II. 8, 66, says of Aristippus ἦν ἱκανὸς ἁρμόσασθαι καὶ τόπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ καὶ προσώπῳ καὶ πᾶσαν περίστασιν ἁρμοδίως ὑποκρίνασθαι· διὸ καὶ παρὰ Διονυσίῳ τῶν ἄλλων εὐδοκίμει μᾶλλον ἀεὶ τὸ προσπεσὸν εὖ διατιθέμενος.

25. duplici panno, the διπλοΐς of the Cynics, a large cloak (*abolla*) also called τρίβων, worn doubled to serve at once as a χιτών (*tunica*) and χλαμύς (*pallium*). Cp. Mayor on Juv. III. 115 *audi facinus maioris abollae:* Diog. Laert. VI. 22 τρίβωνα διπλώσας πρῶτος, κατά τινας διὰ τὸ ἀνάγκην ἔχειν καὶ ἐνεύδειν αὐτῷ, πήραν τε ἐκομίσατο. Hence Diogenes is called by Cercidas (Diog. Laert. VI. 76) ὁ βακτροφόρας, διπλοείματος, αἰθεριβόσκας. The words of Diog. Laert. make it plain that we must understand *duplici* literally, not, as some have taken it, 'coarse'.

panno 'rag', *ῥάκος*, is used contemptuously. **patientia** = *καρτερία* 'endurance', like *patienter* above.

27. alter sc. Aristippus. Cp. Diog. L. II. 8, 67 *διό ποτε Στράτωνα, οἱ δὲ Πλάτωνα πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν· σοὶ μόνῳ δέδοται καὶ χλαμύδα φορεῖν καὶ ῥάκος.* Plut. de fort. et virt. Alex. I. 8 *Ἀρίστιππον θαυμάζουσι τὸν Σωκρατικόν, ὅτι καὶ τρίβωνι λιτῷ καὶ Μιλησίᾳ χλαμύδι χρώμενος δι' ἀμφοτέρων ἐτήρει τὸ εὔσχημον.*

29. non inconcinnus 'not disagreeably': cp. Sat. I. 3, 50; Ep. I. 18, 6.

utramque i.e. of the richly dressed man, or of the ill-clad one.

30. Mileti: for the purples of Miletus cp. Verg. Georg. III. 306 *quamvis Milesia magno vellera mutentur Tyrias incocta colores.* As a rule it is the wool of Miletus, not its dye, which is celebrated: cp. Ar. Lys. 729, Ran. 541, Theocr. XV. 125 etc.

cane et angui: Priscian quotes this line as a proof that Horace used *angui* as the ablative; but Keller says that all the best MSS. have *angue.* The dog and the snake were both regarded as animals of evil omen: cp. Ter. Phorm. 705 *monstra evenerunt mihi: introiit in aedis ater alienus canis, anguis in impluvium decidit de tegulis.* Plaut. Merc. IV. 4, 21 (uxorem) *dixeras te odisse aeque atque anguis.* There is not likely to be any reference to *κυνικός*, as Schütz supposes. **peius vitabit** is a less natural expression than *peius timet* of Carm. IV. 9, 50. The scholiasts tell a story, which perhaps has no other basis than the words of Horace in the text: *aiunt Aristippum, invitato Diogene ad balnea dedisse operam ut omnes prius egrederentur, ipsiusque pallium induisse, eique reliquisse purpureum; quod Diogenes induere cum nollet, suum repetiit. Tum Aristippus increpavit Cynicum famae servientem, qui algere mallet quam conspici in veste purpurea.* Serenus in Stob. Flor. V. 46 tells a better story of Aristippus and Plato: *Διονύσιος Ἀρίστιππον ἔπειθεν ἀποθέμενον τὸν τρίβωνα πορφυροῦν ἱμάτιον περιβαλέσθαι, καὶ πεισθεὶς ἐκεῖνος τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ Πλάτωνα ποιεῖν ἠξίου. ὁ δὲ ἔφη 'οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην θῆλυν ἐνδῦναι στολήν.' καὶ Ἀρίστιππος· τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἔφη, ἐστὶ ποιητοῦ· 'καὶ γὰρ ἐν βακχεύμασιν οὐδ' ἥ γε σώφρων οὐ διαφθαρήσεται'.* The quotations are from Euripides Bacchae 836, and 317—8.

33. res gerere: there may well be a general reference here to the successes of Augustus, but there is probably no direct allusion to his triumph of B.C. 29.

34. caelestia temptat, i.e. is the way to scale the sky.

Cp. Carm. III. 2, 21 *virtus recludens immeritis mori caelum negata temptat iter via.*

36. non cuivis etc. 'it is not the lot of every one to be able to visit Corinth': i. e. every one has not the means to indulge in the plèasures provided so abundantly, but at so high a price, at Corinth. According to the testimony of Gellius (I. 8, 4), Strabo (VIII. 6, 20), the scholiasts here, and the Greek *paroemiographi*, the proverb οὐ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐς Κόρινθον ἔσθ' ὁ πλοῦς originated in the exorbitant demands made by Lais and other notorious courtesans of the place, on those who sought their favours. But the context shows that this origin had been almost if not entirely forgotten, or Horace could not have used it thus of the prizes due to preeminent virtue. Still less can there be any reference, as Erasmus after Suidas thought, to the dangerous entrance to the harbour. The old notion that *contingere* was *only* used of good fortune has long been discarded. Cp. note on Cic. Cat. I. 7, 16, Mayor on Phil. II. 7, 17, Reid on Lael. 2, 8.

37. sedit 'renounces the attempt'; like καθῆσθαι of remaining inactive. Cp. Ter. Ad. 672 *an sedere oportuit domi tam grandem virginem*, where Donatus remarks '*sedere* proprie ignavae cessationis est': Verg. Georg. III. 455 *meliora deos sedet omina poscens.* Cic. Sest. 15, 34 *isdem consulibus sedentibus* (Holden). Mr Reid thinks however that the contrast with **pervenit** requires that *sedit* should have rather the meaning 'takes a low place': a force common enough in the literal sense, as in Lucret. V. 474 *depressa sederent.* The perfects are 'gnomic', as in Ep. I. 2, 48 (note), A.P. 343.

non succederet, impersonally 'things should not go well with him': as in Ter. Andr. 670 *hac non successit; alia adgrediemur via.* Sometimes *succedo* is used with *res*, or *inceptum*, as the subject, but apparently never like our 'succeed' with a person as the nominative. For this, *procedere* may be used, e.g. Sall. Cat. I.

esto 'very good': cp. Ep. I. 81 (note).

38. fecitne = *nonne fecit*, as so often in Plautus and Terence. So *meministine* in Cic. Cat. I. 3, 7.

39. hic, i.e. in the answer which we give to this question.

quod quaerimus: cp. Reid on Cic. Lael. 18, 65, de Fin. III. 8, 29, V. 12, 34.

42. experiens 'enterprising': Cic. pro Cluent. 8. 23, *A. Aurius vir fortis et experiens*: in Verr. III. 21, 53 *homo navus et industrius, experientissimus [ac diligentissimus] arator.*

recte petit 'is right in seeking'.

43—62. *One who is paying court to a great man should abstain from* (1) *direct begging* (43—51), *and more indirect attempts to extract money* (52—62), *or real causes of complaint will not meet with attention.*

43. **sua** has far less authority than *suo;* but Bentley and Lachmann (Lucret. p. 238) seem right in preferring the former. Keller and Schütz think an epithet is more required with **rege,** used in the transferred sense of 'patron', than with *paupertate,* which can stand alone, the limitation, which of course is necessary, being then supplied by the context. Cp. Plaut. Stich. 454 *tam confido, quam potis, meum me optenturum regem ridiculis logis.* But it is certainly more pointed to say 'those who say nothing before a patron of their own poverty': and the great probability that *sua* would be assimilated to *rege* by transcribers, influenced, it may be, by the caesura, outweighs in this case the MS. evidence.

45. **atqui** etc. 'but this was the main point, this the source of your conduct': **erat** not, as Macleane, 'this is the point I was coming to'; but 'the point which we had in view', in vv. 11, 12, viz. to get as much as possible out of your patron.

46. **indotata:** to allow a sister to marry without a proper dowry, was regarded as a great disgrace: cp. Plaut. Trin. 689 *ne mi hanc famam differant, me germanam meam sororem in concubinatum tibi si sine dote dem, dedisse magis quam in matrimonium. quis me improbior perhibeatur esse? haec famigeratio te honestet, me conlutulentet, si sine dote duxeris.*

47. **nec vendibilis** 'not saleable' i.e. I can find no purchaser for it: there is no need to suppose, with some editors, that there was any legal obstacle to the sale.

pascere firmus: another of Horace's favourite infinitives after an adjective: cp. Ep. I. 15, 30 (note). *firmus* = 'safe', 'trustworthy'.

48. **succinit** 'chimes in', like another of a troop of beggars, joining in the cry.

49. **'et mihi!'** It is best with Porphyrion, Keller, Schütz and Krüger to take these words alone, as the cry of the second beggar. Otherwise the future **findetur** must be explained as equivalent to an imperative, which is too strong even for the *mendici impudentia,* which Orelli finds here. Translate 'the cake will be divided, and the gift parted between you'. Horace means 'if you beg so shamelessly, you will attract the attention of others, and so you will have to share with them, what otherwise you might have kept all to yourself'.

quadra, not, I think, 'the morsel', but as in Verg. Aen. VII. 115: cp. Mayor on Juv. V. 2 and Athen. III. p. 114 c (quoted there) ἄρτους...οὓς Ῥωμαῖοι κοδράτους λέγουσιν.

50. **corvus**: the reference cannot be to the familiar fable of the crow and the fox (Phaedr. I. 13, Babr. LXXVII), as Schütz thinks: in that there is no *rixa*, no *invidia*. Horace must either have had an inaccurate remembrance of the story, or have been thinking of quite a different one, in which the crow by the noise which it made over some booty which it had discovered attracted others to claim a share in it.

52. **Brundisium** might be visited by the patron for business or on state-affairs, as by Maecenas: cp. Sat. I. 5. **Surrentum** for pleasure: it was especially famous for its mild and salubrious climate, Stat. Silv. II. 2, Sil. Ital. V. 466 *Zephyro Surrentum molle salubri.*

53. **salebras** = *asperitates itineris* Acron. So used by Mart. IX. 58, 5 *quae Flaminiam secant salebrae.* The roads to Brundisium and Surrentum were among the best in Italy.

55. **refert** 'repeats' i.e. imitates: cp. Ep. I. 18, 62, Tac. Ann. I. 26 *easdem artes Drusum rettulisse:* Cic. Cluent. 31, 86 *te illud idem...nunc rettulisse demiror.*

catellam, evidently here a diminutive of *catena*, not of *catulus*, as some have taken it; comparing Mart. I. 110; III. 82, 19; XIV. 198, Prop. III. (IV.) 3, 55, Juv. VI. 654. The chain is a more natural accompaniment of the *periscelis* than the favourite dog, and besides can be more easily replaced by the lover's generosity, which is to be awakened by the complaint.

58. **triviis**, chosen by the impostor as the scene of his accident, because there would there be most passers-by.

59. **planum**: a Greek word (cp. Ev. Matth. xxvii. 63 ἐκεῖνος ὁ πλάνος εἶπεν ἔτι ζῶν), used also by Cic. Cluent. 26, 72 *ille planus improbissimus.* It is better to have a full stop after *planum*, rather than a comma, as some editors have.

60. **dicat**: an asyndeton: 'though he says'. **Osirim**: the worship of the Egyptian deities was at this time much on the increase at Rome, so that Augustus (Dio Cass. LIII. 2) did not allow their rites within the city. Cp. Boissier *Religion Romaine* I. 334 ff., Marquardt *Handb.* III. 71. The people looked upon them with great awe (Val. Max. I. 3, 3); and hence the oath of the impostor. To suppose, as most editors do, that the man was himself an Egyptian, and swore by his country's deities, would be to assume that his distress was not only in this instance genuine, but also bore the evident stamp of genuineness.

61. tollere; A. P. 460.

62. peregrinum: i.e. one who does not know your tricks.

rauca: Porph. says 'ad ravim', i.e. 'till they are hoarse', which has found much support. But it is not easy to see why the neighbours should bawl so long at the impostor, as to ruin their voices over him. The word more probably denotes only the harsh dissonant cries of the mocking crowd.

EPISTLE XVIII.

This epistle is in some MSS. and by the scholiasts taken as a continuation of the preceding one, and the latter even speak of 'Lollius Scaeva'. The only justification for this is that at first sight the main theme, the manner in which an inferior should associate with a superior in rank and wealth, appears to be the same in both. But a little consideration shows that the position of Lollius is very different from that of Scaeva. The latter is evidently of narrow means, and probably of humble origin: his object in courting a patron is to obtain a decent livelihood: the former is in possession of an ancestral estate (v. 60) with a lake on it large enough to be made the scene of a sham sea-fight, represented by two fleets of boats manned by numerous slaves. The date is fixed by vv. 55—57 to B.C. 20: it is therefore exceedingly improbable that the epistle was addressed, as the scholiasts say and as Ritter believes, to the Lollius who was consul in B.C. 21 (Ep. I. 20, 28): but it may probably have been addressed to his son. Lollia Paulina the wife of Caligula, was the daughter of M. Lollius *consularis* according to Tac. Ann. XII. 1. Pliny N. H. IX. 35, 118 speaks of her as the granddaughter of the consul of B.C. 21. This latter statement is quite in harmony with chronology, for she was married to Caligula, her second husband in A.D. 38, and in A.D. 49 was put forward as a candidate for the hand of Claudius: hence she can hardly have been born before A.D. 10. The account given by Tacitus is reconcileable with that of Pliny only on the assumption that the son of M. Lollius the consul of B.C. 21 was himself *consul suffectus*, though his name does not appear in the Fasti, and hence we cannot determine the date. If the reading *maxime* is right in Ep. II. 1, the father of Lollius must have been the man to whom the two epistles were addressed; for it was the custom of the eldest son to bear his father's praenomen. If we read there *Maxime*, the identification remains probable, although there is not the same evidence for it.

Bentley on v. 37 assumes that the powerful friend whom Lollius courted was Tiberius: but if this had been the case, it is

hard to suppose that there would have been no reference in vv. 55—57 to the fact that Tiberius was in the East at the same time as Augustus. Besides, the elder Lollius was a bitter enemy of Tiberius (Suet. Tib. XII.; Tac. Ann. III. 48). Ritter thinks that the epithets *venerandus* (v. 73) and *potens* (v. 86) prove that it must have been some member of the imperial house, and that Tiberius and Agrippa are both excluded by the fact that they were absent at this time from Rome, while Augustus is plainly not intended: hence he assumes that Claudius Drusus, the younger brother of Tiberius, at this time 18 years of age, must be referred to. It is better to leave the question undetermined.

The tone of the epistle has been severely censured by some editors: e.g. by Macleane. But the key to it seems to be found in the epithet *liberrime* of v. 1. This means more than 'of an ingenuous disposition', as Macleane renders it. Taken in connexion with v. 5 ff., it plainly denotes an outspoken frankness, in danger of passing into offensive rudeness. Horace blames in the most explicit language all unworthy servility, and points out the dangers and vexations of a court-life very frankly. But seeing that his young friend is embarked upon it, he gives him the advice which his temperament seemed most to require. That a man who is thrown into the society of one superior to himself in social station should not offend him by persistently obtruding his own opinions on matters of trifling importance, by displaying his own vices and follies, by prying into secrets, and betraying them, by finding fault with his friend's tastes and pursuits, by incontinent loquacity, and by introducing to him unworthy acquaintances, is surely nothing 'very degrading' and is far removed from refined servility.

1—9. *A true friend, Lollius, will not stoop to play the parasite: but it is almost a worse fault, if he becomes boorish and rude. Virtue lies in the mean.*

2. scurrantis Ep. I. 17, 19: **speciem** Ep. II. 2, 124, **professus** sc. *te:* in Carm. I. 35, 22 *nec comitem abnegat* the construction is doubtful: some understanding *se* (in which case it would be parallel to this passage), others *te*, others again *tibi*. Cp. Page, Ritter (or Schütz), and Wickham *ad loc.* Perhaps however we may take *amicum* as directly governed by *professus*, like *agere amicum*, *mentiri iuvenem* (Mart. III. 43, 1).

3. meretrici: the long vowel in the second syllable is very rare: but this passage shows that Roby I. 94 (note), S. G. p. 16 (note) is not right in saying that it is never found.

4. discolor: prostitutes were required to wear a dark *toga*, women divorced for adultery a white one, while matrons of good character wore the white *stola* (Comm. Cruq. on Sat. I. 2, 63:

cp. Juv. II. 68, Mart. II. 39, vi. 64, 4; Becker *Gallus* III. 64-5): and some have found a reference to that practice here. But it is more probable that *discolor* is used as in Pers. V. 32 *Mille hominum species et rerum discolor usus*, merely for 'different'. Cp. *vitae color* in Ep. I. 17, 23, Sat. II. 1, 60.

distabit with dative as in Carm. IV. 9, 29 *paulum sepultae distat inertiae celata virtus:* these instances show what the construction is in Ep. I. 7, 23; II. 1, 72. So the dative follows *dissidens* in Carm. II. 2, 18; *differt* in Sat. I. 4, 48, A.P. 236: *discrepat* Carm. I. 27, 5; Sat. I. 6, 92, II. 3, 108; Ep. II. 2, 193; A.P. 152, 219. Some of these cases might be explained as ablatives, but others cannct, and none need be so taken.

5. **diversum** etc. Translate 'the opposite to this fault is almost a greater fault'.

6. **inconcinna**: Ep. I. 17, 29.

7. **commendat**, not for *commendare vult*, but with a certain irony.

tonsa cute 'with hair clipped to the skin', the sign of an unskilful barber, as *intonsum* was of one who put on old-fashioned ways. There is no need to change the reading here to *quae cute se intonsa commendat*, as Doederlein suggests. But strictly speaking *tondere* was used of cutting short *per pectinem* 'over a comb' (cp. Plaut. Capt. 265) and *radere* of shaving close (cp. Mart. II. 27, 5 *non tondet, inquam, quid igitur facit? radit*). In Mart. XI. 11, 3 the *tonsus minister* is opposed to the *comatus* afterwards in fashion: so in X. 98, 8 we have *praesta de grege sordidaque villa tonsos horridulos...filios subulci.* Cp. Conington or Jahn on Pers. III. 54, where *detonsa iuventus* is the term applied to students of Stoicism.

8. **dici mera**: the reading before Bentley was *mera dici:* but it is very inelegant to have the fourth foot composed of a single word, and that a spondee. The rhythm however is not uncommon in Lucretius, and occurs at least once in Vergil Aen. VII. 625, where there is a pause after the pyrrhich. **dum volt**: cp. Ep. I. 19, 16.

9. **medium** (=μέσον τι) **vitiorum**: cp. Aristotle's definition, Eth. Nic. II. 6. ἔστιν ἡ ἀρετὴ ἕξις προαιρετική, ἐν μεσότητι οὖσα τῇ πρὸς ἡμᾶς...μεσότης δὲ δύο κακιῶν, τῆς μὲν καθ' ὑπερβολὴν τῆς δὲ κατ' ἔλλειψιν. So Cic. de Off. I. 25, 89 *nunquam enim iratus qui accedet ad poenam mediocritatem illam tenebit, quae est inter nimium et parum, quae placet Peripateticis:* cp. Brut. 40, 149; Carm. II. 10, 5 *auream mediocritatem.*

10—20. *One man obsequiously catches up his patron's words, while another wrangles about the merest trifles.*

10. imi lecti: the table in a Roman dining-room had couches on three sides of it: the *imus lectus* was the couch on the left-hand of one standing on the fourth side, and looking towards the table. This couch was generally assigned to the *scurrae*, if there were any in the party: in Sat. II. 8 it is occupied by the host with a *scurra* on either hand. The *derisor*, while flouting at others would be servile towards the patron: Porphyrion takes it as 'eorum derisor qui in imo lecto accumbunt', a man who jeers at the humbler guests: but this is not likely to be right. Nor is Schütz right in taking *imi lecti* as an attribute to *alter*. It is perhaps not necessary with Krüger to suppose *ut* omitted, as in Ep. I. 2, 42; 6, 63: the first man is not compared to but is a *derisor*, whose place is on the lowest couch.

12. tollit: i.e. he calls attention to words that drop from his patron's lips, and might otherwise pass unnoticed. Cp. A.P. 368.

14. reddere: cp. Cic. de Nat. Deor. I. 26, 72 *ista a vobis quasi dictata redduntur:* Ep. I. 1, 55. The dative **magistro** seems to depend upon **reddere**, not on **dictata**.

partis secundas: in the mimes the *rôle* of the actor who played the second part seems to have been to follow the lead of the chief actor, and to imitate him in word and gesture, with perhaps something of caricature. Suetonius (Calig. LVII.) tells a curious story: *cum in Laureolo mimo* [Mayor on Juv. VIII. 187] *in quo actor proripiens se ruina sanguinem vomit, plures secundarum certatim experimentum artis darent, cruore scaena abundavit.*

15. rixatur. The difficulty of this passage seems to me to have been exaggerated by many commentators, who propose all kinds of emendations. Keller e.g. takes objection to the asyndeton between *rixatur* and *propugnat*, to the obscure construction of *nugis* between *propugnat* and *armatus*, to the late Latinity of the construction of *propugnare* with the dative, and to the meaning 'furious' which he thinks must be attached to *armatus*. None of these seem to me serious difficulties. Asyndeton is by no means unexampled in Horace; *nugis* is clearly connected by the context with *propugnat;* the construction of *propugnat* with the dative is perfectly natural, even if it does not actually occur in any good writer; and *armatus* here has its usual sense. The rendering 'takes up arms and fights in defence of trifles' is quite legitimate and appropriate. Muretus removed the asyndeton by reading *rixator* (accepted by Keller and Krüger), but this is not found before Quintilian (xi. 1. 29). The vet. Bland has *rixatus*, for which, as Bentley also pointed out, *rixans* would certainly have been required. Bentley's own correction, to read *caprina et* is clumsy. Ribbeck ingeniously but needlessly reads *animatus*

for *armatus*, comparing Accius v. 308 ed. Ribb. *ut nunc, cum animatus iero, satis armatus sum.* Schütz takes *propugnat* absolutely, and joins *nugis armatus:* 'he maintains his own view, with no other weapons than nonsense', which seems very harsh. The conjecture of Withof, which Keller approves, *pro pugno* 'instead of a fist' is perhaps the worst that has been suggested.

de lana caprina: most commentators take this as a proverbial expression for something non-existent, and quote as parallel Lucian Hermotim. § 71 (p. 818) *πάντες, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, περὶ ὄνου σκιᾶς μάχονται οἱ φιλοσοφοῦντες.* Surely an ass has a shadow! (Cp. Ar. Vesp. 191, where the scholiast explains the origin of the proverb.) Porphyrion shows better judgment: 'de villo ut quidam dicunt, caprorum, pilos non setam dicens esse, sed lanam': He is ready to come to blows on the question whether goats' hair, used for weaving into cloth (*cilicium:* cp. commentators on Acts xviii. 3, or Farrar's *Saint Paul* I. 23), is properly to be called wool or not. According to the Roman jurists it was. Cp. Heumann *Handlex.* s. v. In Ar. Ran. 186 however we have *ἐς ὄνου πόκας* as equivalent to Utopia: cp. the commentators there. For *rixa* of an interchange of blows cp. Tac. Hist. I. 64 *iurgia primum, mox rixa:* Cic. de Orat. II. 59, 240 (note), Mayor on Juv. XV. 52; III. 288.

16. **scilicet ut** 'to think that': Horace is fond of this phrase, using it five times in the Epistles, but nowhere quite in this sense. Cp. Sat. II. 5. 18 *utne tegam spurco Damae latus?* But perhaps, as *scilicet* is very rare in interrogative sentences, we should read **scilicet: ut,** i.e. 'to be sure! the notion that &c'.

17. **non sit mihi prima fides** 'I should not be believed before every one else'. **vere,** with **placet,** not with **elatrem,** which is already provided with **acriter.**

18. **sordet:** Ep. I. 11, 4. Ritter and others put a comma at **elatrem,** not a note of interrogation, thinking that *ut non sit* and *ut non elatrem* both depend on *sordet,* in the sense of 'on the condition that', but this is very awkward. The abruptness of the text is much more pointed. 'I would not care to have my life over again at that price'.

19. **Docilis** has much more authority than any other form, is recognized by the scholiast, and is found elsewhere as the name of a freedman. Dolichos 'Long' would be suitable enough as the name of a gladiator, if it had more authority. The old commentators were divided in opinion, according to Porphyrion, as to whether Castor and Docilis were actors or gladiators; but as they seem to be matched, the latter is the more probable.

20. Minuci via: this road is mentioned again in Cic. ad Att. IX. 6: *cohortesque sex, quae Albae fuissent, ad Curium Minucia transisse.* Now by comparing Caes. B. C. I. 24, where the same fact is mentioned, with c. 15 of the same book, it is clear that the cohorts were not at Alba Longa, but at Alba on the Fucine Lake. Hence Macleane has quite a wrong conception of this road when he speaks of it as running between the via Latina and the via Appia, about half-way between Tusculum and Aricia. Indeed a glance at the map will show that there is no room for a high road between the via Latina, which runs along one side of the Mons Albanus and the via Appia, which passes under the other. The *via Minucia* must therefore have been either another name for the via Valeria, which led through Tibur to Alba and Corfinium, and so on to the sea at Aternum, or perhaps more probably for a part of it. From Strabo (VI. p. 283) we learn that there were two roads from Beneventum to Brundisium, one, the Appian road, passing through Tarentum, and better adapted for carriages, the other adapted only for mules, passing through Herdonia, Canusium and Egnatia. The latter was that taken by Maecenas and his suite on the journey described by Horace in Sat. I. 5. Mr Bunbury (*Dict. Geog.* II. 1282 a) thinks it 'not improbable' that this was the Via Minucia: Schütz (on Hor. Sat. I. 5, 77) states the same view positively; Prof. Palmer suggests that the road from Beneventum to Canusium was a cross-road connecting the two great roads. This last view is the only one which I can reconcile with the words of Cicero taken in connexion with Caesar's account. The nature of the country does not admit of a road straight from Alba to Beneventum, and there is no indication of such a road in the Itineraries. The statement of some editors that the Via Minucia was constructed by Ti. Minucius the consul of B.C. 305 (Liv. IX. 44) seems to rest on no authority, and is withdrawn by Orelli in his later editions.

21—36. *A rich friend will not tolerate vice, gambling, vanity, or ostentation in one beneath him, even though he is by no means free from faults himself; and the wish to make a show may lead to ruin.*

21. damnosa: 'ruinous', 'partim ut Ep. II. 1, 107 *damnosa libido*, quia amicae amatores emungunt, partim quia corpus ipsum enervant. Ov. ex Pont. I. 10, 33 *vires adimit Veneris damnosa voluptas*' Or.

praeceps 'fatal'. Pers. V. 57: *hunc alea decoquit, ille in Venerem putris.*

22. gloria 'vanity': κενοδοξία, which leads a man to spend too much on dress and perfumes.

23. argenti: if this be taken as denoting money, there is tautology in the next line; besides the character here described is one who is reproved not for greed of money, but for wishing to make as much display as a far richer man. Hence Schütz takes *argentum* as 'plate', as in Ep. I. 6, 17; 16, 76; II. 2, 181; Carm. IV. 11, 6, Sat. I. 4, 28. **fuga** (v. **24**) is then the attempt to avoid a reputation for poverty, rather than poverty itself. But it is difficult to resist the force of the parallel *auri sacra fames* and the like, which point to the the meaning 'money'.

importuna 'insatiate': cp. Palmer on Sat. II. 5, 96.

25. decem vitiis instructior cannot be 'furnished with ten times as many defects' as Macleane and others translate: *decem* is merely a definite number chosen for the sake of vividness, instead of the indefinite 'many', as we might use 'a dozen'. Orelli well compares Plaut. Merc. 345 (Goetz) *ita animi decem in pectore incerti certant*. Cp. A. P. 365. The ablative is that of measure after a comparative.

26. regit 'schools him'.

28. propo vera 'pretty nearly true'. Ep. I. 6, 1. **contendere** = *certare* of v. 31.

30. arta—toga 'a toga of little breadth'. The toga seems unquestionably to have been of an oval form [cp. Rein in Becker's Gallus[3] III. 143], but folded, as a rule, along the greater axis of the ellipse. Hence in wearing it the breadth would be measured from the shoulders downwards; and a toga, if too broad, would be either inclined to trail, or would be necessarily arranged in too elaborate folds. In Epod. IV. 8 Horace speaks of an ostentatious fellow *Sacram metiente viam cum bis trium ulnarum toga*. Orelli is quite right in explaining this as 'toga quae propter longitudinem ad imos talos demissa *metiatur* viam, id est, eam semper tangat et radat', although Macleane, from not understanding the way in which a toga was arranged, rejects this view. For Sat. II. 3, 183 cp. Palmer's note *ad loc.*

comitem = *clientem*. There is no reference to a journey.

31. Eutrapelus, a name given to P. Volumnius, a Roman knight, to whom Cicero addressed two of the letters in his collection *ad Familiares* (VII. 32, and 33), on account of his polished wit. Cp. Ar. Rhet. II. 12, 16 καὶ φιλογέλωτες [οἱ νέοι]· διὸ καὶ εὐτράπελοι· ἡ γὰρ εὐτραπελία πεπαιδευμένη ὕβρις ἐστίν. From Eth. Nic. II. 7, 13 and IV. 8, 10, it is seen that εὐτραπελία was regarded by him as the just mean between βωμολοχία 'buffoonery' and ἀγροικία, the 'boorishness' which is deficient as regards το ἡδὺ τὸ ἐν παιδιᾷ. There is a very interesting discussion

of the history of the word, and the stages by which it reaches the bad meaning found in Eph. v. 4 (μηδὲ ὀνομαζέσθω ἐν ὑμῖν... μωρολογία ἢ εὐτραπελία ['jesting' R. V.], τὰ οὐκ ἀνήκοντα) in Trench's *Synonyms* p. 118 f. He adds justly 'there is certainly nothing particularly amiable in the story which Horace here tells'.

cuicumque = *si cui.*

32. **beatus** etc. 'haec cogitabat vel dicere solebat Eutrapelus' Schol.

34. **in lucem**: cp. Ep. I. 17, 6.

honestum officium, not, I think, as in Ep. I. 17, 21, of the attentions due to his patron, though some good editors take it so, but more generally.

35. **nummos alienos pascet** 'he will let his debts grow', especially by the ἀνατοκισμός, by which the interest due was added to the principal, as often now by usurers renewing bills.

ad imum, 'finally', a rare use of the phrase, for which *ad extremum* and *ad postremum* are more usual. In A. P. 126 *ad imum* = 'to the last'.

36. **Thraex erit**, i.e. he will turn gladiator, the last resource of the fast young Roman nobleman: cp. Juv. XI. 1—23. **Thraex** seems the best form to adopt here, although found in only one or two good MSS. But Orelli's canon, that *Thraex* or *Threx* is the form used in Latin to denote a kind of gladiator, *Thrax* for a Thracian, does not hold good always.

37—38. *Do not be inquisitive, but keep secrets entrusted to you.*

37. **illius**: the old reading was *ullius*, which Bentley first rejected as out of place here; it is evidently only due to a false assimilation to *unquam*. But the preponderance of MS. authority for *ullius* is so great that Keller thinks it must have been an error in the archetype. *Illius* refers to the *potens* (v. 44) and *venerandus* (v. 73) *amicus*, whoever he may have been, who appears as *ille* in v. 40. The counsel here given is nearly identical with that of vv. 62—71; and it comes in with a certain abruptness after what has been said of the extravagant and self-indulgent dependent. Hence Lehrs places vv. 72—75 immediately after v. 36, a course which makes the connexion more natural, and supplies in *dominus* a natural reference for *illius*. Schütz, accepting this transposition, further places vv. 69—71 after v. 38, and thereby brings v. 68 into very suitable juxtaposition with v. 76. There can be no doubt, I think, that this greatly improves the sequence of the thought, and in a writer

like Lucretius might be accepted with little hesitation. Whether it is legitimate in Horace is a question which depends upon the view taken of the general soundness of the traditional text.

38. **tortus**: cp. Carm. III. 21, 13 *tu* [sc. merum] *lene tormentum ingenio admoves plerumque duro:* A. P. 435 *torquere mero.*

ira: surely the irritation felt by Lollius, if ever his patron treated him with harshness or injustice, though some take it of angry threats used by those who wish to learn the secret.

39—66. *Do not obtrude your own pursuits, or disparage and avoid those of your patron. You are well able to distinguish yourself in hunting or the games.*

39. **aliena**, here those of the patron.

41. **Amphionis.** Euripides in his Antiope introduced Amphion and Zethus the two sons of Antiope as at variance on the value of music, and in an extant fragment (188 Dind.) Zethus remonstrates with his brother: ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ πιθοῦ· παῦσαι μελῳδῶν, πολεμίων δ' εὐμουσίαν ἄσκει· τοιαῦτ' ἄειδε καὶ δόξεις φθονεῖν, σκάπτων, ἀρῶν γῆν, ποιμνίοις ἐπιστατῶν, ἄλλοις τὰ κομψὰ ταῦτ' ἀφεὶς σοφίσματα, ἐξ ὧν κενοῖσιν ἐγκατοικήσεις δόμοις. The story was familiar to Roman readers from the Antiopa of Pacuvius, perhaps the most famous and admired of his plays (cp. Sellar's *Roman Poets of the Republic*, p. 136, Ribbeck's *Römische Tragödie*, pp. 281—301): Cicero speaks of Zethus in Pacuvius as almost declaring war upon philosophy (de Orat. II. 37, 155), and of Amphion 'qui, vituperata musica, sapientiam laudet' (de Inv. I. 50, 94: cp. ad Herenn. II. 27, 43, de Rep. I. 18, 30). Ritter points out that in works of art Zethus is sometimes represented as a shepherd, sometimes as a hunter.

gratia—dissiluit 'the friendship was severed'.

42. **suspecta**, as leading to effeminacy. **severo**: Prop. IV. (III.) 15, 29 *et durum Zethum et lacrimis Amphiona mollem.*

46. **Aetoliis**, a 'literary' epithet, recalling the famous Calydonian hunt. For the significance of such epithets cp. Sellar's Vergil, p. 235 f. The reading *Aeoliis* first suggested as a conjecture by Ulitius (Vliet), has since been found in an inferior MS., and has been adopted by Meineke and other good editors. It is explained as a reference to the very fine but strong nets made of the flax grown near Cumae (Plin. H. N. XIX. 1, 10), a colony from Cyme in Aeolia. So Gratius (Cyn. 35) has *Aeoliae de valle Sibyllae.* But Bentley justly remarked that it was impossible for Horace to have used such a far-fetched ex-

pression (especially in epistolary style), when *Cumanis* would have suited the metre equally well.

47. senium 'gloom' or 'moroseness': so Pers. I. 26 has *en pallor seniumque!* of poets, and Sen. Hipp. 917 *morum senium triste.* In Epod. 13, 5 *obducta solvatur fronte senectus, senectus* is used in just the same way.

inhumanae 'discourteous', not as a perpetual epithet, but only under the circumstances.

48. pariter, i.e. like your patron. **pulmenta** = *pulmentaria* in Sat. II. 2, 20, a passage like this in its general drift: the word is contracted for *pulpamentum* (Cic. Tusc. V. 32, 90 *pulpamentum fames*) and has nothing to do with *puls*, as some have fancied. *Puls* 'porridge' is the simplest and most ordinary fare of the labourer (Plaut. Most. 815), *pulmentum* or *pulpamentum* a tit-bit or savoury morsel, eaten with bread = ὄψον.

49. sollemne opus, in apposition to the preceding clause, not an independent proposition. Hunting is called *Romana militia* in Sat. II. 2, 10.

53. coronae 'the ring' of spectators, as in A. P. 381. Cp. Mart. VII. 72, 9 *sic palmam tibi...unctae det favor arbiter coronae.*

54. proelia campestria, the fencing matches and similar amusements of the Campus Martius.

55. Cantabrica bella, i.e. in B.C. 27—25 when Augustus was himself in Spain. Dio LIII. 25—29; Merivale, IV. 114—119.

56. refigit 'is taking down': Carm I. 28, 11 *clipeo—refixo.* In B.C. 20 Phraates, king of the Parthians, made a treaty with Augustus, promising among other things to restore the standards taken from Crassus at the battle of Carrhae: cp. Ep. I. 12, 27 (note). The perfect *refixit*, which was found in most editions before Bentley's, has very slight authority.

57. armis. Bentley suggested, but did not print, *arvis*, arguing that there was no other nation besides the Parthians from whom arms were or could be reclaimed, and showing that *adiudicare* was the technical term for assigning disputed estates to one of the claimants. But (1) *armis* is abl. not dat., (2) *arvis* 'arable land' cannot be used in the general sense of *finibus*, except in a more poetical style than Horace is here employing, e.g. in Ovid, where it is common.

58. ac—nugaris. The clause *ne—absis* is parenthetical, and suggests, not the purpose of the principal action, but the reason of mentioning it: Roby § 1660, S. G. § 690.

absis: on Bentley's conjecture *abstes* Orelli passes the just judgment: 'coniecturis vel maxime supervacaneis adnumerari debet'.

59. **quamvis—curas**: Ep. I. 17, 1; cp. Palmer on Sat. II. 2, 30.

fecisse: Roby § 1371, S. G. § 541 (*b*).

extra numerum = παρὰ τὸν ῥυθμὸν (τοῦ βίου): *extra modum* = παρὰ μέλος, 'out of time and tune'.

60. **rure**: Roby § 1170: S. G. § 486.

61. **exercitus**, 'your forces', i.e. of slaves. **Actia pugna**: Verg. Aen. VIII. 675 *Actia bella* and elsewhere: the more regular form *Actiacus* is used by Ovid. Met. XIII. 715, XV. 166, and in prose.

62. **hostili more**, i.e. quasi re vera hostes inter vos essetis.

63. **lacus**, i.e. the lake on your father's estate.

64. **velox**, 'swift' as being winged, in accordance with the usual representation of Nike or Victoria in works of art. There is probably no reference, as Ritter thinks, to the rapidity with which the battle of Actium was gained. Cp. Sat. I. 1, 8.

66. **utroque pollice**: cp. Plin. H. N. XXVIII. 2, 25 *pollices, cum faveamus, premere etiam proverbio iubemur*. The opposite to this is *pollicem vertere*: cp. Juv. III. 36 *verso pollice volgi, cum libet, occidunt populariter*. It is not quite clear what gesture is denoted by the two expressions. Mayor on Juv. l.c. writes 'those who wished the death of a conquered gladiator turned (*vertebant, convertebant*) their thumbs towards their breasts, as a signal to his opponent to stab him: those who wished him to be spared turned their thumbs downwards (*premebant*), as a signal for dropping the sword'. But others take *premere* as 'to close': so Ritter and Schütz, and if I mistake not, Georges in his Lexicon ('den Daumen einschlagen'): L. and S. have the vague phrase 'to close down': White 'to press down'. In Prop. III. (IV.) 10, 14 *et nitidas presso pollice finge comas*, the phrase evidently means simply 'pressing your thumb upon them'. The *versus pollex* is also called *infestus* (Quint. XI. 3, 119), and from App. Met. II. c. 21 (Hild.) it is plain that this means 'upturned': *porrigit dexteram, et ad instar oratorum confirmat articulum; duobusque infimis conclusis digitis, ceteros eminentes porrigit, et* infesto pollice *clementer subringens, infit*.

67—85. *Be careful of your words: avoid curious questions: do not allow yourself to be enamoured of any of your patron's*

household: be cautious in introductions, and do not attempt to defend the unworthy.

68. de quoque, perhaps best taken with Bentley as = *et de quo*: Porphyrio rightly says that there are three questions *quid dicas, de quo dicas, cui dicas.* So Cic. in Pis. 31, 75 *tu quid, tu apud quos, tu de quo dicas, intellegis?* It is however quite legitimate to take *quoque* as the ablative of *quisque*, although the expression is not to be explained with Orelli and others as for *quid de* quocunque *homine dicas:* rather it implies that in each individual case care is to be used. Cp. Madvig's De Finibus, Excursus VI. p. 836 note.

71. emissum 'let slip': A. P. 390 *nescit vox missa reverti.* I doubt whether the generally assumed reference to an arrow allows sufficiently for the idea of carelessness here involved. Cp. Menander Frag. 607 Mein. οὔτ' ἐκ χερὸς μεθέντα καρτερᾶς (*sic* Cobet) λίθον ῥᾷον κατασχεῖν, οὔτ' ἀπὸ γλώσσης λόγον.

72. non—ulla, to be taken closely together = *nulla.* For the question of *non* with imperatives cp. J. E. Nixon in the *Journal of Philology* VII. 54—59: Palmer on Sat. II. 5, 91: Dräger *Hist. Synt.* I. 286.

iecur: frequently regarded as the seat of the emotions: cp. Carm. I. 13, 4 *meum fervens difficili bile tumet iecur*, ib. 25, 15 *iecur ulcerosum*, Sat. I. 9, 66 *meum iecur urere bilis.*

75. beet aut—angat: if the patron grants your request, he will think that he has discharged all obligations, though his gift is really of little value: if he is churlish and refuses you, this will cause you pain. There was a story to the effect that Vergil received from Maecenas a favourite slave named Alexander, and from Pollio another named Cebes. Cp. Ribbeck Narr. p. xxxi.

78. quondam 'at times:' cp. Carm. II. 10, 18 *quondam cithara tacentem suscitat Musam:* Sat. II. 2, 82 *hic tamen ad melius poterit transcurrere quondam*, Verg. Aen. II. 367 *quondam etiam victis redit in praecordia virtus:* cp. VI. 877. In Cic. ad Fam. II. 16, 2 quoted by L. and S. for this meaning of *quondam*, we must certainly render 'of old': in de Div. I. 43, 98 *quid cum saepe lapidum, sanguinis non nunquam, terrae interdum, quondam etiam lactis imber defluxit* the climax not less plainly points to 'once' as the meaning. Hence it is doubtful whether this usage is found in Cicero. Cp. the similar use of *olim.*

tradimus 'introduce'. Ep. I. 9, 3.

79. premet: 'crushes', with a stronger force than in Ep. I. 19, 36: so often in Tacitus: cp. Boetticher *Lex. Tac.* s. v.

80. ut—serves. If you have been deceived and have introduced a man who proves unworthy, do not attempt to stand by him, in order that you may not exhaust your influence, but may preserve it unimpaired for the protection of one whom you know well, and who looks to you for help, when assailed by calumny. Bentley's conjectures *at* and *fidenter* are quite superfluous.

82. dente Theonino: the scholiasts tell us that Theon was a very witty and abusive freedman, who so offended his patron by his bitter jests that he was turned out of his house, and had a farthing left to him that he might buy a rope and hang himself. Nothing further is known of him, and even this is not very trustworthy.

circumroditur: cp. Sat. I. 4, 81 *absentem qui rodit amicum.*

ecquid sentis 'do you feel at all?' i.e. 'don't you feel?'

84. tua res agitur: cp. Juv. III. 198—200.

86—95. *It is a hard task to retain the favour of the powerful, for you must always fall in with their humours.*

87. metuet is perhaps a little better supported than *metuit.*

88. hoc age 'give all your mind to it': Ep. I. 6, 31 (note), Ter. And. 186, 415.

91. The spuriousness of this line does not admit of a question. It is not found in *any* of the good MSS., and contains two inexplicable difficulties: (1) *bibuli potores* is, as Bentley saw, little better than *potantes potores*, while to connect *bibuli* with *Falerni* is to do reckless violence to the meaning of the word: (2) *media de nocte* could only mean 'as early as midnight': cp. Ep. I. 2, 32; 14, 34. It is evident that some copyist (not before the XIth century) feeling the need of a subject to *oderunt* introduced *potores* and then attempted to make up the line by a clumsy adaptation of Ep. I. 14, 34 *quem bibulum liquidi media de luce Falerni.* The subject to *oderunt* may be derived from *porrecta pocula*, i.e. *porrigentes pocula.* It unquestionably makes a neater line to retain *potores* and omit *oderunt*, as is done by Meineke, Haupt, L. Müller, Krüger and Schütz. But I cannot see how we can be justified in rejecting a word which is found in all our good MSS. and retaining one which appears first in the inferior ones. How are we to conceive of the history of the line, if the true reading *potores* was ousted for centuries by *oderunt*, and then suddenly reappeared, bringing with it a spurious ending to the line? It is quite astounding to find Macleane saying in face of the evidence against it 'the verse must remain till a better can be found'. Any editor of the XIXth century could

make up a line, that Horace might possibly have written, which is more than can be said for this blundering product of the XIth.

93. **tepores** has far more authority than *vapores*, and the nature of the evidence in favour of the former is such as to exclude altogether Orelli's notion that it may be a gloss on *vapores*. Macleane stands, I think, quite alone among recent editors in following Orelli. It is true, however, that *tepor* generally denotes a mild warmth (cp. Lucret. II. 857 *calidum tepidumque vaporem* 'heat moderate or violent' Munro), and the earliest instance quoted for the meaning of 'feverishness' is from Ammianus XIX. 4, 2 *tepore febrium arescunt*.

nocturnos undoubtedly suggested the unlucky *media de nocte* to the medieval copyist.

iures, not simply due to the preceding *quamvis*, but hypothetical (cp. Ep. II. 2, 113), as Palmer notices on Sat. II. 2, 30.

94. **nubem**, a common metaphor, which we may retain in translation: 'banish the cloud from your brow'. Cp. Soph. Ant. 528 νεφέλη δ' ὀφρύων ὕπερ αἱματόεν ῥέθος αἰσχύνει: Eur. Hipp. 173 στυγνὸν δ' ὀφρύων νέφος αὐξάνεται: Shakspere Ant. and Cleop. III. 2, 52 'Will Caesar weep? He has a cloud in 's face'. Conington's version 'unknit your brow' reminds us of Taming of the Shrew V. 2, 'unknit that unkind, threatening brow'.

95. **obscuri**='mysterious' κρυψίνους. The modesty which prompts to reserve often makes a man appear to be disguising his thoughts with a view to deceive. Cp. Cic. de Off. III. 13, 57: *hoc autem celandi genus...non aperti, non simplicis, non ingenui, non iusti, non viri boni* (est), *versuti potius, obscuri, astuti, fallacis, malitiosi, callidi, veteratoris, vafri.*

96—103. *Whatever you do, study philosophy, which alone can give you the secret of a happy life.*

96. **leges**: Roby § 1466: S. G. § 602, 'you must study for yourself...(to learn) how' &c.

98. **Num—num**: Bentley's *ne—ne*, retained from the early editions (perhaps only by oversight) has practically no authority. Ritter and Schütz join **semper inops** 'never to be satisfied': it seems better to regard **agitet** as a jussive subjunctive retained from the direct question [Roby § 1612, S.G. § 674 (*b*)] and to translate 'whether you are always to be tormented by a craving that is unsatisfied'. There is no need for study and instruction before a man can learn whether he *is* tormented: his desire is to know whether he will ever escape from his torment. Orelli is nearly right with his 'num te lucri et potentiae cupiditas, cui

semper deest aliquid et quae nunquam expleatur, agitare debeat'. We arrive however at much the same meaning if we consider that the direct question would have been *agitatne me semper*, with the present used for the future.

99. mediocriter utilium: 'things indifferent' 'quae Stoici ἀδιάφορα vocabant' Or. Cp. Cic. de Fin. III. 16, 53 *quoniam autem omne, quod est bonum, primum locum tenere dicimus, necesse est, nec bonum esse nec malum hoc, quod praepositum* (προηγμένον) *vel praecipuum nominamus: idque ita definimus, quod sit indifferens* (ἀδιάφορον) *cum aestimatione mediocri*. These ἀδιάφορα include in the Stoical theory all things generally considered good by men, with the exception of virtue, which is the *summum bonum*.

100. doctrina: the familiar inquiry of the philosophers: cp. Plat. Meno *ad init.* ἔχεις μοι εἰπεῖν, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἆρα διδακτὸν ἡ ἀρετή; ἢ οὐ διδακτὸν ἀλλ' ἀσκητόν; ἢ οὔτε ἀσκητὸν οὔτε μαθητόν, ἀλλὰ φύσει παραγίγνεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἢ ἄλλῳ τινὶ τρόπῳ. Similarly in the Protagoras, Socrates argues against the view of Protagoras that virtue can be taught, though in the course of the discussion he affirms that virtue is knowledge 'which is the most teachable of all things'. Cic. Part. Or. 64 *quonam pacto virtus pariatur, naturane an ratione an usu*.

101. quid te tibi reddat amicum, another reminiscence of Plato: cp. de Rep. X. 621 C. δικαιοσύνην μετὰ φρονήσεως παντὶ τρόπῳ ἐπιτηδεύσομεν, ἵνα καὶ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς φίλοι ὦμεν καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς.

102. pure=*sincere* 'what gives you untroubled calm'.

honos, public honours, especially office, which is often inconsistent with money-making. Hence Schütz's proposal to read *ac* for *an* would really injure the sense. There are three alternatives suggested: but *honos* cannot be for *honestas*, as some have taken it, for there is no contrast between virtue and a retired life.

lucellum: a remembrance of this line, or of Sat. II. 5, 82 *tecum partita lucellum* would have enlightened those persons who were puzzled by Mr Lowe's proposed motto for the match-tax stamp, *ex luce lucellum*. The word is used also by Cicero.

103. fallentis: Ep. I. 17, 10.

104—112. *In my own quiet country-home, my prayers are only for competence and independence. Contentment I will provide for myself, if Jove gives me life and prosperity.*

105. Mandela; cp. Mr Justice Lawson's words in the *Antiquarian Magazine* for June 1883, p. 289: 'The river Licenza, Horace's Digentia, flows through the bottom of the valley far beneath us [at Vico Varo], a limpid stream, speeding to join the Anio. On the opposite side of the river, situate upon a lofty eminence, is a village now called Cantalupo Bardella, which is Horace's Mandela, described by him as 'rugosus frigore pagus' from its lofty position. We may well fancy Horace, as he ambled along this road, observing the villagers coming down the hill to draw their supplies of water from the Digentia flowing at its base'.

107. ut mihi vivam: the old reading was *ut*, which Keller defends, accepting the interpretation of Porphyrion 'provided that'. Bentley rejected this, partly because 'omnes libri paullo vetustiores' have *et*, partly because he doubted this use of *ut*, when not followed by *tamen*, and almost all recent editors have followed him. But the clear preponderance of the best MSS. is in favour of *ut* (unless we attach overwhelming weight to the vet. Bland.), and I cannot but think that internal evidence as strongly supports it. *Mihi* is emphatic: 'for myself', and not for the vain demands of frivolous society. Reading *et*, we must take the two wishes as independent: 'May I have as much as I now have or even less, and may I live to myself, for all of life that yet remains, if it is the will of the gods that aught should yet remain'. Is it good sense for a man to wish to have what he now has, *or even less*, without adding the conditions on which he is willing to be content with less—in Horace's case the retention of his independence? As to the usage of *ut*, how does this passage differ from Cic. ad Fam. IX. 6, 4 *libenter omnibus omnis opes concesserim, ut* (=if only) *mihi liceat vi nulla interpellante isto modo vivere:* or from Tusc. II. 6, 16 *quam turpitudinem non pertulerit ut* (=if only) *effugiat dolorem?* Mr Reid thinks that the fact that Horace corrects himself in vv. 111—112, and says he ought to ask the gods only for external things, and to guarantee himself that he will deal with them aright, shows that he had previously prayed for a right frame of mind. But this he does in v. 110.

109. librorum: cp. Sat. II. 3, 11, where Horace takes out a collection of Greek poets to his retirement in the country.

110. neu introduces a further wish; hence much better than *ne*, which has little support. 'Nor make my life one flutter of suspense' Con. Cp. *aestuat* Ep. I. 1, 99; *natat* Sat. II. 7, 7.

111. sed, far better, as Bentley well showed, than the old reading *haec*. '*qui donat* et *quae donat* et *qui ponit* et *quae ponit* paribus fere singula testimoniis comprobantur' Bentl. The Blan-

dinian MSS. (among others) have *qui ponit*, but *qui* has been very generally recognized as due only to a false assimilation to *Iovis*. It is almost necessary to have a limiting object to *orare*.

ponit is so very commonly used by Horace in the sense of 'lay down' (Carm. III. 2, 19; 10, 9; IV. 12, 25; Sat. II. 3, 16; Ep. I. 1, 10; 10, 31; 16, 35; A.P. 469) that it is difficult to believe that he used the word here in the sense of 'bestow'. The confusion between D and P is one of the most common in uncial MSS. The passage in Carm. I. 34, 14 f. *hinc apicem rapax Fortuna cum stridore acuto sustulit, hic posuisse gaudet*, which decided Bentley, after some hesitation, to accept *ponit*, is not closely parallel, for there the action is more vividly pictured than here. On the other hand, if *ponit* had come by simple corruption from *donat* we should have expected to find the intermediate stage *ponat* (found in one MS.) more widely diffused; and if *ponit* was the original reading, *donat* would be an almost inevitable gloss. Hence it is perhaps best on the whole to retain *ponit*. ["I take the word to have the metaphorical sense corresponding to its literal use of banquets (Sat. II. 2, 23; 4, 14; 6, 64; 8, 91). Jupiter 'sets before' us things as his guests." J. S. R. This is supported by the similar use of *aufert*.]

112. det vitam: cp. Ov. Pont. II. 1, 53 *di tibi dent annos! a te nam cetera sumes*: Trist. V. 11, 15 *nec vitam nec opes nec ius mihi civis ademit*.

mi: it is noteworthy that almost all MSS. have the unmetrical *mihi*: so often even the best have a genitive in *-ii*, where the metre requires *i*.

EPISTLE XIX.

This Epistle recalls the tone of Satires IV. and X. in Book I. The epistolary form is more completely than elsewhere in this book a mere form; but it is natural that Horace's scorn of his imitators and rejoinder to his critics should be addressed in the first instance to his patron Maecenas. The letter cannot be earlier than the publication of the first three books of the Odes: otherwise there is nothing to fix its date. It is evidently separated by a considerable interval from Carm. IV. 3, when envious carping criticism had been silenced by the general recognition of the poet's merits: *Romae principis urbium dignatur suboles inter amabiles vatum ponere me choros, et iam dente minus mordeor invido.*

1—20. *Cratinus of old, Maecenas, held that poems destined to immortality were always inspired by wine; and from the earliest days poets have been topers. I said that the sober were better fitted for business than poetry: and since then my imitators have been always drinking. But more is needed for successful rivalry, than an aping of dress and looks.*

1. docte: cp. Carm. III. 8, 5 *docte sermones utriusque linguae.*

Cratino: the fondness of Cratinus for wine was made the subject of many jests among his contemporaries. Aristophanes in the Peace (700—703) says that he died of grief at seeing a jar full of wine smashed in an invasion of the Lacedaemonians, a joke which gains instead of losing point, if we accept the statement of the Schol. on Ar. Av. 521 that he was living at the time. Cp. also Schol. on Eq. 400 ὡς...μέθυσον διαβάλλει τὸν Κρατῖνον. He adds that in his play of the Πυτίνη Cratinus represented himself as lawfully married to Κωμῳδία, who wished to leave him, and to bring an action against him for neglect, because he had deserted her for Μέθη. Athenaeus (II. 9 p. 149 Schweigh.) has preserved an epigram on him by Nicaenetus, οἶνός τοι χαρίεντι πέλει ταχὺς ἵππος ἀοιδῷ· ὕδωρ δὲ πίνων οὐδὲν ἂν τέκοι σοφόν. ταῦτ' ἔλεγεν, Διόνυσε, καὶ ἔπνεεν οὐχ ἑνὸς ἀσκοῦ Κρατῖνος, ἀλλὰ παντὸς ὠδώδει πίθου.

2. placere diu go together, for *vivere* needs no adverb: Carm. IV. 9, 11 *vivuntque commissi calores Aeoliae fidibus puellae.*

3. potoribus: Schütz takes this as an ablative, like *textore* in v. 13. I think it is unquestionably a dative (Roby § 1146, S. G. § 476); and cannot see why a construction found twice at least in Vergil (Aen. I. 440 *neque cernitur ulli*, III. 398 *malis habitantur moenia Graiis*), and several times in Ovid (Her. IX. 46; Fast. II. 61, III. 108, 325, V. 110, 303; Trist. V. 10. 37 etc.) should be pronounced by Mr Page on Carm. I. 6, 2 'quite inadmissible' in Horace: Madvig allows *non uni aut alteri militi...audiuntur* in Liv. V. 6, 14, and *quaerentibus utrinque ratio initur* in Liv. I. 23, 10, though in XXII. 34, 8 he corrects to *contemni a patribus desierint.* For apparent instances in Cicero (e.g. De Am. 11, 38) cp. Madvig on de Fin. I. 4, 11. Here direct agency is denoted: in v. 13 *textore* indicates rather the instrumentality, 'by the help of' or 'thanks to'. Both these cases differ materially from those in which the ablative of the substantive is accompanied by an adjective, for which cp. note on Ep. I. 1, 94.

ut 'ever since', Roby § 1719, S. G. § 723. The Muses drank at first only from springs like Castalia and Hippocrene: but since the days when Bacchus enrolled ('tanquam in legionem

suam: nam hoc verbum militare est' Porph.) the frenzied poets among his troop of followers, they too have borne the traces of their nightly potations. Lambinus and Bentley placed a full stop at *poetas*, and a comma after *sanos*, taking *ut* as a particle of comparison, but this is clearly less good.

male denotes either the deficiency of what is good or the excess of what is bad, like the prefix *ve-*: cp. *vesanus*, *vegrandis* on the one hand, and *vepallidus* on the other (Sat. I. 2, 129): so *male pertinax* Carm. I. 9, 24, *male dispar* ib. 17, 25; but *male fidus* (Verg. Aen. II. 23), *male gratus* (Ov. Her. VII. 27) etc. Cp. Sat. I. 3, 45, and 48. The inspired frenzy of poets has been a commonplace at least since the days of Democritus. Cp. Cic. Div. I. 37, 80 *negat sine furore Democritus quemquam poetam magnum esse posse, quod idem dicit Plato* (Phaedr. 245 A). Cp. A. P. 295, Sat. II. 3, 322.

4. **satyris faunisque**: the Satyrs were always regarded as attendants of Bacchus: cp. Carm. II. 19, 4. The Fauns are here introduced as typifying the earliest Italian poetry: cp. Ennius in Cic. Brut. 19, 71 *versibus quos olim Fauni vatesque canebant*, and Mommsen *Hist.* I. 230: 'the earliest chant in the view of the Romans, was that which the leaves sang to themselves in the green solitude of the forest. The whispers and pipings of the 'favourable spirit' (*Faunus* from *favere*) in the grove were repeated to men by the singer (*vates*), or by the songstress (*casmena*, *carmenta*) who had the gift of listening to him, with the accompaniment of the pipe, and in rhythmically measured language (*casmen*, afterwards *carmen*, from *canere*)'.

5. **fere** 'as a rule': Ep. I. 6, 9.

6. **laudibus vini**, i.e. by the epithets which he applies to it, μελιηδής, μελίφρων, ἡδύποτος, εὐήνωρ, μενοεικής: cp. also Il. VI. 261 ἀνδρὶ δὲ κεκμηῶτι μένος μέγα οἶνος ἀέξει. **vinosus** = *vinosus fuisse*.

7. **pater**, a term of respect for the father of Roman poetry: cp. *pater Chrysippus* in Sat. I. 3, 126. Prop. III. 2, 6 *Unde pater sitiens Ennius ante bibit*: and Plato's ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν Παρμενίδης. There may also be a reference to the fact that he lived in days of old (cp. *senis* of Lucilius in Sat. II. 1, 34), but not, as Ritter supposes, to the age which he reached. Ennius said of himself *nunquam poetor, nisi si podager*.

8. **prosiluit** 'sprang forth', as if eager to take part himself in the wars of which he was singing. Yet 'he celebrates the heroism of brave endurance, rather than of chivalrous daring: the fortitude that, in the long run, wins success, and saves the State, rather than the impetuous valour which achieves a barren

glory' Sellar, *Roman Poets of the Republic*[2] p. 113. The wars on which he dwelt most fully in his Annals were that with Pyrrhus, the Second Punic war, the Macedonian, the Aetolian and the Istrian wars.

8—9. forum—severis. Cp. Catull. v. 2 *rumoresque senum severiorum.* The question into whose mouth Horace puts these words depends upon the reading in v. 10. The old reading *edixit* has been again defended by Schütz, who argues that *Liber* is to be taken as the subject. 'The knowledge of Roman conditions cannot surprise us in a God, especially as he is introduced under his Latin name; and to lay stress upon the anachronism destroys the jesting tone of the passage'. But even if we allow this, the whole context shows that Horace is ridiculing his own slavish imitators, not the poets who fell in with the ordinance of their patron deity. Bentley rightly saw that *pallerem* in v. 18 made this quite clear. The attempts that have been made to find a subject in Cratinus or Ennius are still less successful. The *puteal Libonis*—a low circular wall built round a spot in the forum, which had been struck by lightning, between the Temple of Castor and that of Vesta (cp. Marucchi *Descrizione del Foro Romano* Roma 1883 p. 65), by Scribonius Libo, possibly the aedile of B.C. 193, but more probably the trib. pl. of B.C. 149—was certainly not known to Cratinus, and probably not to Ennius. Hence it is much better to accept the reading *edixi*, which has good MS. authority. The word is used with a certain mock solemnity 'I laid down this law', as in Sat. II. 2, 51; 3, 227, with a reference to the praetor's edict. Perhaps it is better with Bentley to suppose that Horace had expressed this opinion 'inter convictores' than to press passages like Carm. I. 18, 3; III. 35 and Ep. I. 5, 16—20, the last of which, at any rate, would hardly be in general circulation by this time.

The Scholiasts here and on Sat. II. 6, 35 tell us that the praetor's tribunal was set up at the *puteal Libonis:* but Mr Palmer rightly points out that in neither of these passages, nor yet in Pers. IV. 49 (where cp. Conington's note) is there any reference to legal business. It is better to take it simply as 'the Exchange', where business men, and especially money-lenders meet. Cp. Cic. pro Sest. 8, 18 *alter...puteali et foeneratorum gregibus inflatus.* The question whether there were not two or even more puteals in the Forum is one not easy to decide: cp. *Dict. Biogr.* II. 780 A (where there is an engraving of a coin with a representation of the *p. Libonis*): Burn's *Rome and the Campagna* p. 86: Nichol's *Roman Forum* p. 129. If however the Scholiasts here and on Pers. IV. 49 are right in saying that the *p. Libonis* was near the Fabian arch, it can hardly have been identical with the puteal of Attus Navius in the Comitium (Cic. de Div. I. 17, 33: Liv. I. 36: Dionys. III. 71) where his famous

whetstone and razor were buried. In any case the former was the more famous by far, so that it could be named by Cicero and Persius without any qualifying epithet.

9. **siccis**: cp. Carm. I. 18, 3 *siccis omnia nam dura deus proposuit*.

11. **nocturno—diurno.** This line curiously resembles in rhythm A. P. 269 *Nocturna versate manu, versate diurna;* it has even been supposed to contain a parodying reference to it, which is just possible, if we accept with Prof. Nettleship the earliest date assigned to the Ars Poetica. For *olere* v. 5 Horace substitutes the stronger word *putere:* cp. Mart. I. 29 *Hesterno foetere mero qui credit Acerram, fallitur: in lucem semper Acerra bibit.* The epithet *diurno* is not however quite correctly attached here to the wine: the meaning is 'they stink all day of the wine which they vie with each other in drinking at night', not, as in Martial, that they sit up drinking into the next day. Cp. Carm. IV. 1, 31 *nec certare iuvat mero* 'to join the drinking bout' Page.

12. **pede nudo**: Plutarch says of Cato of Utica (c. VI) πολλάκις ἀνυπόδητος καὶ ἀχίτων εἰς τὸ δημόσιον προῄει μετ' ἄριστον, and in c. I. speaks of the firm and immoveable expression of his face. Some have thought that Horace is referring here rather to the elder Cato, doubting whether he would have ventured to choose Caesar's bitter enemy as his type of virtue, and reminding us that the younger was himself only an imitator of the elder. But Carm. I. 12, 35 *Catonis nobile letum* seems answer enough to the first: to the second we may reply that it is far more in harmony with the context to understand a contemporary as the object of imitation, than one who had died more than a century before. Cp. Mommsen *Hist.* IV. 156. 'A strange caricature of his ancestor...he even formed a school, and there were individuals —it is true they were but a few—who in their turn copied and caricatured afresh the living pattern of a philosopher'. Cic. ad Att. II. 1, 10 speaks of Servilius as *Catonis aemulator*, and often mentions Favonius, who we learn from Dio XXXVIII. 7 was called the 'ape of Cato': Mommsen applies to the latter the hardly less uncivil phrase of Cato's Sancho (IV. 315). Cp. the proverb 'cucullus non facit monachum'.

13. **textore**, if taken as a kind of instrumental ablative (see on v. 3) needs no correction.

15. **rupit** 'ruined': many editors suppose that Iarbitas strained himself till he burst, in the attempt to rival Timagenes in loudness of voice and fluency of speech; but this is quite inconsistent with *urbanus*. It seems rather that he brought himself into trouble by imitating the bitter wit of Timagenes.

Krüger well compares Val. Flacc. v. 341 *lumina rumpere fletu* with Ov. A. A. I. 129 *lacrimis corrumpere ocellos*. Conington's rendering

> The wretched Moor, who matched himself in wit
> With keen Timagenes, in sunder split

is based upon the story given by Acron: 'cum Timagenem philosophum post convivium et inter pocula declamantem vellet imitari et non posset, invidia quodammodo discerptus est', though he seems rightly to reject the notion that *rupit* means simply *rupit invidia*. Any notion of envious rivalry seems out of keeping with the next line.

Iarbitam: the Scholiasts tell us that this man was a Mauretanian, named Cordus—possibly the same as the Codrus of Verg. Ecl. VII. 26 *invidia rumpantur ut ilia Codro*—who was nicknamed Iarbitas from Iarbas, the king of the Gaetulians who appears in the Aeneid (IV. 196). Timagenes was a rhetorician of Alexandria, who was brought as a prisoner to Rome by A. Gabinius in B.C. 55, and was at first employed as a cook, and a litter-bearer, but was afterwards ransomed by Faustus Sulla. He opened a school of rhetoric, and met with much success, acquiring the favour of Augustus. But afterwards he offended the emperor by some bitter jests upon his wife and family, and was compelled to retire to the estate of Asinius Pollio at Tusculum.

17. vitiis with **imitabile**, not, as Schütz says, with *decipit*, which can well stand alone. Cp. Juv. XIV. 40 *quoniam dociles imitandis turpibus ac pravis omnes sumus*. In the context he refers to Brutus and Cato.

18. pallerem can only mean 'if I were pale' which I am not. Conington's 'should my colour fail' is rather misleading. Horace describes himself as sun-burnt in Ep. I. 20, 24.

exsangue cuminum: cp. Plin. H. N. XX. 14, 57: *omne* (cuminum) *pallorem bibentibus gignit. Ita certe ferunt Porcii Latronis clari inter magistros dicendi assectatores similitudinem coloris studiis contracti imitatos*. Persius as usual imitates Horace in his *pallentis grana cumini* (v. 56). *Exsanguis* does not appear to be used again in this sense of 'causing paleness' before Claudian (in Ruf. II. 130 *exsanguis Rufinum perculit horror*); but Persius Prol. 4 has *pallidam Pirenen* in the same sense: and so Propert. v. [IV.] 7, 36 *cum insidiis pallida vina bibi*. The practice of drinking vinegar to make the face look pale and interesting has not been unknown in later days.

19. servum: 'hoc novum et fortius quam servile', Ritter. Ovid has *serva manus* (Fast. VI. 558) and *serva aqua* (Am. I. 6,

26). The word is not, as L. and S. say, akin to Germ. *schwer* 'heavy', but from root SER 'bind' Curt. *Et.* 355, or possibly from root SAR 'protect', a derivation which has the advantage of connecting it with *servare*.

20. bilem i.e. wrath, Sat. I. 9, 66, II. 3, 141. **tumultus** 'the coil you make', Con.

21—34. *I am no slavish imitator myself. Like my Greek predecessors, I have maintained my own originality, in spite of my debt to them.*

21. per vacuum 'on ground unclaimed by others', a legal term. Gaius II. 51.

22. pressi: Lucr. III. 3 *inque tuis nunc ficta* [i.q. fixa] *pedum pono pressis vestigia signis.*

23. reget examen: 'imitatus regem apium se sequentium ducem' Porph. Keller says that *fidet* and *reget* have much more authority than *fidit* and *regit*. As the vet. Bland. here supports the bulk of his MSS. I have followed him with little hesitation. The corruption appears to have begun with *reget*, to which *fidet* was afterwards assimilated. Ritter reads *fidit—reget.*

Parios: Archilochus was born at Paros, though he lived a roving life. Though not strictly speaking the inventor of the iambic metre (Mahaffy *Greek Literature* I. 157) he was the first to use it largely in literature. But he also employed the elegiac verse, introduced shortly before his time by Callinus.

primus: Catullus had previously employed iambic trimeters (to say nothing of the dramatic poets); but Horace in his Epodes had been the first to imitate the more complex Ἐπῳδοί. For Epodes I.—X. he used the metre in which most of the extant fragments of the Epodes of Archilochus are written 'metrum Iambicum Senarium Quaternarium': of the Archilochium II^m^ (Epod. XIII.) and III^m^ (Epod. XI.), the Pythiambicum I^m^ (Epod. XIV.) and II^m^ (Epod. XV. and XVI.), and the Alcmanium (Epod. XII.) we seem to have no specimen preserved from Archilochus. The Archilochium IV^m^ (cp. Archil. fr. 103) is used in Carm. I. 4: the Archilochium I^m^ (cp. Archil. fr. 85) in Od. IV. 7, which in spite of its position is probably an early production. It is probable however that Horace in every case had a Greek example before him: cp. Bentley's note on Epode XI.

24. animos 'spirit'.

25. agentia 'which pursued': when Lycambes of Paros refused to give his youngest daughter Neobule to Archilochus, as he had promised to do, the latter assailed him with such

bitter verses that he hanged himself. Cp. Epod. VI. 13. *agitare* is more common in this sense.

26. brevioribus 'humbler' or 'scantier', not, as some have taken it, 'less enduring', like *breve lilium* (Carm. I. 36, 16), *nimium breves flores amoenae rosae* (ib. II. 3, 14). Horace is arguing in defence of his own originality. It is true, he says, that I imitated the *metres* of Archilochus: but so did Sappho and Alcaeus, and no one accuses them of plagiarism, for their themes and style are altogether different: and so are mine. Bentley in one of his most convincing notes first brought out clearly the connexion and interpretation of this passage, which had very commonly been misunderstood. Even now Ritter supposes that Horace draws a distinction between his Epodes and his Odes: but this ruins the sequence of the thought. **ne—ornes** Roby § 1660, S. G. § 690.

27. artem, 'technique.'

28. temperat—Sappho: 'masculine Sappho moulds her Muse by the measure of Archilochus': *temperare* is the regular word for giving artistic shape to a composition, especially of music: cp. Prop. II. 34 (=III. 26), 80: *tale facis carmen, docta testudine quale Cynthius impositis temperat articulis.* Carm. IV. 3, 18 *o testudinis aureae dulcem quae strepitum, Pieri, temperas.* **pede** is not 'foot' but 'measure', denoting the whole line, as in Carm. IV. 6, 35 *Lesbium servate pedem:* A. P. 81.

mascula is a term of praise, not of blame, as the Scholiasts strangely suppose.

29. ordine, best understood with Bentley of the arrangement of the various lines used by Archilochus in a strophe: e.g. the *Archilochus minor* (*arboribusque comae*) was coupled by Alcaeus with a dactylic hexameter (Hor. Od. IV. 7), by Archilochus himself with an iambic trimeter (Frag. 104).

30. nec—quaerit. The difference between Alcaeus, at any rate, and Archilochus as to their themes was hardly so great as we might imagine from these passages. Alcaeus seems to have attacked Pittacus with no less bitterness than Archilochus showed to Lycambes, though on political as much as on personal grounds. We can discover also 'the same enjoyment of love and wine, of rambling about the world, and of adventure' (Mahaffy, *Greek Literature* I. p. 181). Sappho's poetry on the other hand was almost entirely confined to the passion of love. **atris**: cp. Epod. 6, 15 *atro dente:* so *niger* in Sat. I. 4, 85.

31. famoso 'libellous': Sat. II. 1, 68: *famosa epigrammata* in Suet. Caes. 73; *famosi libelli* in Tac. Ann. I. 72. The earliest instance in which the word has a neutral meaning, if not

a positively good one is in A. P. 469 'much talked of'. Even in Tacitus it has hardly acquired the meaning of 'renowned': cp. Hist. III. 38, and Heraeus on Hist. I. 10.

32. hunc, unquestionably Alcaeus. Archilochus was not included among the lyric poets, strictly speaking. Catullus and perhaps Calvus had already used the Sapphic metre; but no one as yet the metre of Alcaeus. Cp. Carm. III. 30, 13 *dicar... princeps Aeolium carmen ad Italos deduxisse modos:* Carm. I. 32, 5; IV. 9, 3.

34. ingenuis 'gentle', not, as Porph. says, claiming a moral superiority over his predecessors, Archilochus and Lucilius (who is altogether out of the question), who had indulged in great license of language; but contrasted with the *ventosa plebs* of v. 37. The audience for whom Horace wrote was one of 'gentlemen', such as those named in Sat. I. 10, 81—90. Conington happily renders

> Well may the bard feel proud, whose pen supplies
> Unhackneyed strains to gentle hands and eyes.

35—41. *I am disparaged in public though liked in private, because I take no unworthy steps to secure applause.*

35. opuscula: Ep. I. 4, 3.

36. premat 'disparages'. A. P. 262. Verg. Aen. XI. 402 *ne cessa...extollere viris gentis bis victae, contra premere arma Latini:* Quintil. XII. 10, 14 *praecipue presserunt eum* (M. Tullium), *qui videri Atticorum imitatores cupiebant.* Tacitus often uses the word in this sense.

37. ventosae: Ep. I. 8, 12.

plebis does not seem to be limited, as Orelli says, to the *poetae et grammatici infimi ordinis:* it naturally refers to all who could be gathered to listen to a recitation. For recitations at Rome cp. the exhaustive note of Prof. Mayor on Juv. III. 9.

38. impensis cenarum: the numerous instances of feasts given to the people by those who would gain their favour are collected by Madvig *Verfassung etc.* II. 363.

tritae: cp. Pers. I. 54 *scis comitem horridulum trita donare lacerna:* Mart. XII. 72, 4 *tritae praemia certa togae.*

39. nobilium: is this ironical or not? If it is, we must take it thus: 'I never listen to these illustrious writers, and retaliate upon them by reciting my own poems, and therefore I have no need to stoop to court the critics'. But it seems better, as there is no indication of irony in the context, and nothing pointing to poetasters rather than to critics as in his thoughts, to

take it as seriously meant, and as referring to Pollio, Vergil, Varius and others of the circle round Maecenas: **ultor** is then an expression of kindly humour, and not of bitterness, as in Juv. I. 1 'I who listen only to writers of name and fame, and retaliate upon them, do not deign to court etc.' Bentl. argues that Horace did not recite his own poems: but the very passage to which he refers, shows the conditions on which he did: Sat. I. 4, 73 *nec recito cuiquam* nisi amicis, idque coactus, non ubivis coramve quibuslibet. The 'Globe' version: 'I will not lower myself by listening to and defending grand writers, so as to curry favour' etc. is impossible.

40. grammaticas: Porph. takes **tribus** to refer to the crowds of scholars, **pulpita** 'chairs' to the teachers. But as the metaphor is evidently that of a candidate courting the suffrages of the Roman tribes at an election, and as the grammarians themselves, rather than their pupils, would be the voters, it is better to take **grammaticas** = grammaticorum, and **pulpita** as a touch to add graphic force, rather than as introducing a distinct class. *tribus* has probably a touch of contempt in it, like our own 'tribe' and *φῦλον*. The *pulpitum* was properly the platform of the stage (Ep. II. 1, 174, A. P. 215, 274), but here it is transferred to the dais on which the teacher's chair (*cathedra* Sat. I. 10, 91) would be placed.

41. hinc illae lacrimae. In the Andria of Terence old Simo tells how his son Pamphilus shed tears at the funeral of a neighbour of theirs named Chrysis. At first the father took it to be a sign of his son's affectionate character, that he was so much touched by the death of a mere acquaintance. But it turned out that Chrysis had left a charming sister: and when the old man saw her (v. 125) *percussit ilico animum. Atat, hoc illud est, hinc illae lacrimae, haec illast misericordia.*. The phrase became proverbial, and was used as here even when there was no question of actual tears. Cp. Cic. pro Cael. 25, 61 *sin autem iam iam suberat simultas, exstincta erat consuetudo, discidium exstiterat, hinc illae lacrimae nimirum et haec causa est omnium horum scelerum atque criminum.*

41—49. *My critics ridicule my modesty as affected, but I will not cross swords with them, and so I decline a combat, which could only lead to ill feeling.*

theatris, evidently not the public theatres, but private halls used for recitations. These were lent by rich patrons to poets and rhetoricians: cp. Mayor on Juv. VII. 40.

spissis 'thronged': cp. A. P. 205 *spissa sedilia.*

42. nugis, in humble disparagement of his own slight productions: cp. Sat. I. 9, 2, with Palmer's note.

43. rides 'you are laughing at us'. **ait** 'says one' Pers. I. 40 *rides, ait.* Juv. IX. 63 *improbus es cum poscis, ait*: *inquit* is more common (cp. Sat. I. 4, 79; 3, 126; II. 2, 99), *aio* being rarely used where the speaker's words are directly quoted: but cp. Cic. Orat. 11, 36. Verg. however has the construction several times.

Iovis=*Augusti.* Horace never directly applies this name to the Emperor, as Ovid does without scruple: and in the mouth of his critics it perhaps carries something of a sneer.

44. manare with a quasi-transitive force, like ῥεῖν.

45. tibi 'in your own eyes'. **naribus uti** 'to sneer at them openly'. Cp. Sat. I. 6, 5 *naso suspendis adunco:* II. 8, 64 *Balatro suspendens omnia naso.* Ep. I. 5, 23.

46. acuto—ungui: cp. Carm. I. 6, 18 *proelia virginum sectis in iuvenes unguibus acrium.* Horace implies that the malice of his opponents is such that they will stoop to any kind of attack. Scratching however was a recognised method of carrying on combats at Sparta. Cp. Cic. Tusc. V. 27, 77. Pausan. III. 14, 8.

47. iste locus 'the place you have chosen': *iste* has much more authority here than *ille*, and is better in itself.

'**diludia** dicuntur tempora, quae gladiatoribus conceduntur, ut intra dies quinque pugnent'—Acron. The word occurs nowhere else.

48. ludus plays upon *diludia*: 'I call for a respite of the struggle, for a struggle though only in sport' etc.

genuit: gnomic aorist, Ep. I. 2, 46 note. **trepidum** 'excited'.

EPISTLE XX.

This Epistle is evidently intended as the epilogue to the First Book. It has been supposed that the reference in vv. 27—28 fixes beyond dispute the date of the publication of the book: but cp. Introduction. The book is humorously addressed as though it were a young slave, eager to escape from the safe retirement of his master's house, to see the great city, and to find himself lovers there, while he is ignorant of the dangers that await him, and the risk of desertion and neglect, when return will be impossible. The special interest for us lies in the lines which give so graphic a sketch of Horace's personal appearance and character.—Ovid in Trist. I. 1 addresses his own book in very similar language. Cp. Mart. I. 3.

1—8. *You will not stay modestly at home, my book? Then be off; but you will be sorry for it.*

1. **Vertumnum.** Vertumnus seems to have been originally the god of the *annus vertens*, i.e. both of the spring and of the autumn, but especially of the latter with its rich stores of fruit: cp. Colum. x. 308 *mercibus et vernis dives Vertumnus abundet:* Propert. iv. 2, 11 *seu quia vertentis fructum praecepimus anni, Vertumni rursus creditur esse sacrum.* Perhaps it was only from the significance of his name that he was credited with the power of changing himself into any form that he pleased. His temple was in the *Vicus Tuscus*, one of the busiest streets in Rome, full of all kinds of shops, and also of houses of ill repute. This circumstance may have contributed to the further explanation of his name as the *deus invertendarum rerum, id est mercaturae* (Asconius in Verr. ii. 1, 154, p. 199). Propertius (iv. 2) has a charming poem upon him: and Ovid Met. xiv. 623 ff. tells how he won the love of Pomona. Cp. Preller *Röm. Myth.* p. 397—9.

Ianum: a temple of Janus was at the bottom of the Argiletum, which was not, as Macleane says, a street leading out of the Vicus Tuscus, but on the opposite side of the Forum (Burn's *Rome* p. 79), near the Subura, also a disreputable quarter. There are references in Martial to the book-shops in the Argiletum (i. 3, 1; 117, 9). Porph. says 'Ianus quoque similiter vicus est'. Cp. Ep. i. 1, 54 note.

spectare 'to have your eyes upon', with wistful longing. So apparently in Verg. Ecl. iii. 48 *si ad vitulum spectas.*

2. **scilicet** 'of course' ironically, giving the reason in the book's mind.

prostes 'be offered for sale', not without a *double entendre.*

Sosiorum, probably brothers, freedmen of the family of the Sosii, possibly of the C. Sosius praetor in B.C. 49. They are mentioned as booksellers also in A. P. 345. In the Greek writers who mention C. Sosius (Plutarch, Dio and Josephus) the name is written with ω: if this is correct, and not due simply to assimilation to Σωσίθεος and the like, we must assume synizesis of the *i* in both passages of Horace.

pumice: 'after the *volumen* was completed and rolled up, both ends of the closed roll were smoothed and polished with pumice' Munro *Criticisms of Catullus* p. 54, against Ellis's commentary on Catull. xxii. 8 *pumice omnia aequata:* cp. Catull. i. 1—2 *quoi dono lepidum novum libellum arido modo pumice expolitum?* Ov. Trist. i. 1, 11 *nec fragili geminae poliantur pumice frontes.* Mart. viii. 72, 1 *nondum murice cultus*

aridoque morsu pumicis aridi politus. Macleane is wrong here first in speaking of parchment rolls, instead of papyrus, and secondly in supposing that the outside skin was polished with pumice: the parchment (*membrana*) used as the wrapper of the papyrus roll was stained purple or saffron. Tibull. III. 1, 9 *lutea sed niveum involvat membrana libellum, pumex et canas tondeat ante comas.*

3. **claves**: books not offered for sale were kept in locked and sometimes sealed cases (*scrinia*) or chests (*armarii*), usually of cedar to keep off moths. Cp. Mart. I. 66, 5—8 *secreta quaere carmina et rudes curas quas novit unus scrinioque signatas custodit ipse virginis pater chartae, quae trita duro non inhorruit mento,* where an unpublished poem is compared to a young girl, as here to a boy. Menander speaks of keeping a wife not only barred, but even sealed up: *ὅστις δὲ μοχλοῖς καὶ διὰ σφραγισμάτων σώζει δάμαρτα, δρᾶν τι δὴ δοκῶν σοφόν, μάταιός ἐστι καὶ φρονῶν οὐδὲν φρονεῖ.* Cp. Aristoph. Thesmoph. 414—428. Store-chambers were often sealed, both in Greece (Aristoph. Lys. 1199) and at Rome, Plaut. Cas. II. 1, 1 *obsignate cellas, referte anulum ad me.*

4. **paucis**: Sat. I. 4, 73. **ostendi gemis**: for the construction cp. Ep. I. 15, 7. **communis** 'what is open to all': *communis locus* was a euphemism for a house of ill-fame.

5. **fuge**, explained by schol. Cruq. 'devita conspectum hominum, ne redeas deterior'. Schütz defends this interpretation, denying that *fugere* can mean simply 'to hurry off', but Senec. Epist. 108, 25 *nunquam Vergilius dies dicit ire, sed fugere, quod currendi genus concitatissimum est* is surely a sufficient defence (cp. Verg. Aen. V. 740): and we may further note that the book is represented as running away from its master's house. The asyndeton in **non erit reditus** is slightly in favour of Schütz's view: it is a little more natural to regard the appended clause as giving the reason for what has been said, than as a caution to be borne in mind, translating 'for there will be' rather than 'but remember there will be'. But on the other hand, as this is a valedictory address, and as Horace in vv. 19 ff. gives his book a commission to discharge, it seems quite necessary that he should express somewhere his assent, however reluctantly, to its departure.

descendere: Bentley arguing against the current reading *discedere* (which has only the slightest MS. authority, if any) shows by a large collection of passages that *descendere* was the regular word for going down into the Forum.

6. **emisso**: Ep. I. 18, 71.

7. quid volui? Verg. Ecl. II. 58 *heu, heu! quid volui misero mihi?*

ubi quid: the great preponderance of MS. authority is here in favour of *quid*, and Keller admits that it must have been found in the archetype, though he is inclined to think it an error for *quis*, which Yonge, Ritter, Schütz, Krüger, L. Müller and Orelli all retain. It is certainly more natural to have *quis*, referring to *amator:* but perhaps *quid* may be defended of an act, rather than a thing.

laeserit still keeps up the double reference: cp. Ov. Her. V. 103 *nulla reparabilis arte laesa pudicitia est.*

8. in breve te cogi: applied to the book this means 'that you are rolled up and replaced in your case'; in its reference to the young slave it means 'that you are brought into sad straits'. Cp. Ter. Haut. 669 *hac re in angustum oppido nunc meae coguntur copiae.*

plenus 'sated'.

9—18. *You may be liked well enough when you are young, but the time will come when you will be neglected, or sent out of the country; and a dismal old age awaits you.*

9. quodsi...augur 'if the prophet [i.e. Horace] does not lose his foresight in his vexation with the offender'.

10. deserat, the reading of the archetype, may well be defended, as expressing the anticipation in the mind of Horace that it will be so. Cp. A. P. 155 *sessuri donec cantor...dicat.* Bentley allows *deserit* to stand in his text without remark, but this is barely possible, and has little authority. Cp. Ep. I. 18, 61, Roby § 1664, S. G. § 692. *deseret* would stand, but it has very little support in MSS. Perhaps we should see here an early instance of the construction so familiar in Tacitus (Dräger *Hist. Synt.* II. 585) where *donec* is regularly used with the subjunctive without any suggestion of either expectation or purpose.

aetas, 'youth', rarely so used, unless the context clearly points to this meaning: in most, if not all the passages quoted as parallel, e.g. Ter. Andr. 54, 286, 'time of life' is a better translation: but Cic. de Off. II. 13, 45 *tua aetas incidit in id bellum* is a clear instance of this force. So ὥρα in Greek and *aetatula* in Plautus. For *iniens aetas* cp. Halm on Cic. de Imp. Pomp. § 2.

11. sordescere, 'to lose your bloom'.

12. tineas: cp. Sat. II. 3, 118 *cui stragula vestis, blattarum ac tinearum epulae, putrescat in arca:* Ov. Pont. I. 1, 72 *conditus ut tineae carpitur ore liber.*

inertes, 'barbarous' in the earlier sense of the word: cp. Cic. de Fin. II. 34, 115 (*artes*) *quibus carebant inertes a maioribus nominantur.* So Krüger and Schütz take the word, so that we have an anticipation of Juvenal's (III. 207) *divina opici rodebant carmina mures.* Others render 'sluggish', but then the epithet, though not unsuitable, is somewhat otiose.

13. **fugies** of your own accord to find kindlier treatment in the provinces, where what was out of date at Rome, might be regarded as a welcome novelty: **mitteris** by the bookseller. **vinctus** 'tied up' as a parcel of goods: Bentley completely disposed of the earlier reading *unctus.* There is still a reference to the fate which might befall a slave who had fallen into habits of vice. Cp. Liv. XXV. 2. Africa and Spain were at a later time famous seats of Latin learning.—In A. P. 345 Horace mentions as a sign of a good book that it was sent into the provinces: so Mart. XII. 3. So now-a-days the book-markets of the colonies are supplied both with popular novelties, and with 'remainders'.

14. **monitor**, sc. Horace himself. **ut ille** etc. The source of this allusion is not known to us. There seems to have been some story of a donkey-driver, who could not get his ass away from the edge of a precipice and so, losing his temper, gave him a push which sent him over.

15. **rupes** 'cliffs' as in Caes. B. G. II. 29 *oppidum egregie natura munitum cum ex omnibus in circuitu partibus altissimas rupes despectusque haberet.*

16. **servare**: cp. A. P. 467 *invitum qui servat, idem facit occidenti.*

18. **occupet** 'should come upon you': Tibull. I. 10, 40 *quem...occupat in parva pigra senecta casa.* The language is still that which might be used alike of a book and a boy: 'stammering age shall find you teaching boys their letters in distant (and therefore low) quarters of the town'. In Sat. II. 3, 274 it is said of an old man *cum balba feris annoso verba palato*, but in a somewhat different sense: there *balba verba* are 'lisping words of love'. In Juvenal's time Horace was already used as a school-book (VII. 226 *cum totus decolor esset Flaccus et haereret nigro fuligo Maroni:* cp. Mayor's note), though in Sat. I. 10, 75 he by no means desires such a fate for himself.

19—28. *When you can get an audience, tell them of my humble birth, and the favour I have found with the great, of my looks, my temper, and my age.*

19. **sol tepidus.** Very different interpretations have been given of this phrase. In the first place is *tepidus* here opposed

to 'hot' or to 'cold'? As the word properly denotes a mild warmth, it is found sometimes in one sense, sometimes in the other, but the former is much the more common: cp. however Ep. I. 18, 93. In Carm. II. 6, 17 *tepidasque praebet Iuppiter brumas* and Sat. II. 3, 10 *si vacuum tepido cepisset villula tecto*, the notion suggested is that of a comfortable warmth: in Sat. I. 3, 81 *tepidum ius* is 'sauce half-cold'. The same force attaches to *tepeo* in Sat. I. 4, 30 (*sol*) *quo vespertina tepet regio*, and in Ep. I. 10, 15 *est ubi plus tepeant hiemes:* and apparently also in Carm. I. 4, 20 where *tepebunt* is a weaker word than the preceding *calet*. Hence we must decidedly reject Macleane's 'heat of the day' and Conington's 'summer afternoons', and find some time when the sun has already lost something of its heat. Orelli argues for the time towards evening, quoting Mart. IV. 8, 7 *hora libellorum decima est, Eupheme, meorum:* (we may add Mart. X. 19, 18 *seras tutior ibis ad lucernas. Haec hora est tua, cum furit Lyaeus, cum regnat rosa, cum madent capilli,*) supposing that Horace's 'benevoli lectores', after scattering to their houses for dinner, would gather again to listen to his book reciting the poems it contained. But Martial is intentionally disparaging his own epigrams, when he represents them as only fit for the after-dinner amusement of revellers, and there is no reason to suppose that evening was the time usually chosen for public recitations. If we accept this interpretation of *sol tepidus* it is better to think, with Krüger, of the loiterers round the shop of the Sosii, who would be more numerous in the evening than at any other time: cp. Horace's description of his own practice in Sat. I. 6, 113. There is plenty of authority for this use of *sol* as marking a part of the day: cp. Sat. I. 4, 30: Sat. I. 6, 125: Sat. II. 4, 23. But others suppose that Horace is still regarding his book as a schoolmaster; and that *sol tepidus* refers to the cooler days after the holidays (Sat. I. 6, 75, with Palmer's note), when the schools would be full again; or, as some again say, to the milder weather after the spring holidays. In that case he would be giving a gloomy prophecy that few but schoolboys would read his poems. This is barely in keeping with the tone of the following part of the letter, which is much better fitted to be addressed to the general public than to boys using the poems as a first reading-book. The scholiasts were fairly puzzled by the line, and write sheer nonsense. Comm. Cruq. has 'cum plures coeperint te legere et audire: secundum morem librariorum loquitur, qui circa quartam vel quintam horam dictata pueris praebere consueverunt, *quo tempore sunt tractabiliores*'. Another has 'tunc enim dictata accipiunt pueri, cum beneficio solis cera facilius deletur'. But why in either case *plures?* Another explains *sol tepidus* as *popularis favor*. Perhaps the simplest explanation after all is Ritter's, who takes it to mean 'when the weather is neither too hot nor too cold

for you to have a good audience'. The conjecture *sal lepidus* has been made and even approved! Meineke assumed a loss of some lines after v. 18 in which a link was supplied (ib. v. 71). There seems to be a reference back to v. 4.

20. libertino patre: Sat. I. 6, 45—6. **in tenui re**: his father was *macro pauper agello*.

21. pinnas and *pennas*: Lewis and Short well state the relation of these two forms, on which others, e.g. White, are less satisfactory. Here the balance seems to turn in favour of the former.

nido with **maiores** 'too great for my nest to hold'. Cp. Sat. II. 3, 310 *corpore maiorem*: Carm. II. 11, 11 *aeternis minorem consiliis*.

23. belli...domique: the rhythm of the line is certainly in favour of the interpretation, which connects these words with *placuisse* rather than with *primis*. But is it possible to suppose that Horace should have ventured to assert that his military exploits won him favour with the *primi urbis*, even admitting that he would have placed Brutus and Cassius in this position? We need not take his humorous phrase in Carm. II. 7, 10 *relicta non bene parmula* as a seriously intended confession of cowardice; but neither is there any reason to suppose that he particularly distinguished himself. Besides Augustus, Pollio, Munatius Plancus, Messala and others were distinguished in war as well as in peace.

24. corporis exigui sc. *esse*: 'short' not slight: cp. Suet. Vit. Hor. *habitu corporis fuit brevis atque obesus, qualis et a semet ipso in satiris describitur et ab Augusto hac epistula... Vereri autem mihi videris, ne maiores libelli tui sint, quam ipse es. Sed si tibi statura dest, corpusculum non dest*, etc. If *in satiris* does not refer by a slip of memory to this passage, Suetonius was thinking of Sat. II. 3, 309 *aedificas, hoc est, longos imitaris, ab imo ad summum totus moduli bipedalis*, where the latter clause is of course only a simile, though it gains in point from Horace's short stature.

praecanum 'grey before my time'. So the scholl. explain the word. In almost every other instance in which *prae* is compounded with an adjective, the force is simply intensive, e.g. *praealtus, praecalidus, praecelsus, praeceler*, etc.; and it is as a rule only when compounded with verbs that *prae* has the meaning of 'before-hand'; hence Schütz (after Plewes) maintains that the meaning must be 'very grey'. But the formation of *praematurus* differs in no way from that of *praecanus*, and that of *praecox, praesagus, praenuntius* very slightly. So we may rest content with

the traditional explanation. Cp. Roby Vol. I. pp. 381, 384. Mr Palmer suggests that the meaning may be 'grey in front', comparing ἀπὸ κροτάφων πελόμεσθα πάντες γηραλέοι. Horace speaks in Carm. II. 11, 14 of himself and Hirpinus as *rosa canos odorati capillos:* the date of this ode cannot be fixed precisely, but it was written at latest three or four years before this epistle. In B.C. 24 (Carm. III. 14, 25) he is *albescens.*

solibus aptum 'fond of sunning myself'. This is the reading of all MSS. and of the scholiasts, and may, I think, be defended. Keller quotes Ov. Met. III. 596 *portus puppibus aptos,* which is not very similar, nor is Lucret. VI. 961 *huc accedit uti non omnia quae iaciuntur corpora cumque ab rebus, eodem praedita sensu atque eodem pacto rebus sint omnibus apta,* which he regards as completely analogous, for *apta* is there 'adapted to affect' rather than 'fitted to enjoy'. Sat. II. 5, 45 *aptus amicis* is really a closer parallel; so is Sat. I. 3, 29 *aptus acutis naribus* 'fitted to meet': the word is rather a favourite one with Horace, occurring 14 times. Cp. Juv. VII. 58 *cupidus silvarum aptusque bibendis fontibus Aonidum.* Mr Reid compares Ov. Met. XIV. 25 *Circe, neque enim flammis habet aptius ulla talibus ingenium,* and thinks that it is simply an inverted way of saying that the sun was suited to Horace's constitution, a case of hypallage in fact; so Met. I. 681 *aptam pastoribus umbram.* But few passages in Horace have given occasion for more numerous attempts at emendation, for the most part very infelicitous. Krüger (*Anhang* p. 375—6) mentions seven such attempts (besides Herbst's *solibus ustum,* which he himself adopts), and Schütz adds one more, *sollicitatum* (!). It seems to me that there are more serious objections against one and all of the proposed readings than against the text of the MSS.

For the practice of sunning one's self (*apricatio*) cp. Plin. Ep. III. 5, 10 (of the elder Pliny) *aestate, si quid otii, iacebat in sole...post solem plerumque frigida lavabatur.* ib. VI. 16, 5 *usus ille sole, mox frigida.* III. 1, 8 (of Spurinna) *in sole, si caret vento, ambulat nudus.* The usual place for this was the *heliocaminus* 'sun-oven' built on purpose. Cp. Mayor on Juv. XI. 203, and Pers. V. 179 *aprici senes.*

25. irasci celerem: Horace's quick temper may *possibly* be referred to in Carm. III. 9, 22 *improbo iracundior Hadria;* and more directly in Sat. II. 7, 35. It is exaggerated in Sat. II. 3, 323 *non dico horrendam rabiem.*

27. Decembres: Suetonius gives the date of Horace's birth as *sexto idus Decembris.* The year of his birth is fixed by Carm. III. 21, 1 *o nata mecum consule Manlio,* and by Epod. 13, 6 *tu vina Torquato move consule pressa meo* to the consulship of L. Manlius Torquatus and L. Aurelius Cotta in B.C. 65, a date which Suetonius also gives.

28. dixit has no authority worth considering. *duxit* was unquestionably the reading of the archetype. On the other hand *collegam dicere* is the regular technical term for the 'nomination' of a consul after his election by a colleague who for any reason had been previously elected (cp. Mommsen *Röm. Staatsr.* 1². 209). The question then arises whether it is more probable that Horace should have employed a phrase nowhere else found, and extremely hard to explain by the usage of the language, or that an error of one slight stroke should have crept into the archetype. When we consider passages like Epod. 1, 15; 4, 8; Sat. I. 6, 102; 10, 86; Epist. I. 5, 28; 7, 96, to take only cases where the archetype was unquestionably corrupt, we cannot, I think, hesitate which way we should decide. Porph. explains *duxit* by *sortitus est* 'quia sortem duci dicimus': but there was no question of the lot in the election of consuls: Ritter not much more happily says 'respicit eiusmodi munera, ad quae agenda simul progressi sunt consules, ut alter ab altero duceretur'. Obbarius explains 'took as his companion', a meaning found only where there is some reference to a journey. Orelli says 'veluti *praecedens* Lollius post se quasi comitem aliquanto tardiorem *duxit* Lepidum'. Macleane calls this 'far-fetched', but has nothing to suggest. Some have even compared *uxorem ducere!* For the circumstances cp. Introduction.

BOOK II.

EPISTLE I.

We have seen already from the First Book that the order in which the Epistles were arranged for publication is not the same as that of the dates of their composition. As in publishing the first three books of the Odes, the Epodes, the first book of the Satires, and the first book of the Epistles, Horace placed at the beginning a poem addressed to his patron Maecenas, so he may have wished to give the first place in this second book to an Epistle addressed to Augustus, although this may not have been the earliest to be written. We have therefore to look for other indications of its date. Ritter thinks that he has found two such. On the kalends of August in B.C. 12 an altar was dedicated at Lugdunum to Augustus: cp. Suet. Claud. II: *Claudius natus est...Kal. Aug. Lugduni, eo ipso die quo primum ara ibi Augusto dedicata est:* Liv. Epit. CXXXVIII. *ara divi Caesaris ad confluentem Araris et Rhodani dedicata:* Dio Cass. LIV. 32 προφάσει τῆς ἑορτῆς ἣν καὶ νῦν περὶ τὸν τοῦ Αὐγούστου βωμὸν ἐν Λουγδούνῳ τελοῦσι: Strabo IV. 3, 2 τό τε ἱερὸν τὸ ἀναδειχθὲν ὑπὸ πάντων κοινῇ τῶν Γαλατῶν Καίσαρι τῷ Σεβαστῷ πρὸ ταύτης ἵδρυται τῆς πόλεως [sc. Lugdunum] ἐπὶ τῇ συμβολῇ τῶν ποταμῶν. To this altar Ritter finds a reference in v. 16. But the language seems too general to be so limited in its reference. It denotes a habit rather than a single act. In B.C. 19 an altar to Fortuna Redux was decreed in honour of Augustus by the Senate (Mon. Ancyr. c. II): if any special reference is intended, it is more likely that this is intended. But Suetonius (Aug. c. LIX.) says *provinciarum pleraeque super templa et aras ludos quoque quinquennales paene oppidatim constituerunt;* and although this refers doubtless mainly to a later portion of his reign, the custom may have begun early. Hence no conclusion can safely be drawn from the phrase in v. 16.

Another argument has been drawn from v. 255. Dio Cass. (LIV. 36) tells how in the winter of B.C. 11—10 the Senate decreed that the temple of Janus should be closed; but this

decree was not carried into effect in consequence of an inroad of the Dacians and a rising of the Dalmatians, followed by a campaign under Drusus in Germany. Ritter argues from this that the Epistle must have been finished before the news of these fresh wars had reached Rome, when it was still expected that the temple of Janus would be closed. But the temple of Janus was closed three times during the reign of Augustus (Suet. Aug. XXII., Mon. Ancyr. II. 45). The first time was in B.C. 29, after his return from Egypt; the second in B.C. 25, at the close of the first Cantabrian war. The date of the third closing cannot be determined. Orosius (vi. 22) assigns it to the year of Christ's birth, a tradition apparently accepted by Milton (*Hymn on the Nativity*, stanza iv.): this rests on very slight authority, but Mommsen (on Mon. Ancyr. p. 32) is not disinclined to accept it as approximately true. In any case the reference in v. 255 is too general to admit of being pressed.

More valid arguments have been adduced by Vahlen (*Monatsberichte der Berliner Akademie* 1878, pp. 688 ff.). In v. 111 Horace refers to his resumption of a form of poetical composition which he had formally renounced. This can only mean lyric poetry. Now the Carmen Saeculare was written in B.C. 17, and most if not all of the Odes in the Fourth Book between B.C. 17 and B.C. 13. There appear to be references to some of these in vv. 252 ff. (e.g. to V. 25 ff., XIV. 11, 29, 33, XV. 6, 9), or at least to the themes of which they treat. Hence the Epistle can hardly have been written before B.C. 13. In this year Augustus returned to Rome after an absence of three years in Gaul, and remained in Rome until B.C. 10.

Suetonius (vit. Horat.) tells us that Augustus *post sermones quosdam lectos* complained that there was no mention made of himself, and said to the poet *irasci me tibi scito, quod non in plerisque eiusmodi scriptis mecum potissimum loquaris. An vereris, ne apud posteros infame tibi sit, quod videaris familiaris nobis esse?* In this way *expressit eclogam ad se cuius initium est: Cum tot sustineas*, etc. Ritter thinks that Suetonius was mistaken in supposing that this Epistle was the one written by Horace in answer to the remonstrances of Augustus; and argues that it must have been Ep. I. 13. His reasons for this view are (1) that this was written too long after the publication of the Satires, and (2) that Augustus in acknowledging the receipt of Horace's *libellus* complains of it as being as short as the poet was himself: *pertulit ad me Dionysius libellum tuum, quem ego, ut excusantem, quantuluscunque est, boni consulo. Vereri autem mihi videris, ne maiores libelli tui sint, quam ipse es. Sed si tibi statura dest, corpusculum non dest. Itaque licebit in sextariolo scribas: quo circuitus voluminis tui sit ὀγκωδέστατος, sicut est ventriculi tui.* It may be replied to the first of these objections that *Sermones* is by no means necessarily limited to

Satires: in this very Epistle (v. 250) it evidently includes the Epistles. Hence if, as we shall see reason to believe, the second and third Epistle of this book (the latter the so-called *Ars Poetica*) were written before the first, they may well have been the *Sermones* mentioned by Suetonius. The answer to the second is that Horace himself in v. 4 apologises for the brevity of this poem, and the sportive protest of Augustus is a reply to this apology. Hence there is no valid reason for rejecting the express testimony of Suetonius. Mommsen (*Hermes* XV. 105) believes that the Epistles of the first book are the *sermones quidam*, and that, though they must, as he admits, have been published some time previously, the slightness of the acquaintance between Horace and the Emperor before the publication of the *Carmen Saeculare* prevented the latter from having any knowledge of them. It seems to me very doubtful whether Mommsen is right in limiting the intimacy of Augustus with Horace so completely to the last few years of his life.

This Epistle has always been a favourite one. It contains a great deal of shrewd criticism with some of those happy autobiographical touches, which Horace knew so well how to throw in. Mommsen indeed (*Hermes* XV. 103) calls these three Epistles 'the most graceful and delightful works in all Roman literature'.

1—4. *With all the claims upon your time, Caesar, I should be unpatriotic, if I were to address you at length.*

1. solus: Augustus did not lose the support of Agrippa until B.C. 12, but since B.C. 17 he had been in the East, returning to Rome this year, about the same time as Augustus returned from Gaul. But Horace is speaking of the responsibility of empire; and with a natural license.

2. moribus. The position which Augustus assumed as a 'saviour of society' and reformer of morals is often dwelt upon by the poets of his time, and is admirably described by M. Gaston Boissier in his *Religion Romaine*, vol. I. 67—108. Cp. Mommsen, Staatsr. II^2. 686 note 1. With *moribus* the scholiast rightly supplies *suis* not *tuis*: for the combination of *mores* and *leges* cp. Carm. III. 24, 35 *quid leges sine moribus vanae proficiunt?*

4. morer tua tempora 'waste your time': just as we have in Ep. I. 13, 17 *oculos auresque morari*, 'to make eyes and ears dwell upon a thing', so here the *tempora*, the time which Augustus had at his command for important business, is represented as in danger of being taken up with Horace's poetry. The plural *tempora* in prose always seems to carry with it something of the force of *καιροί* 'opportunities' for doing anything, not merely the lapse of time: thus often = 'crisis', 'emergencies'.

5—17. *The most illustrious heroes have not found recognition, while on earth, because of envy. You alone receive due honours while still with us.*

5. Liber pater here, as often, has the history of the Greek Dionysus simply transferred to him. 'The notion of his being a protector of the vine was easily extended to that of his being the protector of trees in general. This character is still further developed in the notion of his being the promoter of civilization, a law-giver, and a lover of peace (Eurip. Bacch. 420; Strabo X. p. 468; Diod. IV. 4)', Dict. Biog. Augustus is similarly compared to the deified heroes in Carm. I. 12, 22, 25 ff., 33; III. 3, 9; IV. 5, 35 f. There is a remarkable parallel (probably a reminiscence) in Quint. Curt. VIII. 5 *Herculem et patrem Liberum et cum Polluce Castorem novo numini (Alexandro) cessuros esse iactabant:* and further on *ne Herculem quidem et patrem Liberum prius dicat deos, quam vicissent secum viventium invidiam.*

6. templa, apparently in its earlier wide sense 'quarters': cp. Ennius in Varro de Ling. Lat. VII. § 6 (Müller) *unus erit quem tu tolles in caerula caeli templa;* and again (ib.) *o magna templa caelitum commixta stellis splendidis.*

7. colunt, connected by a sort of zeugma with *terras* and *genus*. With the former it would more naturally mean 'dwell on', but from its connexion with the latter, it acquires a kind of reflected force of 'caring for'. Cp. Verg. Ecl. III. 60 *ab Iove principium...ille colit terras.*

8. agros adsignant, i.e. institute property in land. Sat. I. 3, 105. The technical force of the word comes out in the official designation of the *tresviri agris dandis assignandis.* Cf. C. I. L. I. 583 with Mommsen's note, and the epitaph of M. Livius Drusus, ib. p. 279 vii.

10. contudit, because according to the story the hydra's heads were bruised by the club of Hercules, Carm. IV. 4, 61 f.

11. fatali 'assigned by the fates', Carm. III. 3, 19 *fatalis incestusque iudex.* The twelve labours enjoined upon Hercules by Eurystheus were made obligatory by the cunning of Juno, who had induced Juppiter to swear that the descendant of Perseus born first on that day should rule the other.

12. supremo, Ep. I. 1, 1 (note), II. 2, 173, 'only by his last end'.

13. urit 'pains' here the eyes: used of thirst (Sat. I. 2, 114), gall (Sat. I. 9, 66), of a shoe (Ep. I. 10, 43), a burden (Ep. I. 13, 6), and of blows (Ep. I. 16, 47, Sat. II. 7, 58).

artis = ἐπιτηδεύματα, 'qualities', almost identical with *virtutes:* cp. Carm. III. 3, 9 *hac arte Pollux et vagus Hercules enisus arces attigit igneas.*

15. praesenti 'while still with us'; as contrasted with the demi-gods who received honours only after their deaths. Augustus is the one exception to the rule *Virtutem incolumem odimus*. But Mommsen rightly takes this also as a proof that this Epistle cannot have been written before the return of Augustus to Rome in B.C. 13. It would be otherwise inconceivable that the poet who wrote *abes iam nimium diu* (Carm. IV. 5, 2) should throughout make no reference whatever to his absence, it he was now spending his second or third year in Gaul.

16. iurandas aras: *iurare*, like ἐπομνύναι (Ar. Nub. 1237 ἐπώμνυς τοὺς θεούς), ἀπομνύναι (ib. 1232 καὶ ταῦτ' ἐθελήσεις ἀπομόσαι μοι τοὺς θεούς;)—cp. Ζεὺς ὀμνύμενος (ib. 1241)—takes an accusative of that by which one swears (Verg. Aen. xii. 197 *terram, mare, sidera iuro*): hence it can be used in the passive.

numen has in its favour not only the vet. Bland. but also the excellent MS. R, although the majority of MSS. have *nomen*: the former was restored to the text by Bentley, and has since received the support of many good editors. Krüger and Schütz still prefer *nomen;* but the regular phrase was either *iurare per numen* or *iurare in nomen*. Suet. Calig. 24 has *per numen Drusillae deieravit:* and in Tac. Ann. I. 73 all good recent editors have adopted the correction of Freinsheim *violatum periurio numen Augusti*, though the MS. has *nomen*. Cp. Ov. Her. IX. 371, XIII. 159, Pont. I. 10, 42. Servius too who quotes these lines on Verg. Ecl. I. 7 and Georg. I. 24 has (according to the best MSS.) *numen*, and adds 'sic Lucanus de Nerone [Phars. I. 63] *sed mihi iam numen*'. Mommsen holds that this phrase cannot refer either to the altar to *Fortuna redux* dedicated when Augustus returned to Rome in B.C. 19, or to that of *Pax Augusta* of July B.C. 13, because neither of these deities could have found a place in oaths. It must refer, he holds, to the invocation of the *genius Augusti* between *Iuppiter optimus maximus* and the *Di Penates*, which was part of the remodelling of the worship of the *Lares Compitales*. This appears to have been due to a decree of the senate, passed during the Emperor's absence, although not fully carried out until a later date. Cp. Carm. IV. 5, 34 *Laribus tuum miscet numen*. Cp. Corp. I. Lat. II. 172 *si sciens fallo fefellerove, tum me liberosque meos Iupiter optimus maximus ac divus Augustus ceterique omnes di immortales expertem patria incolumitate fortunisque omnibus faciant* (found at Aritium vetus in Lusitania).

18—27. *But in other respects the Romans now scorn contemporary merit, and are blindly partial to what is ancient.*

18. tuus hic 'this people of thine', i.e. the Roman people, so devoted to thee. Bentley, after quoting instances of *hic*

meus, ille tuus etc., decides to read *hoc* on very slight authority, joining *in hoc uno:* but then, as Ribbeck has shown, the next line becomes quite superfluous, for *unum* is sufficiently explained by 15—17. It is possible however that *uno* is masc., taken with *te.*

21. suis temporibus 'the measure of life assigned to them'. The epithet which would more properly belong to the authors is transferred to their works.

23. veterum, neuter, not masculine, as is shown by **cetera, semota** and **defuncta.** Cp. Tac. Ann. II. 88 *vetera extollimus recentium incuriosi.* **tabulas,** the laws of the Twelve Tables, carried by the decemvirs.

25. aequata 'made on equal terms', a probably unexampled force of the word, which leads Mr Reid to conjecture that we should read *aequa icta;* but the transference of meaning is hardly too bold for Horace: to **Gabiis** we must supply *cum* from the following clause. Dionysius Halic. (IV. 58) says that he saw in the temple of Ζεὺς πίστιος on the Quirinal a treaty made by Tarquinius Superbus with Gabii, written on the hide of the ox slain at the ratification of the treaty. Cp. Niebuhr *Hist.* I. 512. For treaties with the Sabines cp. ib. pp. 231, 561.

26. pontificum libros, properly the books containing the laws of ritual and worship (Cic. de Orat. I. 43, 193, Macrob. Sat. I. 12, 21), but probably including also the *annales pontificum* or *annales maximi.* Cp. Cic. de Orat. II. 12, 52 (note), where Cicero speaks of the entire absence of ornament in their style. Cp. Teuffel, *Rom. Lit.* §§ 63, 66.

volumina vatum: 'veteres libros Marcii vatis aut Sibyllae': the oracles of the Sibyl were written in Greek; but there were current at Rome certain *Carmina Marciana* in Saturnian verse, ascribed to a prophetic Marcius (as Livy XXV. 12, and Pliny H. N. VII. 33 say), or to two brothers of the name according to Cic. de Div. I. 40, 89, which foretold the defeat of Cannae, and enjoined games in honour of Apollo. The date of these is unknown, but cp. Weissenborn on Livy l.c.

27. Albano in monte: 'quia Egeria nympha dicebatur loqui cum Numa Pompilio in Albano monte' Acron. This legend does not appear elsewhere in quite the same form; but Ritter labours hard to show that it is equivalent to that which places the grove of Egeria at Aricia, which was not indeed on, but at the foot of the Alban mount. Cp. Ov. Met. XV. 487, Servius on Verg. Aen. VII. 763 *eductum Egeriae lucis.* Ov. Fast. III. 261—2. He is however clearly wrong in supposing this grove at Aricia to be that mentioned in Juv. III. 17, which was close to the Capene gate at Rome, sixteen miles away. Burn

writes (*Rome and the Campagna*, p. 218) 'The worship of Egeria was probably indigenous to the grove of Diana at Aricia, where we find that there was a shrine and fountain of Egeria; whence it may have been transferred by Numa (?) to the valley and fountain outside the Porta Capena.' Egeria was one of the Camenae, and while we read of the Vallis Egeriae, the grove with the temple in it is spoken of as the Lucus Camenarum (Becker Röm. Alterth. I. 513—515). If therefore the Camenae were worshipped at Aricia, it would be natural enough to speak of them as uttering their primitive poetry on the mountain which rose above their grove, especially for those who remembered the muse-haunted Helicon and Parnassus. We may compare Quintil. X. 1, 99 *in comoedia maxime claudicamus, licet Varro Musas, Aeli Stilonis sententia, Plautino dicat sermone locuturas fuisse, si Latine loqui vellent.*

28—33. *It is absurd to argue that because the oldest Greek writers are the best, it is so also at Rome.*

28. Graiorum: so Bentley with the vet. Bland. and some few other MSS. Most MSS. have *Graecorum.*

antiquissima quaeque points to the oldest writings as a class as better than later works, whereas *antiquissimum quodque* would have indicated that their merit was in each case in proportion to the antiquity. Madvig Gramm. § 495 points out that in the older and good writers the plural usage is confined to the neuter. But Plaut. Men. 571 has *uti quique sunt optumi:* Most. 155 *optumi quique expetebant a me doctrinam sibi:* Cic. Lael. 10, 34 *in optimis quibusque honoris certamen;* de Off. II. 21, 75 *leges et proximae quaeque duriores* (where Reid corrects *proxima*): Livy i. 9, 8 *proximi quique.* But it is only in Justin and Florus that this usage becomes common.

29. pensantur, very rarely used in this primary sense of 'weigh', and not in its derived meaning of 'repay' by any writer earlier than Horace.

30. trutina (Sat. I. 3, 72) = τρυτάνη (the first syllable of which is long); so machina = μηχανή, bucina = βυκάνη. Cf. Roby § 239.

31. olea, Bentley's correction for *oleam* of almost all MSS. has met with very general acceptance. It seems impossible to suppose that *intra* is a preposition, while *extra* is so evidently an adverb. It is necessary then to supply *in* to govern *olea* from the following *in nuce*, precisely as *cum* above in *vel Gabiis vel cum Sabinis:* so in Carm. III. 25, 2 *quae nemora aut quos agor in specus* the *in* has to be anticipated: cp. Verg. Aen. VI. 692 *quas ego te terras et quanta per aequora vectum accipio.*

In Ep. I. 2, 16 which Orelli adduces to defend the MS. reading, *extra* is just as much a preposition as *intra:* and similarly in Liv. XXXI. 24 *intra eam* (*portam*) *extraque.* Schütz says that *intra oleam* conveys the just meaning, whereas *extra nucem* would mean not 'on the outside of the nut' but 'apart from it' and that therefore the construction was necessarily changed. I think Bentley's emendation a great improvement. The sense is: if we are to be led astray by comparing things which though alike in some respects differ in others, like Greek and Roman literature, then we may as well argue that an olive has no stone because a nut has none, or a nut no shell because an olive has not. We may go on to say that there is nothing lacking to our perfect success, even in painting, in music, or in athletics.

32. fortunae: Schütz (after Lehrs) objects to this word; and says that it was a very poor compliment to Augustus for Horace to regard it as absurd to suppose that the Romans had reached the height of fortune under him. He suggests *culturae*, though in good Latin this word never has the meaning which would be required here of the *result* of cultivation, but only the *process* (cp. Ep. I. 1, 40). Ribbeck despairs of the line, unless he is allowed to transpose it to after 107. I do not see any fatal objection to the traditional interpretation, as above, though certainly the logic is neither clear nor good. Porphyrion oddly takes it of poetry, 'sed hoc intellegi quam a se dici maluit.'

pingimus: the four main branches of a liberal education among the Greeks were γράμματα, γυμναστική, μουσική and (as some added) γραφική. Literature is here omitted, perhaps because the superiority of contemporary Greeks was not so clear in this as in the other three. Painting, music and athletics were alike despised by the Romans until the days of the Empire.

34—49. *It is quite impossible to draw any fixed line between the old and the new.*

34. vina: Pindar praises old wine and new poems (Ol. IX. 48 αἴνει δὲ παλαιὸν μὲν οἶνον, ἄνθεα δ' ὕμνων νεωτέρων).

35. quotus: the answer would have been expressed by an ordinal.

adroget: we might be content with the meaning 'claims' here and in A. P. 122, while that is clearly the force of the word in Sat. II. 4, 35; but in Carm. IV. 14, 40 that rendering is less satisfactory: *fortuna...optatum peractis imperiis decus adrogavit.* Mr Page there suggests a possible connexion with the force of *prorogo* 'grant in extension', so that *adrogo* would be 'grant in addition' just as *abrogo* means 'to take away' originally by a proposal addressed to the people, so *adrogo* may mean simply to 'add to'. Orelli's notion that the meaning here is derived from the formal *adrogatio* or adoption in the comitia is not probable.

36. decidit 'has dropped off' like falling leaves: cp. Plaut. Trin. 544 *solstitiali morbo decidunt.*

38. finis 'limit', not, as Acron says, definition.

42. respuat, the reading of the best MSS., is at the same time, as Bentley showed, the only tense which will suit both *praesens* and *postera.* Earlier editions had either *respuit* or *respuet.* In the preceding line Bentley proposed to replace *poetas* by *probosque*, a suggestion which certainly improves the 'concinnity' of the passage, but is not needful. For the rhyming of the two lines *poetas...aetas*, which was one of his objections to the reading of the MSS., cp. A. P. 99-100, 176-7; Verg. Aen. I. 319-320, 625-6; III. 656-7: Gossrau (App. *de Hexametro Virgilii*) quotes eleven more instances from the Aeneid. Most of these seem to be purely accidental, like those in Horace: but in the more archaic poets there are traces of an intentional use of rhyme (cp. Ennius in Cic. Tusc. I. 35, 85) and in a later age Eustathius expresses his admiration of Hom. Il. XXII. 383-4.

43. honeste 'with honour', i.e. he will not disgrace those among whom he is ranked.

45. caudae pilos: it is *possible* that there is a reference here (as the editors generally suppose) to the story told by Plutarch of Sertorius, how "when he had called all his army together, he caused two horses to be brought into the field, one an old feeble lean animal, the other a lusty, strong horse, with a remarkably thick and long tail. Near the lean one he placed a tall strong man, and near the strong young horse a weak despicable looking fellow: and at a sign given, the strong man took hold of the weak horse's tail with both his hands, and drew it to him with his whole force, as if he would pull it off; the other, the weak man, in the mean time set to work to pluck off hair by hair from the great horse's tail: the former of course effected nothing, while the latter had soon removed the whole tail: whereupon Sertorius said: 'You see, fellow-soldiers, that perseverance is more prevailing than violence, and that many things, which cannot be overcome when they are together, yield themselves up when taken little by little'" (Clough's Plutarch, III. 400). But as Horace is not teaching a moral lesson here, but simply illustrating a logical process, I see very little reason to suppose that this story was in his mind at all. The hairs in a tail may very well have been a current example in the schools, like the grains in a heap. The fallacy of the *φάλακρος* invented by Eubulides is a somewhat similar instance.

46. etiam seems to be supported by the majority of good MSS., and is strongly comfirmed by the imitation in Pers. VI. 58 *adde etiam unum, unum etiam;* it means 'still', as in its com-

mon use with comparatives. Bentley with some good MSS. read *et item*, comparing Ter. Andr. 77 *sed postquam annus accessit, pretium pollicens, unus et item alter:* Lucret. IV. 553 *asperitas autem vocis fit ab asperitate principiorum, et item levor levore creatur:* add Ter. Adelph. 230 *mulieres complures et item hinc alia quae porto Cyprum.* But *etiam* may certainly stand.

47. cadat elusus 'foiled and overthrown', a metaphor from a gladiator. **ruentis acervi** 'the diminishing heap', in Greek σωρείτης 'quam, si necesse sit, Latino verbo liceat acervalem appellare' (Cic. de Div. II. 4, 11). The nature of it is explained by Cic. Acad. II. 16, 49 *captiosissimo genere interrogationis utuntur, quod genus minime in philosophia probari solet, cum aliquid minutatim et gradatim additur aut demitur. Soritas hoc vocant, quia acervum efficiunt uno addito grano.* Cp. also II. 29, 93 with Reid's note. Chrysippus met the difficulty by refusing to answer some time before his questioner reached the critical point: he was so troubled by the sophism that Persius humorously calls it his own, VI. 80 *inventus, Chrysippe, tui finitor acervi.* We must carefully distinguish the *sorites* as a logical trick playing upon the meaning of the word 'heap' (σωρός) from the similarly named but wholly different 'chain-argument' (*kettenschluss*), in which the predicate of each of a string or 'heap' of premisses is the subject of the next. Cp. Jevons *Logic* p. 156, or Thomson's *Laws of Thought*, p. 199. Forcellini s. v. confuses them: the definition in the dictionaries based on Freund 'a sophism formed by accumulation' does not really suit either. Some editors say that the argument which proceeded by way of addition was called the *struens acervus*, that which went on gradually diminishing was called the *ruens acervus.* I cannot discover the authority for this statement.

48. redit in fastos 'goes back upon the annals'.

49. Libitina: an ancient Italian goddess, originally of gardens and of pleasure generally, called also Lubentina (from *lubet, lubido*, etc.). Afterwards she came to be regarded as the goddess of burial, by a transition strange to us, but not unexampled in Italy, where the Sabine Feronia is compared both with Flora and with Persephone, and in Greece where Aphrodite sometimes is represented as Persephone: cf. Preller *Röm. Myth.* p. 387, *Griech. Myth.* I. p. 275. Servius Tullius is said to have ordained that in every case of death a piece of money should be contributed to her chest; and biers and other necessaries for funerals were kept in her grove (*lucus Libitinae*) on the Esquiline, and let out on hire. Here too the undertakers (*Libitinarii*) had their quarters. Cp. Carm. III. 30, 6; Sat. II. 6, 19; Mart. X. 97; Liv. XL. 19, 3 *pestilentia ..tanta erat, ut Libitina ad funera vix sufficeret* (Madvig): XLI. 21, 6 *ne liberorum quidem funeribus Libitina sufficiebat.*

50—54. *There is a conventional style of laudation of our older poets now current, which secures them general approval.*

50. Ennius is called *fortis* mainly because of the brave spirit in which he sung of the battles of Rome. Cp. Ep. I. 19, 7. At the same time he served with distinction among the Messapian allies of Rome in the second Punic War. Prof. Sellar in his admirable study of Ennius says: 'This actual service in a great war left its impress on the work done by Ennius. Fragments both of his tragedies and his Annals prove how thoroughly he understood and appreciated the best qualities of the soldierly character. This fellowship in hardship and danger fitted him to become the national poet of a race of soldiers' (*Roman Poets*, p. 67). But to compare him with Homer is to put him to a test which he cannot be expected to stand: ib. p. 102.

51. leviter curare=*securus esse* Porph. Bentley, with his usual masterly insight, saw that Porph. had hit the mark by interpreting: 'Ennius is now sure of his harvest of fame, about which he had previously been anxious, and so cares little for the promises of his Pythagorean dreams'. Horace is here setting forth the high reputation which the older poets were enjoying in his own day, not criticising them from his own point of view, and censuring Ennius for carelessness, as some editors have wrongly supposed.—Bergk has shewn that Horace probably takes Varro as his type of the *critici*, several of the judgments here passed closely agreeing with those of Varro in various works.

52. quo cadant 'what becomes of'.

somnia: Cic. Acad. II. 16, 51 (*Ennius*) *cum somniavit, ita narravit 'visus Homerus adesse poeta'*. This was at the beginning of his Annals, as we learn from the scholiast on Pers. VI. 10 *cor iubet hoc Enni, postquam destertuit esse Maeonides Quintus pavone ex Pythagoreo*, rendered by Conington 'so says Ennius' brain, when he had been roused from dreaming himself Maeonides Quintus developed out of Pythagoras' peacock'. The scholiast explains this by saying that the soul of Ennius had passed through five stages, a peacock, Euphorbus (cp. Carm. I. 28, 10), Homer, Pythagoras, Ennius; and Porphyrion here says 'in principio Annalium suorum somnis se scripsit admonitum, quod secundum Pythagorae dogma anima Homeri in suum corpus venisset.' I cannot find any authority, except in this passage, for the statement that Homer's soul passed into Ennius: certainly Cicero (l. c.) says nothing about it, as Conington's note on Pers. Prol. 3 asserts; and in Lucret. I. 116—126 we have simply the statement that Ennius taught the doctrine of metempsychosis, and that Homer appeared to him 'pouring out briny tears', and revealed to him the nature of the universe, a vision which Mr Sellar thinks evidently suggested the dream in which Hector

appeared to Aeneas (p. 109). The line *memini me fieri pavum* (Ann. v. 15 Vahl.) refers apparently only to Ennius himself. Tertullian gives the order as Euphorbus, Pythagoras, Homer, a peacock by a bold anachronism. Mommsen's words 'The remarkable vision, with which the poem (of the Annals) opens, tells in good Pythagorean style how the soul now inhabiting Quintus Ennius had previously been domiciled in Homer and still earlier in a peacock', seem based on the language of Persius, which may only be a distorted expression of the satirist; cp. Conington's note. Conington here renders

'nor cares how he redeems
the gorgeous promise of his peacock dreams'.

53. **non**=*nonne*, as in Carm. III. 20, 1 *non vides*, and often elsewhere. Bentley first gave the true meaning to this passage, by making it interrogative, 'Did I say that Ennius is now sure of his place? Why even Naevius, so much more archaic a writer, is still always in our hands, and familiar to us, as if he were almost one of our own time'. Naevius served in the First Punic War, and therefore could not have been born later than about B.C. 260: he died about B.C. 200. (Cicero Brut. 15, 60 says in B.C. 204, but there is reason to believe that he lived at least three or four years longer: cp. Mommsen *Hist.* II. 437 note.) Ennius was born B.C. 239, and died B.C. 169, so that Cic. Tusc. I. 1, 3 makes a slip in speaking of him as older than Naevius, unless, as is probable, the words there used are due to an inaccurate marginal gloss. In any case the poetry of Naevius was decidedly more archaic than that of Ennius.

55—62. *Even when the early writers are set against each other, the question is only which has the more striking merits, not what are the faults of each; and the fashionable critics think they can be labelled by appropriate epithets in each case.*

55. **aufert** 'carries off' as his special distinction.

56. **Pacuvius** (B.C. 219—129), the sister's son of Ennius. The extant fragments of his tragedies (about 400 lines), admirably discussed by Prof. Sellar, and more in detail by Ribbeck (*Römische Tragödie*, pp. 216-339) do not enable us to determine precisely why the epithet of *doctus* is given to him, though they 'bear evidence to his moral strength and worth, and to the manly fervour, as well as the gentle humanity of his temperament'. It is probably because of his wide acquaintance with Greek literature: but we need not be concerned to maintain the justice of the epithet.

Accius (B.C. 170—about B.C. 90): oratorical fervour and passionate energy are conspicuous in his fragments (cp. Sellar, pp. 146-7). Quintilian says (X. 1, 97) *virium Attio plus tribuitur*,

Pacuvium videri doctiorem, qui esse docti adfectant, volunt. The form *Attius* seems to be the one found in the best MSS. of Quintilian (cp. Halm): on the other hand no MS. whatever has that form here, and on Cic. de Orat. III. 7, 27 Ellendt says 'a libris standum, qui, quod sciam, ubique fere *tt* ignorant'. Cp. Teuffel *Rom. Lit.* § 119, 1 'The equally well-attested forms Attius and Accius may be owing to a dialectical difference [?]. In the Imperial period, the form with *tt* gained the ascendancy, and the Greeks always wrote Ἄττιος'. It is singular that the evidence should be so divided, seeing how rare it is to find *ci* and *ti* confused in early authorities. Cp. Roby 1[4]. p. LII, Corssen *Aussprache* I. 50—67, II. 1003. Both in Horace and in Quintilian a few MSS. have *Actius.* Ribbeck in his *Fragmenta Tragicorum* (1871) adopted the form *Attius,* but in his *Röm. Trag.* (1875) he always has *Accius.*

Both Pacuvius and Accius attained to a great age, but probably **senis** means only 'writer of the olden time' here, as in Sat. II. 1, 34, of Lucilius.

57. Afrani toga: 'bene *toga:* togatas enim scripsit Afranius' Porph. The *togatae* were comedies, depicting Roman or Italian characters and manners, as opposed to the *palliatae,* comedies like those of Plautus and Terence derived from Greek sources, and retaining Greek *dramatis personae.* L. Afranius was the chief writer of togatae, born about B.C. 150: his plays were of a very immoral character (cp. Quintil. X. 1, 100; Auson. Epigr. LXXI. 4), but in style they attained to something of the elegance of Terence. He freely borrowed from Menander, as well as from other writers (cp. Macrob. Sat. VI. 1, 4 *Afranius togatarum scriptor...non inverecunde respondens arguentibus quod plura sumpsisset a Menandro 'Fateor', inquit 'sumpsi non ab illo modo sed ut quisque habuit conveniret quod mihi, quod me non posse melius facere credidi, etiam a Latino'*) and the critics pronounced that his style was worthy of his model.

58. ad exemplar Epicharmi: Orelli justly says that it is very difficult to determine the exact meaning of this line, because we have not the means of comparing Plautus with Epicharmus, of whose comedies we have few considerable fragments preserved. He thinks that *properare=ad eventum festinare* (A. P. 148), and that it refers to the rapid progress of the action of the plays. So too Teuffel § 97, 2. Schütz understands it of rapidity of production. Mahaffy says that 'it seems only to apply to the easy flow of the dialogue' (*Greek Lit.* I, p. 403); but Sellar is more nearly right in extending it to 'the extreme vivacity and rapidity of gesture, dialogue, declamation and recitative, by which his scenes were characterised' (*Roman Poets,* p. 194). It must always be remembered, though many critics seem to forget this, that Horace is not giving his own opinions, but those which were commonly cur-

rent. Epicharmus was born in Cos about B.C. 540, but was brought as an infant to Megara in Sicily, and enjoyed much reputation at the court of Hiero in Syracuse about B.C. 490. He is said to have reached a great age.

59. Caecilius Statius, an Insubrian Gaul by birth, flourished at Rome at the same time as Ennius, dying one year after him in B.C. 168. He was placed at the head of all the Roman comic poets by Volcatius Sedigitus (a critic quoted by A. Gellius XV. 24) *Caecilio palmam statuo dandam comico, Plautus secundus facile exsuperat ceteros*, etc. while Terence only comes sixth in his list. He is often quoted by Cicero, who however censures his bad style (Brut. 74, 258, ad Att. VII. 3, 10), and was distinguished especially for skill in the management of his plots. Nonius (p. 374) quotes Varro as saying *In argumentis Caecilius poscit palmam, in ethesi Terentius, in sermonibus Plautus.* His *gravitas* seems to have been shown in his sententious maxims (Sellar, p. 202). The 'art' of Terence appears in the careful finish of his style. Cp. Caesar's lines quoted by Sueton. Vit. Terent., where he calls him *dimidiate Menander* and *puri sermonis amator.*

60. arto 'thronged', too narrow for the numbers: cp. *spissis...theatris* in Ep. I. 19, 41. There however the *theatra* are the private recitation-halls: here they are the public theatres, of which there were three permanent ones in Rome at this time, one built by Cn. Pompeius in B.C. 55 near the Circus Flaminius, one built by Augustus in honour of Marcellus (not finished however until B.C. 11), important remains of which are still standing near the Tarpeian Hill, and a third built by Cornelius Balbus between the other two. It had previously been the custom to perform plays in temporary wooden theatres, often of great magnificence.

61. potens, so mighty, and yet so wanting in critical discernment. The strange lack of great dramatists or poets of any kind in the half century preceding Lucretius and Catullus seems due partly to the 'separation in taste and sympathy between the higher classes and the mass of the people' (Sellar, p. 265) which made literature the amusement of a narrow circle, and partly to the disturbed political conditions of the time. The continued popularity of the old tragedians may be ascribed to the extent to which they represented some of the best features in the old Roman character (ib. p. 151).

62. Livi: Livius Andronicus, who in B.C. 240 first brought upon the stage a Latin translation of a Greek tragedy.

63—75. *A sound critic must admit that these early writers have many defects of archaism, harshness, and carelessness. A few*

happy phrases or lines must not lead us to regard a whole poem as perfect.

63. **est ubi** = ἔστιν ὅτε, 'at times': hence **peccat**, not *peccet*, which has very slight authority, is the right mood. Cp. Ep. II. 2, 182, Sat. I. 4, 24, Roby § 1687.

66. **pleraque** 'much', not 'the greater part'; the meaning here found is more common in later Latin than in Cicero, if indeed it is found at all in his writings.

67. **credit**: Bentley fights hard for *cedit*, but admits that *credit* may stand, and it is supported by all MSS. of any importance.

68. **mecum facit** 'supports my view', Ep. II. 2, 23. **Iove aequo** 'with the favour of Heaven', i.e. in his sound senses. Cp. Sat. II. 7, 14 *iniquis Vertumnis*, II. 3, 8 *dis iratis*. *Iniquus* meaning 'unfavourable', its opposite *aequus* comes to mean not merely 'impartial' but 'favourable': Verg. Aen. VI. 129 *pauci quos aequus amavit Iuppiter;* and so often.

69. **delendave**: **-ve** has much more authority here than *-que*, and was rightly restored by Bentley. Schütz objects that *delenda esse reor* does not differ sufficiently in meaning from *insector* to make a disjunctive particle legitimate; but the difference, though not great, is enough to admit of the disjunctive.

Livi: Bentley argued warmly against this reading, contending that the works of Livius Andronicus were too antiquated and rough for any one to maintain that they were *exactis minimum distantia:* hence he eagerly accepted the reading of some MSS., including most of Keller's first class, *Laevi*. But Laevius, the writer of ἐρωτοπαίγνια, was not at all fit to be placed in the hands of school-boys: besides, he was probably a contemporary of Cicero, and 'attracted a certain interest only by his complicated measures and affected phraseology' (Mommsen, *Hist.* IV. 589: cp. Teuffel, *Rom. Lit.* § 138, 5). The poems of Livius not unnaturally took their place in a study of the development of Roman literature.

70. **plagosum**: the word does not appear to be used elsewhere in this active sense: it is found in Appuleius in the sense of 'much-beaten'. We may compare the use of *nodosus*, applied to a usurer in Sat. II. 3, 69, to gout in Ep. I. 1, 31, Ov. Pont. I. 3, 23; but to a vine-stick in Juv. VIII. 247. The primary force of *-osus* 'abounding in' lends itself to either usage.

71. **Orbilium**, one of the masters at Rome, to whose lessons Horace was taken by his father (Sat. I. 6, 76—82). According to Suetonius (de Gramm. 9) he was a native of Beneventum

who, after serving for a time in the army, taught for several years in his native town, and came to Rome when fifty years of age in the consulship of Cicero (B.C. 63), where he taught *maiore fama quam emolumento*. He died in poverty when nearly a hundred years of age. Suet. quotes for his severity towards his pupils this passage, and a line written by Domitius Marsus (a younger contemporary of Horace, who wrote epigrams), *si quos Orbilius ferula scuticaque cecidit*. If Suetonius's dates are to be trusted, he had only very recently died, when this epistle was written. **dictare**, Roby § 1372, S. G. § 543 (4). It is hardly a legitimate inference from this phrase that 'boys wrote, in part at least, their own schoolbooks, as books were rare and costly' (see Church's *Roman Life*, p. 7), and that Orbilius 'was accustomed to enforce good writing and spelling with many blows'. Ep. I. 18, 13 and I, 55 show that the purpose of the dictation was that pupils might learn by heart. Cf. Cic. Nat. D. I. 26, 72, de Fin. IV. 4, 10, Mayor on Juv. V. 122. Nor were books very costly at Rome: at least in Martial's time the cost of MS. books was even less than that of well-printed books now. Cp. Ep. XIII. 3 where he says that his whole book of Xenia will leave a profit to the publishers if sold for two sesterces. Doubtless copies of Livius were somewhat scarce.

72. exactis 'perfectly finished', properly of works of art. Cp. Ov. Met. I. 405 *forma hominis...sed uti de marmore coepto, non exacta satis*.

74. concinnior 'better-turned': the word is properly used of regular beauty. Ep. I. 11, 2.

75. ducit 'carries off': but it is not quite clear what the metaphor is. Bentley thinks it might perhaps be derived from the notion of a handsome slave, set at the head of a row offered for sale: but he recognizes the objections to this view, and inclines rather to take it as 'deceives', with *poema* as the nominative: it is then necessary to read *venit* for *vendit* with one MS. Schütz understands *Livius* as the subject, and takes *ducit* (with some other editors) as 'produces as a specimen': this is very doubtful. It is best to carry on *versus* as the subject, and to take *ducit=trahit*, 'brings after it', either, as Orelli says, into quarters to which it would not otherwise make its way, or into the favour of the purchaser. The phrase *ducere familiam* (Cic. de Fin. IV. 16, 48, ad Fam. VII. 5 *accedit quod familiam ducit in iure civili*) 'to be the first,' might lead us to regard the phrase here as an extension of that usage.

76—89. *It makes me indignant to hear the new blamed, because it is new, the old honoured, solely because it is old. Honest criticism of the earlier writers is forbidden owing to self-sufficience, false pride, and ill-will towards contemporaries.*

76. quicquam: used where we might have expected *aliquid*, because **indignor**=*ferre non possum*, and is thus virtually negative. Cp. Madvig Gr. § 494 b, and note on Cic. Cat. I. 2, 6 *quamdiu quisquam erit...vives*.

reprehendi: Keller asserts that the contracted form *reprendi*, preferred here and in vv. 81, 222 by some editors, does not occur before the middle of the tenth century A.D., and that the archetype certainly had *reprehendi*. Mr Munro thinks that Horace 'perhaps always wrote *reprendere* for *reprehendere* of MSS. as twice he certainly did'. But it is to be noticed that in both these cases (Sat. II. 10, 55, Ep. I. 18, 39) *rĕprend-* has the short vowel.

crasse 'coarsely': *crassa Minerva* in Sat. II. 2, 3 'homespun mother wit'. The opposite is *tenui filo* in v. 225. Cic. ad Fam. IX. 12, 2 calls his speech for Deiotarus *munusculum lĕvidense crasso filo*.

77. putetur: Roby § 1744, S. G. § 740, 2. The subjunctive does not depend here upon the *non quod*, as contrasted with the *sed quia*, but it is equally to be understood after the latter, as expressing the *alleged* reason for the censure.

79. crocum: flowers were strewn upon the stage, and saffron juice sprinkled upon it, for the sake of the fragrance: cp. Lucr. II. 416 *et cum scaena croco Cilici perfusa recens est*: Ov. Art. Am. I. 104 *nec fuerant liquido pulpita rubra croco*: Plin. N. H. XXI. 6, 33 *vino mire congruit* [*crocum*], *praecipue dulci, tritum ad theatra replenda*: Sall. Hist. II. 29 *croco sparsa humus*. The masculine form is generally used for the plant, the neuter for the expressed juice; hence the word here is probably neuter: but the distinction is not always observed.

Attae. T. Quinctius Atta was a writer of *comoediae togatae*, who died according to Jerome on Euseb. Chron. in B.C. 78. His fragments (cp. Ribbeck *Com. Lat.* pp. 160—164) abound in archaisms, but are vigorous in style. Cp. Teuffel *Rom. Lit.* § 120. The cognomen is explained by Fest. s. v. p. 12 (Müller) as proper to those *qui propter vitium crurum aut pedum plantis insistunt et attingunt magis terram quam ambulant*, not differing therefore much from *Plautus*. Some have not unnaturally supposed that there is a reference to this in *perambulat*; but undoubtedly the primary meaning of this is explained aright by Acron: *in scenam recepta est, ubi flores sparguntur*. Porphyrion has a curious notion that it refers to the undue length at which in a play called *Matertera* he went through the names of the various kinds of flowers.

81. patres 'elders' as in v. 109.

82. Aesopus especially distinguished for tragedy; **Roscius** equally eminent in both; hence **gravis** = 'impressive', **doctus** 'skilful'. Cic. often speaks of both: cp. de Orat. I. 28, 129, 30; 61, 258; pro Sest. 57, 121; 58, 123, etc. The former of these great actors was living in B.C. 55, the latter died in B.C. 62. The best account of them is given by Ribbeck, *Röm. Tragödie*, pp. 671—675.

85. imberbi is probably the reading of the vet. Bland.: at least Cruq. has that form here and on A. P. 161 quotes the vet. Bland. as his authority for *imberbus*. Hence most good editors have adopted it here, though Keller prefers *imberbes*, found in all his MSS. Lucil. 977 (Lachm.) has *imberbi androgyni*. Cp. Neue, *Formenl.* II. 88.

perdenda: the only instance in classical Latin of a *finite* passive form from *perdo* is in Sat. II. 6, 59, but *perditus* of course is common: and *perdundus* occurs in Sall. Cat. XLVI. 2.

86. iam = *iam vero*, 'in fact'. **Saliare carmen**: the chants (*axamenta*) of the Salii or priests of Mars, instituted according to Livy I. 20 by Numa, had become almost unintelligible even to the priests themselves by the time of Quintilian (I. 6, 40 *Saliorum carmina vix sacerdotibus suis satis intellecta*): for the extant fragments cp. Wordsworth's *Fragments and Specimens*, pp. 564-6.

89. lividus 'in his envy': Sat. I. 4, 93 *lividus et mordax videor tibi?*

90—102. *The Greeks, who furnish our models, never showed this jealousy of what was new: they gladly welcomed all fresh forms of art, turning readily from one to another.*

90. quodsi: Roby § 2209 (*e*), S. G. § 871, 5.

92. tereret 'thumb': **viritim** 'each for himself'. **publicus usus**, i.q. populus, dum utitur. 'To be read and thumbed by the public, as they severally enjoy it'.

93. positis bellis. At what date was this? It is evident that Horace is thinking mainly of Athens, and doubtless the great outburst of Athenian art and literature followed upon the close of the Persian Wars: cp. Aristot. Pol. V. 6, p. 1341 'As the increase of wealth afforded them better opportunities of leisure and quickened the moral aspirations of their souls, the result was, even before the Persian wars, and still more after them in the full flush of their achievements, that they essayed every kind of education, drawing no line anywhere, but making experiments in all directions. Thus the use of the flute among other things was introduced into the educational curriculum' (translated by Welldon, p. 242). Hence almost all editors have

assumed that this is the period meant. But Schütz objects (1) that art and literature had reached a high development before this date: (2) that after this time, when all arts were at their height, the Greeks carried on fierce wars with each other. He therefore lays stress on *nugari* and *vitium* as indicating blame, not sufficiently accounted for by the manner in which the more rigid Romans were accustomed to regard the accomplishments in which the Greeks excelled: and considers that 'wars were laid aside' only after Greece lost her independence, and a 'kindly fortune' preserved her from civil strife by the peace which Rome imposed upon her subjects. In support of this view it may be urged that Horace is not speaking of the excellence attained by Greece in various departments of art, but only of the capriciousness with which, like a spoilt child, she turned from one amusement to another. But it is hard to believe that *fortuna aequa* can refer to the time of the national degradation of Greece, and not to the prosperity and vigorous national life which followed the repulse of the barbarians. And though Horace is not giving unqualified praise to the pursuits of the Greeks, he is certainly commending the versatility which led them to try so many forms of mental activity, and so caused the production of the new works, which in his day had become the ancient models. Schütz's view seems to me inconsistent with vv. 90—92, and therefore to be rejected in favour of the current explanation. **nugari** is commonly used of amusements, which are not directed by any serious purpose: cp. Sat. II. 1, 73; I. 9, 2; Ep. I. 18, 60; II. 2, 141.

94. **vitium**, which has been attacked by some critics, need not denote more than an undue devotion to pleasure, inconsistent with the rigour of earlier manners. **labier** 'drift'. Horace uses this archaic form of the infinitive also in Sat. I. 2, 35, 78, 104; II. 3, 24; 8, 67: Ep. II. 2, 148, 151. Vergil has the form six times: it is common in Catullus and Lucretius, but occurs only occasionally in later poets. There is one instance in the Odes, Carm. IV. 11, 8. For the origin of the inflexion cp. Corssen II^2. 478—9. Roby § 615.

95. **athletarum**, mainly in the great national games. Cp. Carm. IV. 2, 18; 3, 4, for the combination *pugil...equus*.

96. **marmoris aut eboris**: the chief sculptors in marble or ivory (and gold) flourished at Athens: but the leading school of workers in bronze was at Sicyon and Argos. The earliest bronze statues are referred to Samos, the earliest marble ones to Chios: cp. Overbeck *Griech. Plast.* pp. 69—72.

97. **suspendit** 'let eyes and thoughts dwell in rapt attention': cp. Sat. II. 7, 95—97.

98. **tibicinibus** may refer to dithyrambs (Müller, *Greek Lit.* II. p. 77 ff.) in which the music took a prominent place, and

cannot denote, as Lambinus supposed, comedies, for *tibicines* were employed as much for tragedies as for comedies. Cp. Ribbeck *Röm. Trag.* p. 24. But perhaps it is, as Orelli thinks, only an instance of the species put for the genus, and so denotes music generally.

100. reliquit: the subject is *Graecia*, not, as some have supposed, *puella*.

101. This line is evidently out of place, as it stands, and breaks the connexion of the thought: which is 'When wars were over, Greece took to various forms of art, turning readily from one to another. This was the result of peace and prosperity there. At Rome tastes in old days were different'. Hence Lachmann suggested that it should be placed after v. 107 (cp. Lucret. p. 37): then *mutabile* is taken up very naturally by *mutavit* in v. 108, as *vidit* by *videre* in Carm. IV. 4, 16, 17; and we have a suitable introduction to the sketch of the changed tastes at Rome.

102. paces 'times of peace' as in Ep. I. 3, 8: cp. Lucret. V. 1230 *ventorum paces*.

103—117. *At Rome men were in old days taken up wholly with practical duties: but now everyone takes to writing, even I myself, who had renounced it; and though for all other pursuits some knowledge is required, no one thinks himself too ignorant to make verses.*

103. diu. Horace paints more in detail the early customs of Rome, whereas he had been content to hint at the warlike activity of the Greeks in the phrase *positis bellis*.

sollemne = 'consuetudine usitatum', Comm. Cruq. **reclusa** does not acquire the meaning of our 'recluse' until late Latin.

104. mane: cp. Sat. I. 1, 10 *sub galli cantum consultor ubi ostia pulsat*: Cic. pro Mur. 9, 22 *vigilas tu, Sulpici, de nocte ut tuis consultoribus respondeas.* Hence **promere** gives the reason for the **vigilare**: 'to be up betimes with open house, and to give legal advice to clients': **promere**, because legal rules and methods of procedure were long kept as the exclusive property of the patricians: cp. Cic. pro Mur. 11, 25, de Orat. I. 41, 186 (note).

105. cautos 'secured', the technical term in law, as Bentley showed by many examples, though he needlessly preferred the reading *scriptos*, which has very slight, or more probably no MS. authority. Cp. Dig. L. 13, 1 *si cui cautum est honorarium videamus an petere possit.* The reading **rectis** is better supported than *certis*, though both are technically used in this sense. **nomina** is used for 'debtors' also in Sat. I. 2, 16, much as we

might speak of a 'good name' on a bill. Cp. Cic. ad Fam. v. 6, 2 *ut bonum nomen existimer;* ad Att. v. 21 *nam aut bono nomine centesimis contentus erat; aut non bono quaternas centesimas sperabat:* in Verr. v. 7. 17 *clamare ille...pecuniam sibi esse in nominibus; numeratam* [cash] *in praesentia non habere.* Translate 'to lend out money secured by good names'.

106. maiores audire goes with **per quae**, etc. by a slight zeugma, as well as **minori dicere**: 'to learn from elders and to teach a junior the means by which', &c.

107. damnosa, cp. Ep. I. 18, 21 *damnosa Venus.* The reference is here only to the injury which self-indulgence may cause to one's fortune.

108. calet 'is fired': Orelli quotes Lucian's description of the people of Abdera (de conscr. hist. 1) as seized with a fever (πυρετῷ) for tragedy. Cp. Juv. VII. 52 *insanabile scribendi cacoethes.*

109. puerique: so Cruquius read, without however quoting his authority. Horace never makes the first syllable in *patres* long except in *arsis:* Vergil always has *patres* preceded by *-que*, except in Aen. VII. 176 *perpetuis soliti patres considere mensis*, where the long vowel occurs in *thesis.* Keller objects that there is a certain climax in *patres* here; but the expression is more forcible if we take it as 'young and old alike'.

110. fronde comas vincti. The garlands, which were almost a necessary item for the *comissatio* after dinner, were made of flowers, especially violets and roses, and leaves, such as ivy, myrtle, and parsley, were only used when flowers could not be procured (cp. Carm. I. 4, 9; 36, 15; 38, 5; II. 7, 25; IV. 11, 3), or when simplicity was desired: but here the diners assume the poet's bays. Cp. Becker *Gallus*[3] III. 315—324.

dictant 'dictate', the verses being composed *ex tempore*, and the poet desiring that every word should be taken down by the guests. Cp. Sat. I. 4, 10.

111. nullos versus: cp. Ep. I. 1, 10. The reference is of course only to lyric verse.

112. Parthis mendacior: if there was any truth in the charge implied in this comparison, the Parthians must have degenerated much from the Persians: αἴσχιστον γὰρ αὐτοῖσι τὸ ψεύδεσθαι νενόμισται (Herod. I. 138): παιδεύουσι δὲ τοὺς παῖδας τρία μοῦνα, ἱππεύειν καὶ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀληθίζεσθαι (ib. 136). Porphyrion here says 'bene *Parthis*, qui perfidi sunt, et qui Romanos duces fraudibus saepe deceperunt', and Acron refers especially to their attacks upon Crassus. Certainly the death of Crassus himself

was due to a treacherous abuse of the forms of negotiation (Merivale II. 23). But charges of faithlessness have been always brought against a dreaded enemy with or without reason from the time of the *perfidia plus quam Punica* which Livy ascribes to Hannibal (XXI. 4, 9) to Napoleon's *perfide Albion*. Cp. *infidi Persae* in Carm. IV. 15, 23. This passage must have been written after B.C. 17 when Horace returned for a while to lyric poetry.

prius orto sole, not like the old Romans, to give advice to their clients, but to begin composing. This is not necessarily inconsistent with *ad quartam iaceo* of Sat. I. 6, 122, for there he is not represented as sleeping, but as reading and writing in his *lectulus*.

113. scrinia are cases of books, which he might wish to refer to. Sat. I. 1, 120.

114. habrotonum 'southernwood' or 'Pontic wormwood' (Munro on Lucr. IV. 125), is mentioned elsewhere as a useful medicine. Plin. XXI. 92, 160 *usus et foliis* [habrotoni], *sed maior semini ad excalfaciendum, ideo nervis utile, tussi, orthopnoeae, convulsis, ruptis, lumbis, urinae angustiis.*

115. quod medicorum est. Bentley not unnaturally found fault with the tautology involved in the mention of physicians, after *qui didicit dare:* and suggested *melicorum—melici.* But the passages which he quotes do not suffice to show that *melicus* can be used as equivalent to *musicus:* in Lucret. V. 334 *organici melicos peperere sonores* the word means merely 'tuneful', and in Plin. VII. 24, 89 *a Simonide melico* it means 'a lyric poet', not a musician. It would be better to allow the repetition to stand, than to remove it by such an uncertain conjecture. But, as Prof. Palmer has pointed out to me, *medici* is often used in the sense of 'surgeons' rather than 'physicians', e.g. Plaut. Men. 885.

117. indocti doctique 'unskilled and skilled alike': *doctus* like σοφός is a common epithet of a poet: cp. Carm. I. 1, 29 with Wickham's note.

118—138. *Yet the love of poetry has its practical advantages: poets escape many vices; they help to train the young to virtue, and aid in the worship of the gods.*

119. sic collige: Sat. II. 1, 51 *sic collige mecum.* **avarus**: so Ovid A. A. III. 541 *nec nos ambitio nec amor nos tangit habendi.* Pope's imitation is

'And rarely Av'rice taints the tuneful mind'.

120. non temere 'not lightly', Sat. II. 2, 116, Epist. II. 2, 13, A. P. 160.

hoc studet: this construction of *studeo* and similar verbs is only found with neuter pronouns or adjectives like *omnia.* Roby § 1094. For Plaut. Mil. 1437 cp. Tyrrell's note.

122. socio 'partner', Carm. III. 24, 60. Cp. Cic. pro Rosc. Am. 40 *in rebus minoribus fallere socium turpissimum est.* A provision of the XII Tables made this a capital offence in the case of a client: *patronus si clienti fraudem fecerit, sacer esto.* Condemnation in an action *pro socio* involved *infamia* (Gaius IV. 182). **incogitat** is a ἅπ. λεγ. Horace is fond of new compounds of *in:* cp. Epod. 3, 18; 5, 31, 34; 11, 15, &c.

123. pupillo: Ep. I. 1, 22.

siliquis 'pulse': the word is used by Verg. (Georg. I. 74) for the pod of *legumen:* Juvenal XI. 58 and Pers. III. 55 have it in the same general sense as here.

secundo, not made of *siligo* (Juv. V. 70, with Mayor's note), but *secundarius panis*, such as Augustus preferred (Suet. Aug. 76).

124. militiae: genitive denoting that in point of which the adjective is used: Roby § 1320, S. G. § 526. Cp. Sat. I. 10, 21 *seri studiorum* etc. Others less correctly take it as the locative, or (with Orelli) as the dative. In Tac. Ann. III. 48 (quoted by Orelli) *impiger militiae et acribus ministeriis* the last three words go not with *impiger*, but with a following *adeptus.* Cp. Tac. Hist. I. 87 *urbanae militiae impiger:* so Hist. II. 5 *acer militiae;* III. 43 *strenuus militiae.* Draeger *Syntax des Tac.* § 71 a.

125. si das: i.e. if you allow that the state can be served by the more retiring virtues, which the poet teaches.

126. balbum: of old age in Ep. I. 20, 18.

127. obscenis: a better established spelling than *obscaenis* (*obscoenis* being altogether wrong: but cp. Corssen I.[2] 328): the first element is clearly *obs-* as in *obs-olesco, os-tendo* etc. Corssen refers the second part to *coenum* 'mud' (cp. *in-quin-are*) and so apparently Curtius I. 343: others consider the root to be the same as in *scaevus*, referring to Festus p. 201 *cum apud antiquos omnes fere obscaena dicta sint, quae mali ominis habebantur.*

iam nunc: before the time comes when he will have to apply such lessons, i.e. 'in earliest youth'. Cp. Propert. IV. (V.) 11, 93 *discite venturam iam nunc sentire senectam;* A. P. 43 *ut iam nunc dicat iam nunc* (= at once) *debentia dici.*

130. orientia tempora: explained by Porphyrion 'proponens exempla multa efficit, ut orientia tempora, hoc est venientia, cuius modi futura sint, aestimemus et instruamus ex ante gestis'. But this is hardly a legitimate meaning of *instruere tempora.*

Better 'the successive generations' with Orelli, or simply 'the rising g.', as in Vell. II. 99, 1 *orientium iuvenum ingenia*. Verg. Aen. VII. 51 *primaque oriens erepta iuventa est.*

131. aegrum 'sick at heart' as often in Cicero.

132. cum pueris puella: unquestionably a reference to the choirs of youths and maidens for whom Horace had written the Carmen Saeculare. In Carm I. 21 we have a similar, but briefer hymn. Livy XXVII. 37 describes how a chorus of twenty-seven maidens sang hymns composed for them by Livius Andronicus, as they went in procession through the city, in honour of Juno Regina.

134. praesentia numina 'the favour of the gods'. For *praesens* 'propitious' cp. Ep. I. 1, 69: Cic. in Cat. II. 9, 19 (note).

135. caelestis aquas: Carm. Saec. 31, 32 *nutriant fetus et aquae salubres et Iovis aurae.* The same expression is used for rain in Carm. III. 10, 20.

docta 'taught' by the poet: as in Carm. Saec. 75. **blandus**: Carm. IV. 1, 8 *blandae iuvenum preces;* III. 23, 18 *non sumptuosa blandior hostia;* I. 24, 13 *Threicio blandius Orpheo.* The notion is that of winning favour by entreaty.

138. manes 'the gods of the lower world'; not the shades of the departed: cp. Verg. Aen. XII. 646 *vos o mihi manes este boni, quoniam superis aversa voluntas:* similarly in Georg. IV. 505 (of Orpheus) *quo fletu manes, qua numina voce moveret?* The word meaning originally 'the good ones' (Preller *Röm. Myth.* pp. 73, 455, Curt. *Gr. Etym.* I. 408), it is applied primarily to the spirits of ancestors, worshipped as still powerful for good over the fortunes of their descendants, and then to all the deities of the lower world, among whom these came to be reckoned.

139—160. *Poetry had its rise with us in the rustic merry-makings of harvest, and the jests bandied to and fro, at first innocent, but afterwards growing scurrilous. Then this rough style of verse was checked by law; but it was only acquaintance with the literature of Greece which banished the earlier coarseness.*

139. fortes 'stout fellows' = ad laborem validi ac seduli: Schol. So Sat. II. 2, 115 *fortem colonum:* Verg. Georg. II. 472 *patiens operum exiguoque adsueta iuventus* of the inhabitants of the country.

140. condita post frumenta: so Arist. Nic. Eth. VIII. 9, 5 finds the source of the earliest festivals in harvest-homes, when men met together *τιμὰς ἀπονέμοντες τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ αὑτοῖς ἀναπαύσεις πορίζοντες μεθ' ἡδονῆς.*

141. ferentem: the tense denotes what was usual, not the state at the particular time: 'which was wont to bear toil in the hope of respite'.

142. pueris et coniuge, in apposition to **sociis operum**; the wife and children are the partners of his toils, slavery being regarded as unknown in those good old days. Bentley rightly rejected the *et*, which earlier editors had before *pueris*: cp. Sat. II. 2, 115, and 128.

143. Tellurem: Varro R. R. I. 1, 4 invokes the gods who are *agricolarum duces: primum...Iovem et Tellurem: secundo Solem et Lunam:...tertio Cererem et Liberum:...quarto Robigum ac Floram:...item Minervam et Venerem:...nec non etiam Lympham et Bonum Eventum.* Roughly carved altars to Silvanus are not uncommon in museums: several such have been found in England, one of which records the slaying of a great wild boar which had defied earlier hunters.

porco: Cato R. R. 134 says *priusquam messim facies, porcam praecidaneam hoc modo fieri oportet. Cereri [porca praecidanea] porco femina*, &c. (The repeated words are bracketed by Keil after Pontedera.) It is clear therefore that *porcus* may be epicene, and it should be taken so here, as Tellus was joined with Ceres in the sacrifice: cp. Varro ap. Non. M. p. 163 *heredi porca praecidanea suscipienda Telluri et Cereri*: Serv. on Verg. G. I. 21. But there is no need with Lambinus, and L. Müller to read *porca*. Horace has the masculine form in Carm. III. 17, 15; Sat. II. 3, 165; and Ep. I. 16, 58; the feminine in Carm. III. 23, 4.

lacte: milk is offered to Priapus in Verg. Ecl. VII. 33. **piabant** = *pie colebant*, or more exactly *pium* (i.e. *propitium*) *faciebant*.

144. Genium: Ep. I. 7, 94 (note): A. P. 209. **memorem**; the genius, remembering how brief is the life of the man, with whom his own is bound up, desires to be merry as long as he can.

145. Fescennina licentia. Livy (VII. 2) in describing the origin of dramatic representations at Rome says *Vernaculis artificibus, quia ister Tusco verbo ludio vocabatur, nomen histrionibus inditum: qui non, sicut ante, Fescennino versu similem incompositum temere ac rudem alternis iaciebant, sed impletas modis saturas descripto iam ad tibicinem cantu motuque congruenti peragebant.* The original Fescennine verses therefore consisted of a rude and extempore exchange of repartees. Paul. Diac. (p. 85 Müll.) says: *Fescennini versus, qui canebantur in nuptiis, ex urbe Fescennina dicuntur allati, sive ideo dicti, quia fascinum putabantur arcere.* There was an Etruscan town Fescennia or Fescennium on the Tiber, near Falerii (Plin. III. 5, 52, Verg. Aen. VII. 695), and the unquestioned connexion of the Atellan plays with Atella in

Campania seems to lend some support to this local origin of the term. But on the whole the second explanation is to be preferred, though not quite in the form given (from Festus) by Paulus: *fascinum* denotes primarily the evil eye, but as this was supposed to be averted by the use of an obscene symbol, *fascinum* came to be a synonym for the symbol itself. As the effects of the evil eye were especially to be dreaded in marriage the chanting of obscene verses was considered an essential part of the nuptial ceremony, and it was almost solely in this connexion that the Fescennine verses survived in the later days of the Republic. Cp. Catull. LXI. 120 *ne diu taceat procax Fescennina iocatio* (so Munro: *Fascennina locutio* Ellis): Sen. Med. 113 *festa dicax fundat convicia Fescenninus*: and see Munro's *Criticisms and Elucidations of Catullus*, pp. 76—78. The abusive songs, however, by which soldiers tried to avert the frowns of Fortune from a general during his triumph, were of the same nature, and the term was occasionally used of scurrilous verses of any kind: cp. Macrob. II. 4, 21 *temporibus triumviralibus Pollio cum Fescenninos in eum Augustus scripsisset, ait* at ego taceo, non est enim facile in eum scribere qui potest praescribere, ib. III. 14, 9 *Cato senatorem non ignobilem spatiatorem et* Fescenninum *vocat*. Cp. Nettleship in *Journ. Phil.* XI. 190.

inventa. Bentley, on the ground of the assumed Etruscan origin of these verses, read *invecta*, objecting at the same time to the phrase *invenire licentiam*. But the foreign origin is exceedingly doubtful: it is impossible (with Teuffel, *Rom. Lit.* § 5) to combine the two derivations of the term *Fescenninus*, and the form which the word takes is due probably only to a popular etymology, like that which has given us *Jerusalem* artichoke for *girasole* (Max Müller *Lectures* II. 368), while, as Schütz justly says, it is difficult to see what other word Horace could have used for *invenire*. Besides, the custom of rustic merry-making, such as is described by Verg. Georg. II. 385—392, would more naturally give rise at home to this 'interchange of sportive and licentious abuse, than lead to its importation from abroad. We have specimens of this rustic abuse in Theocrit. Id. IV. V. VIII. X., Verg. Ecl. III.

147. accepta 'handed down', from one year to another, as the time of harvest came round. This is perhaps better than Orelli's 'welcome', which would however be a perfectly legitimate sense.

148. amabiliter 'in friendly fashion'. **iam saevus** 'now growing savage'.

149. coepit verti: it is not necessary (with Schütz) to defend this construction, by pointing to the middle force of *verti*. Although in classical prose *coeptus sum* is as a rule used with a

passive infinitive, Tacitus regularly uses *coepi:* we find in Lucret. II. 614 *coepisse creari:* Ov. Met. III. 106 *coepere moveri: creari* =*nasci* (cp. Munro), and *moveri*=*se movere:* but cp. Ep. I. 15, 27, A. P. 21.

150. impune minax 'assailing with impunity', because no law as yet checked excess. There can be no reference here, as Schütz thinks, to the Fescennine verses sung at marriages, for these were never discouraged, even in the most refined times. **cruento** 'that drew blood'.

152. super. This use of *super* for *de* is not found in good prose between Cato *super tali re*, and Livy, except in Cicero's letters (e.g. ad Att. X. 8, 10 *sed hac super re nimis*), where he often adopts the more conversational style of the comedians. From Plautus five instances are quoted. Cp. Dräger, *Hist. Synt.* § 300.

lex: the first law enacted as to *mala carmina* was that passed by the decemvirs in the Twelve Tables: cp. Cic. de Rep. IV. 10, 12 *nostrae XII tabulae cum perpaucas res capite sanxissent, in his hanc quoque sanciendam putaverunt, si quis occentavisset sive carmen condidisset, quod infamiam faceret flagitiumve alteri.* There was in the time of Horace a further *lex Cornelia*, passed by Sulla in B.C. 81, *de iniuriis*, which included libellous publications. As the punishment was *capite*, it seems that *fustis* refers to the old punishment of the *fustuarium* or cudgelling to death.

153. lata. The phrase *ferre legem* meant properly only to 'bring forward' a law, not to carry it, which is *perferre:* Cic. Cornel. Fragm. 13 (Baiter) *est utique ius vetandi, cum lex feratur, quamdiu non perfertur*, quoted by the dictionaries as establishing this difference, has no authority, because the reading given is only due to conjecture (cp. Ascon. p. 70 Orell.): but cp. ib. 14 *nec gravius incipere ferre, quam perferre:* Liv. II. 56, 9 *aut hic...moriar, aut perferam legem:* XXXIII. 46, 6 *legem extemplo promulgavit pertulitque:* XXXVI. 1, 4 *patres rogationem ad populum ferri iusserunt...si ea perlata rogatio esset, tum...rem integram ad senatum referrent. P. Cornelius eam rogationem pertulit.* But when there was no need to distinguish sharply between the proposal of a law and the passing of it, *ferre* was occasionally used for the latter; cp. Cic. Corn. Frag. 11 (the senate declares) *quae lex lata esse dicatur, ea non videri populum teneri:* ib. 9 *Cottae legem...anno post quam lata est a fratre eius* (*abrogatam*): Cic. pro Sest. 25, 55 *legum multitudinem cum earum, quae latae sunt, tum vero, quae promulgatae fuerunt;* ad Att. I. 14, 5 *Senatus...decernebat ut ante quam rogatio lata esset, ne quid ageretur:* and often. In such cases it is perhaps best to translate 'put to the vote'. In the jurists *ferre* seems to

mean simply 'to enact', so *latae sanctiones*, etc. The dictionaries do not treat this usage satisfactorily, and fail to recognise its extension. Here *lata* is connected properly with *lex*, and by zeugma with *poena:* we may translate 'enacted'.

154. describi: cp. Sat. I. 4, 3 *si quis erat dignus describi, quod malus ac fur, quod moechus foret.* So often in Cicero for depicting the bad features in a character: cp. Reid's note on *pro Sulla* 29, 82.

vertere modum 'changed their tone'. Ritter assumes that there is here a definite reference to the substitution after the decemviral legislation of more innocent jesting, such as the Atellane plays and the *exodia*, for the earlier political lampoons. But there is no reason to believe that Horace is speaking with historical accuracy: the various stages, which Livy (VII. 2) sketches, were all long after the time of the decemvirs. The supervision of the authorities over public literary efforts seems to have been severe and continuous (cp. Mommsen *Hist.* I. 474), and the result not simply what Horace here describes (ib. II. 432 'the restrictions thus stringently and laboriously imposed by custom and police on Roman poetry stifled its very breath').

155. bene, opposed to *male*, of the moral tone, not the artistic quality of the writing.

156. Graecia capta, again a certain historical laxity. Greece cannot be said to have been subdued before the capture of Corinth in B.C. 146: but Greek literature was familiar to the educated at Rome, and the Greek dramas brought upon the stage in the form of translations and adaptations more than half a century earlier by Naevius, Ennius, and Plautus. It is very doubtful whether we can, with Ritter, force the phrase into harmony with history by understanding *Graecia* to denote the Greek cities in Italy and Sicily. Horace is doubtless looking rather at the general fact that Greece though conquered in arms proved victorious in letters than at the precise chronological sequence.

158. numerus Saturnius: its general character is well described by Macaulay in the Introduction to his *Lays of Ancient Rome.* The fullest recent discussion, with a collection of all extant Saturnian verses, is that by L. Havet *De Saturnio Latinorum Versu* (Paris, 1880, pp. 517). The metre appears to have been used very rarely after the time of Naevius. There are however some rude instances in sepulchral inscriptions, e.g. C. I. R. 34. Hermann, *Ep. Doctr. Metr.* p. 214 thinks that they were used by Varro in his Satires, but this is very doubtful. The typical instance is *Dabúnt malúm Metélli | Naévió poétae:*

but the numerous irregularities, which are admissible, fully justify Horace's epithet of *horridus*. Cp. Wordsworth's *Specimens* p. 396.

defluxit 'passed out of use'. **grave virus** 'the noisome venom': *virus* is any offensive fluid; the word is sometimes used metaphorically, as in Cic. Lael. 23, 87 *apud quem evomet virus acerbitatis suae:* sometimes it means simply 'stench', as in Lucret. II. 853, and perhaps in VI. 805.

159. munditiae 'elegance'. The verse and diction of Ennius, though rough in themselves, were polished as compared with the poetry of Livius and Naevius.

160. hodieque 'and even yet', in the Fescennine verses and the Atellan plays.

161—176. *The Romans were late in taking to the drama: for tragedy they have sufficient elevation and passion, but lack painstaking finish. Their comedy, which they think easier, though failure here is more inexcusable, is ruined by haste in production, due to greed.*

161. serus refers to *ferus victor*, i.e. the Romans. Ritter thinks that the sense requires that this should refer to some individual writer who came comparatively late in the line of Roman poets, and taking *Punica bella* to include the Third, finds this writer in Accius, who in his *Libri Didascalion* seems to have made a learned study of the Greek tragedians, as well as his Latin predecessors (Teuffel, *Rom. Lit.* § 119, 7). The lines 165—167 apply sufficiently well to Accius, but *temptavit rem* cannot surely be referred to any individual, except to the first who wrote tragedies in Latin. It is better therefore to regard the whole passage as denoting the general characteristics of the Roman dramatists: *serus* will then mean 'late in the history of the city'. [It is almost impossible to believe that vv. 166—7 were not written with reference to some person. Ennius, Pacuvius or Accius must have been taken as a specimen of the Roman tragic writers, just as Plautus is taken as a specimen of the comic writers. The words *serus enim* etc. apply very well to Ennius, who was probably not free from military service till after he was 35 years of age. The sense of *temptavit rem* is strictly limited by *digne:* the person (whoever he be) tried whether he might not *worthily* render what had before been rendered *unworthily*. I cannot think the text right as it stands. J. S. R.] Perhaps *chartis* disguises some corruption.

162. post Punica bella. The Third Punic War is not here included, as of less importance than the other two. Aulus Gellius XVII. 21, 45 quotes from Porcius Licinus (flor. B.C. 100) *Poenico bello secundo Musa pinnato gradu intulit se belli-*

cosam in Romuli gentem feram. This is somewhat more accurate than Horace, for 'even during the Second Punic War dramatic performances went on uninterruptedly, inasmuch as most of Naevius' works and one half of Plautus' literary exertions (though perhaps the less fertile half) fall into the time of this war' (Teuffel, *Rom. Lit.* I. p. 104). But perhaps it is better (with Schütz) to connect *quietus* closely with *post Punica bella*, 'enjoying peace after the close of the Punic wars'.

163. Thespis, the traditional founder of the Attic tragedy: cp. A. P. 276. Horace here neglects the chronological order, as in Sat. I. 4, 1 *Eupolis atque Cratinus Aristophanesque poetae*, *Eurīpĭdes* could not have been brought into an hexameter verse, at any rate in the nominative case.

164. temptavit rem 'made the attempt': *rem* is not, as some editors suppose, the object of *vertere*, attracted out of its place; the construction is like that in Liv. I. 57, 2 *temptata res est, si capi Ardea posset*, II. 35, 4 *temptata res est, si disicere rem possent.*

vertere 'translate', without an object expressed.

165. placuit sibi. Prof. Sellar admirably brings out in his *Roman Poets of the Republic*, chap. V., the reasons for the satisfaction found by the Romans in the drama: cp. especially p. 151; 'The popularity and power of Roman tragedy, during the century preceding the downfall of the Republic, are to be attributed chiefly to its didactic and oratorical force, to the Roman bearing of the persons represented, to the ethical and occasionally the political cast of the sentiments expressed by them, and to the plain and vigorous style in which they are enunciated'. We have fragments more or less important from 119 tragedies of this period, covering 285 pages in Ribbeck's edition.

166. spirat tragicum satis 'has sufficient tragic inspiration': cp. Carm. IV. 3, 24 *quod spiro et placeo, si placeo, tuum est:* for the construction cp. Roby § 1096-7, S. G. § 461. Stat. Silv. V. 3, 12 *altum spirans.*

feliciter audet refers apparently to the boldness of the language, especially in Pacuvius and Accius. Cp. A. P. 56 ff.

167. inscite: the vet. Bland. with some inferior MSS. has *in scriptis*, but with *inscitiae* as a correction. Bentley reads *inscitus*, on the strength of Horace's preference for an adjective rather than an adverb in such cases, pointing out at the same time that this accounts better for *in scriptis:* but these arguments do not warrant us in departing from the MSS. *inscitia*, 'want of skill', is not so strong a term as *inscientia*, 'ignorance': cp. Cic. de Orat. I. 22, 99 (note).

lituram: cp. A. P. 292—4. Caecina in Cic. Ep. Fam. VI. 7, 1 *mendum scripturae litura tollitur:* Sat. I. 10, 72 *saepe stilum vertas, iterum quae digna legi sint scripturus.* Cp. Pope's imitation

'Even copious Dryden wanted or forgot
The last and greatest art, the art to blot'.

We may remember also, in Ben Jonson's *Discoveries*, the criticism on Shakspere: "I remember the players often mentioned it as an honour to S. that in his writings, whatsoever he penned, he never blotted out a line. My answer hath been, 'Would he had blotted out a thousand'."

168. ex medio 'from daily life'.

arcessit: some of the best MSS. here have *accersit.* For a discussion of the relation of the two forms or words cp. *Journal of Philology*, VI. 278 ff. The vet. Bland. has *accessit;* but it is clearly better to take *res* as acc. plur. rather than nom. sing.: the perfect tense is out of place; and if *res* is the subject of *accessit*, it must also be taken as the subject of *creditur*, instead of *comoedia;* but the latter gives a much more satisfactory sense.

170. veniae 'indulgence': even uneducated spectators can see the absurdities of unnatural comedies.

171. quo pacto 'in what a fashion'. Is this intended for blame or praise? Editors are divided in their judgment. Acron leaves the ambiguity: Porph. has *quam indecenter, incongrue:* and so Conington renders

'What ill-sustained affairs
Are his close fathers and his love-sick heirs!'

Lambinus on the other hand argued that as Horace in A. P. 270 ff. blames his rough metre and coarse wit, there would be little left, if he did not allow him even the credit of vigorous character-painting: and Schütz points out that in criticizing Roman tragedy Horace first recognizes merit, then adds blame, and that the blame in the case of Plautus comes in clearly in v. 174. But Horace is here pointing out that comedy, though thought to be easy, is really difficult, and it is not unnatural that he should at once give proofs of his position. That the criticism is hardly warranted, and that Plautus really shows much power in his vivid sketches of character, is not reason enough for us to reject an interpretation which would show that Horace judged a popular favourite too severely. Hence the expression 'Look at the way in which Plautus sustains, &c.' may fairly be regarded as implying censure.

ephebi: properly a youth between 18 and 20 years of age. Cp. Ter. Andr. 51 *postquam excessit ex ephebis:* Eun. 824 *iste*

ephebus. The word is used by Cicero in its strict sense, de Nat. D. I. 28, 79 *Athenis cum essem, e gregibus epheborum* etc., but not apparently by Plautus. There is an interesting account of the Ephebi in Capes' *University Life at Athens:* cp. Hermann, *Gr. Alt.* I. § 176.

172. attenti: Ep. I. 7, 91.

173. Dossennus: *Atellanarum scriptor*, Comm. Cruq. This is probably only a guess, and an unlucky one, which has misled many editors. The evidence for the existence of such a writer is very slight and untrustworthy, and it seems quite clear that Horace is speaking throughout of Plautus. *Dossennus* was a standing character in the Atellan plays. Varro de Ling. Lat. VII. 95 says: *dictum mandier a mandendo, unde manducari, a quo in Atellanis* ad obsenum *vocant Manducum*, where Müller corrects (Addend. p. 303) the corrupt words to *Dossenum*. Ritschl (*Parerg.* Praef. p. XIII.) at the suggestion of Bergk, on the strength of this, interprets the present passage 'quantus ipse scurra sit in scurris parasitis describendis', pointing out that Horace here touches upon the four leading characters of the *fabula palliata*, but censures Plautus especially for his treatment of the fourth. Suetonius Galb. 13, after describing the niggardliness of Galba, adds *quare adventus eius non perinde gratus fuit: idque proximo spectaculo apparuit: siquidem Atellanis notissimum canticum exorsis* Venit ione simus a villa, *cuncti simul spectatores consentiente voce reliquam partem retulerunt ac saepius versu repetito egerunt.* Here the corrupt words have been corrected by Lachmann to *Venit Dorsennus*, though Roth prefers to read with Casaubon, *Onesimus*, which is certainly much nearer to the MSS. The point evidently lies in the avaricious character of the man named, whoever he may have been. Teuffel, *Rom. Lit.* § 9, 3 says 'Dossennus (dorsum) is a cunning sharper, the dottore': I do not know that there is any other basis for this view than the conjecture as to the derivation of his name ('haud dubie a dorsi gibbere dicta' Ritschl), the hump-backed man being regarded as wise, as we see from Aesop. From the name *Manducus* it seems more probable that Dossennus was a glutton, 'quae persona magnis malis et crepitantibus dentibus insignis in pompa Circensium ludorum duci solebat' (Müller on Varro, l. c.): and this is the view taken by Prof. Nettleship in a paper read before the Oxford Philological Society. Ritschl however prefers to regard the name as used here quite generally for a buffoon, without reference to the special features of the part. Festus, p. 364 M. quotes from an Atellan play by Novius called *Duo Dosseni.* Cp. Ribbeck, Fragm. Com. p. 257 and 274. Plin. N. H. XIV. 13, 92 says *sed Fabius Dossennus his versibus decernit*, etc. It is possible that this writer got his name from the character, which he may have resembled, or played well (so

Müller, Addend. p. 303): but Bergk's view that Fabius is not a poet at all, but a learned lawyer (Ritschl, *Parerg.* Praef. XIII.) is quite consistent with the context in Pliny (cp. ib. p. 105). Finally Senec. Ep. LXXXIX. 6 quotes an inscription on the tomb of Dossennus '*hospes resiste et sophiam Dossenni lege*', a quotation which certainly raises more difficulties than it removes.

The view taken by Ritschl of this passage can hardly be said to be certain, in face of the corrupt state of our scanty authorities; but it is at least more plausible than any other interpretation as yet put forward. Orelli ignores it, Schütz disputes it, but Ritter, Dillenbürger and (with more hesitation) Krüger accept it.

174. quam non adstricto socco 'with how loose a sock': the *soccus* (κρηπίς) or 'slipper' of comedy is contrasted with the *cothurnus* (κόθορνος) or 'buskin' of tragedy in A. P. 80. Cp. Milton's 'If Jonson's learned sock be on'.

175. loculos, properly any sort of a casket or satchel (cp. Ep. I. 1, 56), used of a purse or money-box, also in Sat. I. 3, 17, II. 3, 146, and by Juvenal I. 89, etc. (cp. Mayor's note). The charge here brought against Plautus 'may very probably be true, and is by no means to his discredit' (Sellar, *Roman Poets*, p. 164: the context is well worth reading). The play-wright sold his play to the magistrate who gave the shows at which they were acted. Terence is said to have received 8000 sesterces for his Eunuchus, more than any play had produced before.

176. cadat 'fails', for which Aristotle uses ἐκπίπτειν (Poet. 17, 1; 18, 5; 20, 5).

stet 'holds its own', i. e. succeeds: cp. Ter. Hecyr. 15 *partim sum earum exactus, partim vix steti;* Cic. Orat. 28, 98 *magnus orator...si semel constiterit, nunquam cadet.*

recto talo 'steadily'; borrowed from the Greek, e. g. Pind. Isthm. VI. 12 ὀρθῷ ἕστασας ἐπὶ σφυρῷ, and imitated by Pers. V. 104 *recto vivere talo.* 'This criticism is to a great extent true', Sellar l. c. Not that Plautus was without a natural pride in the success of some of his plays, but 'his delight was that of a vigorous creator, not of a painstaking artist'.

177—207. *A dramatic writer is dependent upon his audience; and very often upon the baser part of them. Even the better educated care for little now but spectacle.*

177. gloria 'fame', as opposed to the desire of making money.

ventoso 'airy', not without a suggestion of the fickleness of fame; cp. Ep. I. 8, 12; 19, 37.

178. lentus 'indifferent', 'irresponsive'; cp. *lentissima bracchia* in Sat. I. 9, 64.

inflat 'inspires', almost equivalent to *reficit* below. There does not seem to be any suggestion of pride here, any more than in Cic. in Pis. 36, 89 *cum tibi spe falsa...animos rumor inflasset.*

180. aut: Bentley's *ac* has very slight authority, and is not needed.

valeat 'no more of!' or 'good-bye to': **res ludicra**, i. e. the drama. So we have *partes ludicras sustinuerunt* in Suet. Ner. 11, and *qui artem ludicram faciunt* is a jurist's term for actors.

181. macrum—opimum, with a humorous exaggeration for 'depressed' and 'triumphant'.

182. audacem, i. e. the poet who is bold enough to run the risk of failure from popular indifference.

184. depugnare, stronger than Orelli's *manus intentare*: rather 'to fight it out'.

185. eques: the knights, i. e. the wealthier and better educated part of the audience (cp. note on Ep. I. 1, 62), would naturally differ in their tastes from the mass of the spectators. Cp. Sat. I. 10, 76 *satis est equitem mihi plaudere, ut audax, contemptis aliis, explosa Arbuscula dixit.* A. P. 113, 248.

media inter carmina: Terence (Hecyr. Prol. I. 1—5, and II, 25—34) pathetically complains that the first time his Hecyra was acted the audience went off to see a rope-dancer, and the second time they deserted him in order to get good places at a gladiatorial show. **carmen** is used of a tragedy in A. P. 220, and includes dramatic poetry in v. 69. Cp. Tac. Ann. XI. 13 *is carmina scaenae dabat.*

186. ursum: bears were brought in to fight with mastiffs (*molossi*): forty bears were baited in the circus at the games given by the aediles in B.C. 169 (Liv. XLIV. 18): one hundred at the games in B.C. 61 (Plin. H. N. VIII. 36, 131). Sometimes tame bears were shown (Mart. I. 105, 5).

pugiles 'boxers', were a favourite sight with Augustus: Suet. Oct. XLV. *spectavit studiosissime pugiles, et maxime Latinos.*

gaudet: so the vet. Bland. and other good MSS. The first letter having become obliterated in some copies, *plaudet* was written by conjecture, and appears in many MSS. The tense being evidently wrong, subsequent copyists wrote *plaudit*, which is found only in inferior MSS. Orelli's pleading for *plaudit* is very weak.

plebecula, used by Cic. only in ad Att. I. 16, 11. Pers. IV. 6 as usual imitates Horace. Suet. Vesp. XVIII. puts the word into the mouth of Vespasian: *sineret se plebeculam pascere*, with a notion of contempt, and perhaps also as a specimen of the rough language of the low-born emperor.

187. equitis: Bentley reads *equiti*, which is perhaps a more usual construction, but not to be thrust upon Horace against the MSS.

188. incertos 'wandering', turning restlessly from one object to another, and therefore not caring to give the fixed attention needed for a drama, not accompanied by much spectacular display. Bentley's emendation *ingratos* has deservedly found little approval.

189. aulaea, from *αὐλαία*, derived according to Servius on Verg. Georg. III. 25, 'ab aula Attali in qua primum inventa sunt vela ingentia'. It is more probable that the word meant originally the *portière* of a hall. In the theatre the curtain was dropped at the beginning of the performance below the level of the stage, and raised at the conclusion. Cp. Verg. G. l. c.; Ov. Met. III. 111 *sic ubi tolluntur festis aulaea theatris:* Cic. pro Cael. 27, 65 *deinde scabilla concrepant: aulaeum tollitur*, i. e. all is over. All MSS. here have *aulea*, which Keller is inclined to think Horace may have written. But the confusion between *ae* and *e* came in as early as the first century after Christ, and it is better to follow the true orthography.

premuntur 'are kept down'.

190. fugiunt 'are flying across the stage', with no notion of flight, as Orelli supposes. Cicero writing to Marius (Ep. Fam. VII. 1, 2) says *quo quidem apparatu non dubito quin animo aequissimo carueris: quid enim delectationis habent sexcenti muli in Clytaemnestra aut in Equo Troiano creterrarum tria milia aut armatura varia peditatus et equitatus in aliqua pugna? quae popularem admirationem habuerunt, delectationem tibi nullam attulissent.*

191. regum fortuna = reges infortunati.

192. esseda 'chariots', light open two-wheeled carriages, said to have been used first by the Belgae (Caes. B. G. IV. 33, V. 16) and employed by the Britons as war-chariots.

pilenta 'carriages', covered two-wheeled vehicles, easily swinging (and thus connected with *pilum* the 'swung' or hurled weapon, Vaniček, *Dict.* p. 1184) and used for ladies ('quibus vehuntur reginae captivae', Acron), and for religious processions.

petorrita 'waggons', four-wheeled carriages, used especially, according to Acron and Porphyrion here, for slaves. Cp. Palmer on Sat. I. 6, 106. *Essedum* and *petorritum* are probably both Keltic words, but cp. Fest. p. 206 *petoritum et Gallicum vehiculum esse, et nomen eius dictum esse existimant a numero* IIII *rotarum: alii Osce, quod hi quoque petora quattuor vocant.*

naves, either the *rostra* of captured ships, or perhaps even ships themselves, drawn in a triumphal procession by means of machinery. We have no detailed description of a *triumphus navalis* (cp. Liv. XXXVII. 60, XLII. 20, XLV. 42), but the coins struck by Q. Fabius in commemoration of his triumph for a victory at sea bear the image of a quadriga with Jupiter in it, and under the horses a ship's beak. Cf. Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsv.* ii. 570.

193. ebur, i.e. statues of ivory and gold: Livy speaks of tusks carried in procession in the triumph over Antiochus (XXXVII. 59 *tulit in triumpho...eburneos dentes MCCXXXI*) but these would not be suited for a display on the stage.

Corinthus, not restricted to vessels of Corinthian bronze, as Acron seems to imply, though doubtless including these, but all the spoils of Corinth, and also probably a painting of the city. So Porphyrion: 'quia imagines eius oppidi fabricantur, ut in triumphali pompa transire possint'. Cp. Cic. in Pis. 25, 60 *quid tandem habet iste currus? quid vincti ante currum duces? quid simulacra oppidorum? quid aurum? quid argentum?* Tibull. II. 5, 115 *ut Messallinum celebrem cum praemia belli ante suos currus oppida victa feret.* Liv. XXVI. 21, 7 *cum simulacro captarum Syracusarum.* Cic. Philipp. VIII. 6, 18: de Off. II. 8, 28 *portari in triumpho Massiliam vidimus:* and many similar passages. Even images of rivers or river-gods were carried in triumph: cp. Tac. Ann. II. 41 *vecta spolia, captivi, simulacra montium, fluminum, proeliorum.* Ov. Pont. III. 4, 103, Hist. IV. 2, 36.

194. Democritus, the laughing philosopher: cp. Mayor on Juv. X. 28: Cic. de Orat. II. 58, 235 (note): Sen. de Ira II. 10, 5 *Democritum aiunt nunquam sine risu in publico fuisse.* Pope in his Imitation takes the same example, but a philosopher, whose laughter was less easily raised, would have been more to the point.

195. diversum genus, the accusative retained after a passive verb, not simply the so-called Greek accusative of respect, as in Verg. Aen. III. 428 *Delphinum caudas utero commissa luporum*, Roby § 1126, S. G. § 471. Orelli, not so well, takes *genus* as the nom. in apposition to *panthera*. 'A panther mingled in its unlike nature with a camel', i.e. the giraffe or camelopard: cp.

Plin. N. H. VIII. 18, 27 *Camelopardalis dictatoris Caesaris Circensibus ludis* (B. C. 46) *primum visa Romae.*

196. elephans albus: white elephants are proverbially very rare, being really albinoes. Even the famous white elephants of Siam seem to be really of a slate colour. Cp. 'Daily News' for Jan. 31, 1884. The form in *-ans* is that best supported here, though doubtless the *n* was not pronounced: but cp. Brambach *Lat. Orthogr.* p. 267, Roby § 495, S. G. § 166.—Bentley's *converterit* has very slight support, and would hardly be defensible, if it had more.

197. ludis ipsis=quam ludos ipsos: Sat. I. 1, 97 *se non unquam servo melius vestiret:* Verg. Aen. I. 15 *quam Iuno fertur terris magis omnibus unam coluisse.* This usage with an adverb seems limited to poets: cp. Kühner *Gramm.* II. 976.

198. nimio appears to have decidedly more authority than the vulgate *mimo,* the vet. Bland. being here supported by some of Keller's best MSS. It is also the reading which is apparently, though not really, the harder, for it is doubtful whether *mimus* can be used, as Orelli says, 'pro quovis histrione', and it is not easy to see why Horace should not have used the plural for the actors on the stage. For *plus nimio* cp. note on Ep. I. 10, 30.

199. asello surdo: Horace has packed two proverbial expressions into one, for the sake of greater emphasis: cp. Ter. Haut. 222 *ne ille hauscit quam mihi nunc surdo narret fabulam,* and Zenob. V. 42 ὄνῳ τις ἔλεγε μῦθον· ὁ δὲ τὰ ὦτα ἐκίνει· εἰς ἀναισθησίαν τινῶν ἡ παροιμία εἴρηται.

202. Garganum: Carm. II. 9, 6 *aquilonibus querceta Gargani laborant.* The forests of Garganus have now almost entirely disappeared, as is also the case very largely in the Apennines.

203. ludi, a term equally applicable to the *ludi scaenici* and to the *ludi circenses,* so that we need not suppose with Orelli any reference to the latter. **artes** 'works of art': Ep. I. 6, 17.

204. oblitus 'bedizened'; Mr Yonge compares Milton's 'besmeared with gold' in Par. L. V. 356. The word is used in the sense of 'overloaded' in ad Her. IV. 11, 16 *si crebrae conlocabuntur* [exornationes], *oblitam reddent orationem;* Cic. Brut. 13, 51 *eloquentia...ita peregrinata est tota Asia, ut se externis oblineret moribus:* so that Eckstein's conjecture *obsitus,* though neat, is needless.

206. sane emphasizing *nil:* 'not a word'. Cic. de Orat. II. 1, 5 (note).

207. veneno 'drug', i.e. dye. The purple (*murex*) of Tarentum was considered second only to that of Tyre (Plin. IX. 39,

63). 'At the spot called Fontanella is the Monte di Chiocciole [snail-shells], a hill entirely formed of the shells used in making the purple dye'. Hare *Southern Italy*, p. 332. The wool of Tarentum was also famous: cp. Carm. II. 6, 10. For the question as to the nature and colour of the Roman *violae* cp. notes on Verg. Ecl. II. 47, Hor. Carm. III. 10, 14 (Page and Wickham).

208—213. *I am not speaking from any disinclination to the theatre: a great dramatic poet seems to me a true magician.*

208. ne putes: Roby § 1660, S. G. § 690.

209. me laudare maligne 'that I am niggardly in my praise'.

210. per extentum funem...ire, a proverbial expression for anything difficult: cp. Arrian Epict. III. 12, 2 δύσκολόν ἐστι καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ σχοινίου περιπατεῖν· καὶ οὐ μόνον δύσκολον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπικίνδυνον. *per* is the preposition usually employed to denote motion over, as in Carm. II. 1, 7 *incedis per ignes* 'on the thin crust of ashes beneath which the lava is glowing'.

211. inaniter 'by illusions', i.e. without any real cause for it all. [Exactly so used in Cic. Acad. II. 11, 34 *cum sit in certum, vere inaniterque moveatur;* ib. 15, 47 *cum animi inaniter moveantur eodem modo rebus eis, quae nullae sint ut eis quae sint,* where Cic. is representing the κενοπάθεια or διάκενος ἑλκυσμὸς of Sextus: cp. de Fin. V. 1, 3 *me quidem...species quaedam commovit, inaniter scilicet, sed commovit tamen:* Tusc. IV. 6, 13 *cum inaniter et effuse animus exsultat, tum illa laetitia gestiens vel nimia dici potest, quam ita definiunt, sine ratione animi elationem.* J. S. R.]

214—218. *Let other poets too have a share in your patronage*

214. et his 'to these too': *et* is not used after *age* as a simple copulative, but always has the force of 'also': cp. Kühner on Cic. Tusc. III. 13, 28, and Mayor on Nat. Deor. I. 30, 83.

215. fastidia ferre: cp. Verg. Ecl. II. 14 *Amaryllidis...superba pati fastidia.* **superbi** 'fastidious' as in Sat. II. 2, 109; 6, 87.

216. redde 'give' as due, not 'give back': this force is common with *reddere:* e.g. Carm. II. 7, 17 *obligatam redde Iovi dapem,* II. 17, 30 *reddere victimas...memento;* it is found also with *reponere, repetere, reposcere,* &c., and is a slight extension of the meaning of 'restoration to a supposed normal state': Roby § 2102. So ἀποδιδόναι, etc. are used. Bentley's reading *impende,* the gloss of a worthless MS., is quite needless.

munus Apolline dignum, Ep. I. 3, 17 (note).

218. Helicona: Helicon was regarded as the home of the Muses as early as the time of Hesiod (Theog. 1), who in early youth is said to have tended sheep on it, and Pindar (Isth. VII.

57): and on it there was a grove sacred to them, described fully by Pausanias. The eastern or Boeotian side on which this lay abounded in springs, woods and fertile valleys, herein sharply contrasting with the savage wildness of Cithaeron. Cp. Wordsworth's *Greece*, pp. 258 ff.

219—228. *That we do not enjoy this more often, is due to our own intrusiveness, susceptibility, and vanity.*

220. ut vineta caedam mea, evidently a proverbial expression, though not found elsewhere. But cp. Tibull. I. 2, 100 *quid messis uris acerba tuas?* Horace good-humouredly includes himself in the number of the pestering poetasters, though no one could have been more free from the faults which he here describes, than he was himself.

223. loca, used, for metrical convenience, for *locos* 'passages', the form always used in prose in this sense. Conversely *loci* is occasionally used in poetry (Lucr. IV. 509: Verg. Aen. I. 306, II. 28, etc.), once in Livy (V. 35, 1) and often in Tacitus in the sense of 'places' for *loca.* Cp. Neue *Formenlehre* i² 542—3.

inrevocati 'though not encored': for the 'scenic' use of *revocare*, cp. Holden on Cic. pro Sest. 56, 120: Reid on pro Arch. 8, 18: Liv. VII. 2 *Livius...cum saepius revocatus vocem obtudisset.* Ov. Am. III. 2, 73 *sed enim revocate, Quirites, et date iactatis undique signa togis.*

225. tenui deducta filo 'fine-spun'. For the metaphor cp. Sat. I. 10, 44 *forte epos acer ut nemo Varius ducit:* Sat. II. 1, 3 *putat...mille die versus deduci posse.* For *filum* see Reid on Cic. Lael. 7, 25 *aliud quoddam filum orationis tuae*, and Cic. de Orat. II. 22, 93 *erant paullo uberiore filo.* Translate 'that the toil and fine workmanship spent upon our poems is not noticed'.

227. commodus 'obligingly': Carm. IV. 8, 1 *donarem pateras grataque commodus, Censorine, meis aera sodalibus.*

228. egere vetes 'bid us want no longer'.

229—244. *But after all great merits should be celebrated by great poets. Alexander was a ridiculously bad judge of verse, though a sound critic of art.*

229. est operae pretium 'it is worth while', a phrase of transition: cp. Sat. I. 2, 37, II. 4, 63. Ennius has '*audire est operae pretium, procedere recte qui rem Romanam, Latiumque augescere voltis*', quoted by the Schol. on Sat. I. 2, 37. *Operae* is of course genitive, but in *est operae* it is dat., cp. Roby § 1283.

230. aedituos 'temple-keepers', νεωκόρους. Merit is personified as a goddess, whose shrine is kept by the poets who sing her praises.

233. Choerilus. There were three well-known poets of this name. (1) Choerilus of Athens, one of the earliest tragic poets, who produced many plays between B.C. 523 and B.C. 483: (2) C. of Samos, the composer of an epic poem on the Persian wars, a younger contemporary and friend of Herodotus: (3) C. of Iasos, also an epic poet, but of a very inferior kind, who followed Alexander to Asia. This last is the one here meant: in A. P. 357 he is taken as the type of a poet who sometimes 'deviates into' excellence. Acron here says that he had only seven good lines in his poem on the exploits of Alexander, for each of which he received a gold piece. On A. P. 357 he adds that Alexander had bargained to give him this reward, on condition that the bard should receive a blow for every bad verse, and that he died of the blows. The king is reported to have said *malle se Thersiten Homeri esse quam Choerili Achillem*, which does not look as if he was so bad a judge of poetry as Horace represents him to have been. Alexander was not only the pupil of Aristotle, but also himself an enthusiastic student of Homer: possibly, as Schütz thinks, Horace's low estimate of his critical powers was simply due to the fact that there was no good poem extant of which he was the theme.

incultis et male natis 'rough and misbegotten': *versibus* is dative, as in Ovid, Trist. II. 10 *acceptum refero versibus esse nocens.*

234. rettulit acceptos 'set down to the credit of': *acceptum referre* is the regular phrase for to enter on the receipt side of accounts, opposed to *expensum ferre:* cp. Cic. Phil. II. 16, 40 *ego enim amplius sestertium ducentiens acceptum hereditatibus rettuli.*

regale. The right of coining gold was always reserved to themselves by the kings of Macedon, as by the kings of Persia and afterwards by the Romans: while subject states and districts were often permitted to coin silver (cp. Gardner's *Greek Coins*, p. 26): and there may probably be a reference to this here: cp. our *sovereign*, and δαρεικός, which is apparently derived not from Darius, but from the Persian *darâ*, 'king'. The coins of Philip had on one side a head of Ares, on the other a chariot, not as some editors say the king's head (Gardner, p. 188). There is no instance of a realistic portrait of an earlier time than Alexander (ib. p. 175).

nomisma; this is the earliest instance in which this purely Greek word occurs in Latin: Martial has it several times.

Philippos: the *Philippus* or *Philippeus* (with or without *nummus*) was a gold piece, coined by Philip II. of Macedon to replace the Persian darics, which had up to his time been the gold coinage most widely current in Greece, probably as a preparation

for his great scheme of conquest (Mommsen, *Röm. Münzw.* p. 52). Five of them were equal to the mina (cp. Plaut. Rud. 1314): the average weight of those extant is 8·6 grammes (Hultzsch, *Metrologie*, p. 242-3). If estimated by the present value of the amount of gold they contain, their value is about £1. 3*s*. 6*d*.: but if measured by their relation to the drachma (20 times 9¾*d*.), the value is nearly identical with that of the French *napoléon* or twenty-franc piece, i.e. about 16*s*. 3*d*. The relation of silver to gold was generally taken as 1 to 10, though we find it varying between this proportion and 1 to 13⅓: now it is normally 1 to 15½. (Cp. Hultzsch, *Metrologie*², p. 240, and Tabell. XVI.)

235. notam labemque 'mark and blot'. **remittunt** 'produce': Sat. II. 4, 69: 8, 53.

236. atramenta includes writing-ink, painter's black, blacking for boots, and in short all kinds of dark fluids.

239. edicto: cp. Plin. N. H. VII. 37, 125 *idem hic imperator edixit, ne quis ipsum alius quam Apelles pingeret, quam Pyrgoteles sculperet, quam Lysippus ex aere duceret.* But as there were representations of the king by other artists we can only understand this to mean either that Alexander gave commissions himself to no others, or that he never sat to any one else. Cp. Overbeck, *Griechische Plastik*², II. 91.

Apellen: cp. Ep. I. 2, 12 (note). Apelles painted Alexander as bearing the thunderbolt (Plutarch, Alex. 4).

240. Lysippo: for the case cp. Ep. I. 16, 20 (note). The advance in statuary made by Lysippus is thus described by Pliny XXXIV. 8, 19 *plurimum traditur contulisse capillum exprimendo, capita minora faciendo, quam antiqui, corpora graciliora siccioraque, per quae proceritas signorum maior videretur.* He limited himself to bronze casting, and never worked in marble. Propert. IV. (III) 9, 9 says *gloria Lysippi est* animosa *effingere signa.*

duceret: Bentley defends the conjecture of Lambinus *cuderet*, arguing that *ducere* cannot be applied to the metal itself, but only, as in Pliny l. c. and elsewhere, to that which is formed out of the metal. But *cudere* would be an improper term to use of work which was cast, not hammered. The extension of the usage of *ducere* seems quite legitimate, and may be defended (with Schütz) by phrases like *ducere filum* for *ducere filo carmen*: in Ep. I. 6, 17 *aera* is used for *signa ex aere facta.*

242. subtile 'exact': Pliny (H. N. XXXV. 10, 85) gives a very different account of Alexander's critical faculty: *Alexandro Magno frequenter in officinam ventitanti...imperite multa disserenti* [Apelles] *silentium comiter suadebat, rideri eum dicens a pueris, qui colores tererent.*

videndis artibus: Schütz is perhaps right in taking the case to be the dative; but he is not correct in saying that with the ablative *in* would have been required; Dräger II². 849, 850 gives many instances in which the gerundive is used in the ablative, much as here: *videre* is used with an extended force = *visu aestimare* or *videndo diiudicare*. If however we accept Overbeck's view that Alexander's restriction only extended to his own commissions, we may perhaps interpret *videre* as 'provide': cp. Cic. de Orat. III. 1, 2 (note), ad Att. V. 1, 3, and Munro on Carm. I. 20, 10.

244. Boeotum, gen. plur., Roby § 365, S. G. § 115, not acc. sing., as some have supposed. The dull, heavy air of Boeotia is often contrasted with that enjoyed by the Athenians, who were αἰεὶ διὰ λαμπροτάτου βαίνοντες ἁβρῶς αἰθέρος (Eur. Med. 829): cp. Cic. Fat. 4, 7 *Athenis tenue caelum, ex quo acutiores etiam putantur Attici: crassum Thebis, itaque pingues Thebani*: de Nat. D. II. 6, 17 *ut ob eam ipsam causam, quod etiam quibusdam regionibus atque urbibus contingere videmus, hebetiora ut sint hominum ingenia propter caeli pleniorem naturam, hoc idem generi humano evenerit*, etc., where Prof. Mayor quotes Strabo (II. 3, p. 102 ff.) as attacking Posidonius for maintaining this doctrine: οὐ γὰρ φύσει Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν φιλόλογοι, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὔ καὶ οἱ ἐγγυτέρω Θηβαῖοι, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἔθει. So Juvenal X. 50 quotes Democritus as a proof *summos posse viros et magna exempla daturos vervecum in patria crassoque sub aere nasci*: cp. Mayor's note for other instances of the influence of climate on the mental and moral character. 'Instead of the pure and transparent atmosphere, which is one of the chief characteristics of the Attic climate, the air of Boeotia is thick and heavy in consequence of the vapours arising from the valleys and lakes'. Dict. Geogr. I. 414 a. Cp. Wordsworth's *Athens and Attica*, p. 241. Pindar, Ol. VI. 152 speaks jestingly of the proverbial Βοιωτία ὗς, and Cratinus called the Boeotians Συοβοιωτοί. For the tense of *iurares* cp. Sat. I. 3, 4, Madvig § 247, 2, Roby § 1532.

245—250. *You have shown yourself a better judge in the case of Vergil and Varius.*

245. dedecorant: the subjects **Vergilius Variusque** are transferred, as often, to the relative clause.

246. munera, i.e. the gifts which the poets had received from Augustus: Acron here says that each had already received from him 1,000,000 sesterces. There is no other authority for this sum; but at his death in B.C. 19—some years before the date of this Epistle—Vergil's fortune is said to have amounted to 10,000,000 sesterces, mostly if not entirely due to the bounty of patrons. Varius was apparently older than Vergil, but survived him and was one of his literary executors: there is nothing to

show whether he was alive or not at this time. Horace praises his epic poetry (Sat. I. 10, 44); but his most famous work was his tragedy of Thyestes, which Quintilian (X. 1, 98) ranks with the Greek master-pieces.

multa dantis cum laude: i.e. all men warmly praise such judicious liberality, instead of laughing at it, as in the case of Alexander and Choerilus. Ritter oddly thinks that the words refer to the lively gratitude of the recipients.

247. Vergilius: cp. Palmer on Sat. I. 5, 40 'the weight of MSS. and scholiasts of Horace here and elsewhere is mostly on the side of *Virgilius:* but these cannot be set against the Medicean and other early MSS. of Virgil: see Wagner *Orthogr. Verg.* p. 479'. Add Ritschl *Opusc.* ii. 779 ff.

248. expressi 'reproduced': the metaphor is taken from plastic figures in clay or wax, and then becomes more general, and is used of imitation generally: cp. Cic. de Orat. III. 12, 47 *vitia imitatione ex aliquo expressa:* pro Arch. 6, 14 *multas nobis imagines fortissimorum virorum expressas scriptores Graeci et Latini reliquerunt.*

aenea: both in Vergil and in Horace much better established than *ahenea,* which, as Mommsen has shewn (*Hermes* I. 467), is not found in inscriptions to denote the bronze tablet used as a military diploma, before A.D. 134.

250—270. *I would myself gladly sing of your deeds, if I had the power, and did not fear to bring my august theme into ridicule as well as myself.*

250. sermones here includes both Satires and Epistles, not merely the former, as Acron says. The style of the Epistles, though somewhat more careful than that of the Satires, is essentially the *sermo quotidianus;* cp. Palmer's *Preface to the Satires* p. XXIII. and ad Her. III. 13, 23 *sermo est oratio remissa et finitima quotidianae locutioni.* Conington renders:

> Nor is it choice (ah, would that choice were all!)
> Makes my dull Muse in prose-like numbers crawl.

So in Sat. II. 6, 17 Horace speaks of his *musa pedestris.* Propertius II. 1, 17—42 similarly ascribes his love-poetry to his incapacity for loftier strains.

251. res componere gestas, i.e. to write a historical epic poem.

252. arces montibus impositas, stormed by the Roman armies: cp. Carm. IV. 14, 11 *arces Alpibus impositas.*

253. tuis auspiciis: Augustus from B.C. 23 onwards held a perpetual *proconsulare imperium* over the whole empire, and

even in the senatorial provinces he had an *imperium maius*, which made their governors formally subordinate to him. Hence the 'iustus triumphus' could no longer be enjoyed by successful generals, who were only serving under his auspices, not under their own. During the earlier part of his rule, he sometimes allowed a triumph, but afterwards (apparently after B.C. 15: cp. Furneaux on Tac. Ann. I. 72) this honour was reserved to members of the imperial house. Cp. Suet. Aug. XXXVIII. *nec parcior in bellica virtute honoranda, super triginta ducibus iustos triumphos et aliquanto pluribus triumphalia ornamenta decernenda curavit;* and c. XXI. *domuit partim ductu partim auspiciis suis Cantabriam, Aquitaniam, Pannoniam, Dalmatiam cum Illyrico omni; item Raetiam et Vindelicos ac Salassos.*

255. Ianum: cp. Introduction to this Epistle.

256. Parthis: Carm. Saec. 53 *iam mari terraque manus potentes Medus Albanasque timet secures:* Sat. II. 5, 62 *iuvenis Parthis horrendus:* Ep. I. 12, 27.

257. cuperem, attracted into the tense of *possem*.

258. recipit 'admits of'. Cp. Suet. Aug. LXXXIX *ingenia saeculi sui omnibus modis fovit: recitantes et benigne et patienter audivit, nec tantum carmina et historias, sed et orationes et dialogos. Componi tamen aliquid de se nisi serio et a praestantissimis offendebatur, admonebatque praetores, ne paterentur nomen suum commissionibus* ['prize declamations'] *obsolefieri.* The term *maiestas* was properly applied to the people as a whole, but even Cic. in Pis. 11, 24 uses it of a consul, *magna maiestas consulis:* in Phaedr. II. 5, 22 *tum sic iocata est tanta maiestas ducis* the term is not so much used as a title, as in accordance with Phaedrus's well-known preference for abstract words.

259. ferre recusent: cp. A. P. 39 *quid ferre recusent, quid valeant umeri.*

260. stulte, quem diligit, urguet: this punctuation, adopted by Bentley and most recent editors, is undoubtedly better than that which connects *stulte* with *diligit.* This would be very inappropriate, if referred to Augustus.

262. discit, sc. *aliquis*, to be supplied from the *quis* in the relative clause.

264. nil moror: Horace puts himself for the moment in the place of the emperor: 'I care nothing—and therefore I am sure that you do not'.

officium = *sedulitas* above.

ficto in peius voltu: cp. Plin. Ep. V. 10 *pictores pulchram absolutamque formam raro nisi in peius effingunt.* Aelian has

a curious story (V. H. IV. 4), 'I hear that there is a law at Thebes enjoining all artists, and painters, and sculptors, to improve upon their subjects in representing them. The law threatens with a penalty those who in sculpture or painting represent them as uglier than they are' (τοῖς εἰς τὸ χεῖρόν ποτε ἢ πλάσασιν ἢ γράψασι). There is of course no reference here to intentional caricature.

265. proponi cereus 'to be exposed as a waxen image': i.e. to have a caricatured portrait of myself offered for sale. It was customary to make the *imagines* of deceased ancestors of wax (Plin. H. N. XXXV. 2, 6 *expressi cera voltus singulis disponebantur armariis*); and the art may naturally have been transferred to living persons of celebrity. Sometimes these were made by means of a plaster cast taken from the face of the subject. Cp. Marquardt *Röm. Privatalt.* I. 246. There is a very life-like wax mask to be seen in the Museum at Naples (Mus. Borbon. XV. 54) which was found in a tomb at Cumae: it still has traces of paint upon the face. Cp. Daremberg and Saglio's Dict. fig. 1291.

267. pingui 'stupid': Sat. II. 6, 14.

una cum scriptore meo: Horace does not seem to mean more than 'I should be involved in the disgrace which will come upon the poet who makes me his theme, when his worthless poem is sent off to be used for waste paper'. The suggestion that he may mean 'bust and poem alike would be discarded as rubbish' does not seem so good.

268. capsa, properly a book-case (Sat. I. 4, 22), here humorously put for a bier.

porrectus, stretched out at length like a corpse. **operta** is the reading of all MSS. of any importance, and may well be defended. Sometimes a corpse was carried out to burial on an open couch or bier (*lectus*, *feretrum*), sometimes in a coffin (*capulus*) carried on a frame (*sandapila*), cp. Marquardt *Privatalt.* I. 360; and the latter was the more usual with the poorer classes; Becker, *Gallus*[3] III. 364. Many recent editors prefer *aperta*, which Orelli thinks denotes more contempt: but the reverse is the case, if we are to accept the analogy of funerals.

269. vicum, probably the *vicus Tuscus* of Sat. II. 3, 228.

270. quicquid: Pers. I. 43 adds mackerel: *nec scombros metuentia carmina nec tus;* which he gets from Catull. XCV. 7 *Volusi annales...laxas scombris saepe dabunt tunicas.* Our modern equivalent is to be found in the trunk-makers and pastry-cooks. Cp. Martial VI. 60, 7 *Quam multi tineas pascunt blattasque diserti, et redimunt soli carmina docta coqui,* III. 2, 4 *ne...turis piperisque sis cucullus.*

EPISTLE II.

The Florus of this epistle is the Julius Florus to whom Horace addressed the third epistle of the first book. Now, as then, he appears attached to the suite of Tiberius Nero. But while the date of the former epistle admits of being determined precisely, it is less easy to fix the date of the present. Almost every year between B.C. 20 and the death of Horace witnessed some campaign or journey into the provinces on the part of Tiberius, on any one of which Florus may have accompanied him. There are only two considerations which help us to decide. (1) Horace speaks very strongly of his entire abandonment of *carmina*, i.e. lyric poetry. This excludes the period of the composition of the *Carmen Saeculare* and the odes of the fourth book, i.e. B.C. 17—13. (2) The phrase *accedente senecta* (v. 211) may have a reference to his own position at the time. If so, this inclines us to go down as late as B.C. 12, when Tiberius, after holding the consulship in B.C. 13, was governor of Illyricum, and quelled a revolt among the Pannonian tribes. But as Horace speaks of himself as *praecanus* in B.C. 20 (Ep. I. 20, 24); and as Crassus in Cic. de Orat. II. 4, 15 calls himself *senex* when only in his fiftieth year, we need not lay much stress on this. The really decisive question is whether it was possible for Horace, after the 'Indian summer' of his lyrical productiveness to return to the same position of renunciation which he had taken up before it. Vahlen argues that this was not possible, and therefore assigns the present epistle to B.C. 18, when he thinks that Tiberius was absent in Gallia Comata. But Mommsen shows that this absence fell in B.C. 16, a date excluded by considerations previously noticed. He therefore ascribes the letter to B.C. 19, in the autumn of which year Tiberius returned with Augustus to Rome from the East. Schütz follows Vahlen: Ritter and Lucian Müller adopt the later date, Ritter even placing it as late as B.C. 10. The balance of evidence seems decidedly to incline in favour of the earlier date. There is a great similarity of tone between this epistle and the first of the first book. In both Horace pleads that increasing years have left him no taste or power for lyric poetry; and make it a duty for him to study philosophy. Here he lays stress also on the hindrances arising from city life, and

his disgust at the 'mutual admiration' cliques of contemporary versifiers.

1—24. *If you were to buy a slave, Florus, knowing well his faults, you would have no right to complain of the vendor.*

1. bono: cp. Ep. I. 9, 4 (note), and Furneaux's excellent study of the character of Tiberius in his edition of the Annals of Tacitus, Introd. c. VIII.

claroque refers to the high birth and position of Tiberius, if we accept the earlier date for the epistle: if we take the later date, it carries also a reference to his military exploits. Cp. Carm. IV. 4.

3. Tibure (for the form cp. Ep. I. 8, 12 note) **vel Gabiis** shows that the boy was of Latin birth, not one of the less valuable slaves, imported from the East.

4. candidus 'fair' of complexion, as in Sat. I. 2, 123, not *fuscus*, like Hydaspes in Sat. II. 8, 14; or perhaps 'without blemish'. It would be out of place to refer it here to his moral qualities.

talos ad imos: a proverbial expression: cp. Cic. pro Rosc. C. 7, 20 *nonne ab imis unguibus usque ad verticem summum ex fraude, fallaciis, mendaciis constare totus videtur?*

5. fiet eritque, mere tautology on the part of the fluent slave-dealer with an imitation of legal surplusage: there can be no suggestion, as Schütz supposes, in *erit*, that the boy will not run away.

nummorum milibus octo, about £70, a very low price for a slave with any attractions and accomplishments. The *servi litterati* of Calvisius Sabinus cost 100,000 sesterces each (Seneca Ep. XXVII. 7). The value of slaves at Rome naturally ranged within very wide limits (cp. Wallon, *Histoire de l'Esclavage*, II. 159—174): Cato the Censor never gave more than 1500 drachmas (about £54) for any slave (Plut. Cat. 1), and in his censorship required that a slave under twenty years of age, who had been purchased for 10,000 asses (about £30) or more, should be assessed at ten times the price paid for him, on which assessment he then laid a triple tax in order to discourage this form of extravagance (Liv. XXXIX. 44). Martial on the other hand (I. 59, 1, II. 63, 1) speaks of young slaves as sold for 100,000 sesterces (nearly £800). Perhaps from £50 to £60 may be taken as an average price for an ordinary slave: Davus in Sat. II. 7, 43 speaks of himself as bought for 500 drachmae: i.e. about £20. [Under the Republic a thousand sesterces were

worth about £8. 17*s*., under the Empire they were worth about £7. 16*s*. 3*d*.: but our authorities do not enable us to determine the date of the change. Mommsen ascribes it to about B.C. 15.]

6. verna, a slave bred at home, and therefore fit for domestic duties, not mere field-work.

ministeriis, dat. with *aptus*. **ad nutus** 'at the beck': cp. Cic. Or. 8, 24 *ad eorum arbitrium et nutum totos se fingunt*; and for the plural ad Fam. XII. 1 *regios omnes nutus tuemur*.

7. litterulis imbutus 'with some slight knowledge of letters': *imbutus* of itself carries a depreciatory, not an intensive force, as Ritter says: cp. Ep. I. 2, 69 (note), and Cic. Tusc. I. 7, 14 *an tu dialecticis ne imbutus quidem es*: Suet. de Gramm. 4 *apud maiores, ait Orbilius, cum familia alicuius venalis produceretur, non temere quem litteratum in titulo, sed litteratorem inscribi solitum esse, quasi non perfectum litteris, sed imbutum*. The diminutive *litterulis* adds to the disparaging tone: Schütz indeed denies that it can refer to the extent of the knowledge, only to the nature of the subject. But it does not matter much whether we say e.g. 'elementary lessons in chemistry', or 'lessons in elementary chemistry'. Cp. Cic. Att. VII. 2, 8 *Chrysippum vero, quem ego propter litterularum nescio quid libenter vidi, in honore habui, discedere a puero!*

arti cuilibet: an educated slave might be used as a reader (*anagnostes*), copyist (*librarius, scriba*) or amanuensis (*servus ab epistolis*). Cp. Ter. Eun. 472 ff. *en eunuchum tibi, quam liberali facie, quam aetate integra!...fac periclum in litteris, fac in palaestra, in musicis: quae liberum scire aequomst adulescentem sollertem dabo*.

8. imitaberis, the reading of all the best MSS. has been altered into *imitabitur* by some copyists, who did not understand the figure of speech, and therefore fancied, oddly enough, that the boy was being praised for skill in modelling. Acron rightly explains *id est, tanti ingenii est ut flectas eum quo velis tamquam argillam udam*. Pers. III. 23 has *udum et molle lutum es* of one still capable of training. For the construction cp. A. P. 33.

9. indoctum 'in an untrained fashion': Roby § 1096, S. G. § 461. **bibenti**, when a man would be less critical. The dealer does not lay too much stress upon his slave's accomplishments, for fear of leading the purchaser to think that there must be serious faults to account for his being offered so cheap.

10. levant: *leviorem faciunt, minuunt* Comm. Cruq.

11. extrudere, quite equivalent to our 'push off'. The Blandinian MSS. with Keller's third class have *excludere*, which Cruquius wishes to read: 'excluduntur enim quae claustris

exemta venui proponuntur', an interpretation which is as faulty as the language in which it is suggested. Keller quotes Ter. Hec. 173, Plaut. Mil. 977 (but see Tyrrell's note), Asin. 586, as instances in which *excludo* appears as a false reading for *extrudo.*

12. meo in aere, so Cic. in Verr. IV. 6, 11 has *hominem video non modo in aere alieno nullo, sed in suis nummis multis esse ac semper fuisse.* **pauper** often denotes not poverty but means slender yet sufficient, as contrasted with *indigus* or *egens.* Cp. Ep. I. 10, 32.

13. mangonum, 'the slave-dealers'. The derivation of the word *mango* (which the dictionaries based on Freund by an oversight say is post-Augustan), from *μάγγανον* 'a charm or philtre', commonly given is incorrect. The words may be ultimately akin; but the meanings diverge too widely to admit of direct derivation. It can hardly be doubted that *mango* is identical with our *-monger* (A.-S. *mangere* 'a dealer'), Germ. *-menger*, from *mangian* 'to traffic', and ultimately from *mang* 'a mixture'. The use of *mangonico*, etc. with the notion of 'to deck out, set off' is later, and seems to be derived from the practice of the *mangones*, and not *vice versa.*

non temere: Ep. II. 1, 120. I would not do this for everybody.

14. cessavit, 'shirked his work': cp. *cessator* Sat. II. 7, 100.

ut fit 'as usual', as boys will do: cp. Cic. Verr. Act. II. ii. 23, 56 *queri, ut fit, incipiunt.*

15. in scalis latuit: the wooden staircase in the corner of the house (so always at Pompeii) furnished the most natural temporary hiding-place: cp. Cic. pro Mil. 15, 40 *cum se ille* [Clodius] *fugiens in scalarum latebras abdidisset:* Phil. II. 9, 21 *nisi se ille in scalas tabernae librariae coniecisset:* Cic. pro Corn. frag. 50 *correpsit in scalas* (quoted by Schol. vet. on Juven. VII. 118).

pendentis not to be connected with *in scalis*, as is done by Acron, though he inconsistently adds (in Hauthal's text) *et in media domo ad timorem incutiendum habena pendebat*, which is doubtless correct. The whip (*habena*=*lorum*, as in Verg. Aen. VII. 380 of the whip used by a boy to lash his top) was hung up in some conspicuous part of the house.

16. des nummos, there are three possible ways of taking this phrase: (1) as a hypothetical subjunctive in apodosis to *si velit*, (2) as a conditional subjunctive without *si* expressed (Roby § 1552, S. G. § 650, 1. (*a*): cp. Sat. II. 3, 57): (3) as a jussive subjunctive. In the first two cases the speech of the vendor ends

at *habenae*: in the last, it goes on the end of v. 16. The decision between these interpretations depends mainly on the reading adopted as the last word in the line. The great majority of MSS. have *laedat*, but the *vet. Bland.* has *laedit*. If we adopt the latter, with Bentley, Meineke, Munro, Ritter, Haupt, and L. Müller, it seems best to take *des* as jussive, and as said by the vendor: 'let me have the money, if the fact which I have mentioned, that he once ran away, does not trouble you'. (Cp. Roby § 1575, S. G. § 657 (*b*).) It is however quite possible, with Schütz, to render 'should you give him the money, assuming that you are not troubled', &c. (Roby § 1569, S. G. § 653), 'then he would carry off his prize'. He argues that this is made necessary by the fact that the vendor who is desiring to minimize the slave's offence, would not return to it again, and use such a hard word about it as *fuga*, when he had already said enough about it to satisfy the requirements of the law. There is something in this argument, but it is hardly strong enough to make us force upon Horace so awkward a construction, as that which is involved in supposing three conditional clauses, in successive subordination (*si quis velit*—(si) *des*—*si laedit*), to precede our apodosis. If we read *laedat*, it is then almost necessary to accept the first view, and to put the line into the mouth of Horace 'you would give him the money, supposing you were not to be troubled', &c. **ferat** is then added by asyndeton, as a second apodosis. The great probability that *laedit*, if the original reading, would have been assimilated by copyists to the neighbouring subjunctives is enough to make us decide in its favour.

excepta: cp. Sat. II. 3, 285 *mentem, nisi litigiosus, exciperet dominus, cum venderet:* Gell. IV. 2, 1 *in edicto aedilium curulium, qua parte de mancipiis vendundis cautum est, scriptum sic fuit: titulus servorum singulorum utei scriptus sit, coerato, ita utei intellegi recte possit, quid morbi vitiive quoique sit, quis fugitivus errove noxave solutus non sit.*

17. poenae securus: 'without any fear of a penalty' for selling a slave without giving due notice of his defects. Roby § 1320; S. G. § 526.

18. prudens 'with your eyes open', deliberately. A. P. 462. Sat. I. 10, 88, II. 5, 58.

lex, the conditions of sale, not (as Schütz) the state of the law. **est** in some MSS. is placed before *tibi*, in others after *tibi*, in others at the end of the line, in others it is omitted altogether. Probably the original reading was *tibist;* and the *est* was written over it, and afterwards introduced in various places (Keller). Schütz has shown that it could not well be omitted here, between two verbs each in the second person.

19. insequeris = διώκεις. **moraris** 'annoy', as in Cic. in Verr. II. 78, 191 *quid moraris?* It is impossible with Ritter to put vv. 18—19 into the mouth of the vendor, and to suppose *hunc* = τουτονί = 'me'. Horace only uses the indicative in place of the subjunctive for vividness.

21. talibus officiis, i.e. such friendly attentions as you are now demanding from me. The case is probably dative 'of work contemplated' (Roby § 1156, S. G. § 481) as White takes it, rather than abl. as in L. and S.

mancum: Sat. II. 7, 88.

mea is curiously out of place: still it is too bold to take it with Mr Yonge as neut. plur. for *me* = τοὐμόν. Pronouns are often attracted towards the beginning of a sentence.

22. iurgares: 'scold': cp. note on v. 171.

rediret: much better in itself, and far better supported than *veniret*, which Bentley (silently and perhaps by oversight) retains from the older editions. Florus expected a letter from Horace in answer to his own. Cp. Ep. I. 13, 2.

23. tum, i.e. at the time when I told you this.

mecum facientia: Ep. II. 1, 68.

24—25. *You complain too that I do not send you the poems which I promised.*

24. attemptas 'assail', try to upset. **super hoc** 'besides' = *ad hoc*, perhaps ablative here (cp. Sat. II. 6, 3; 7, 88), although in prose it would certainly have been accusative. It is less good to take it as = *de hoc*, as in Ep. II. 1, 152, A. P. 429, Carm. Saec. 18.

26—54. *A soldier who had fought bravely when poor would not do the same when enriched. So I was once compelled, after I had left Athens and taken part in the civil war, to take to poetry as a means of getting a living. But now that I have a competence, I should be mad indeed not to prefer rest to writing.*

26. Luculli, in the war with Mithridates B.C. 74—67. The reason why this story is told here is given in v. 52. Porphyrion calls the man *Valerianus*, which is not a proper name, but denotes that he was one of the soldiers who had belonged to the army in Asia, commanded by Valerius Flaccus in B.C. 85, and afterwards by Fimbria, whom they deserted in favour of Sulla. They are mentioned under this name also by Sallust, Hist. III. 36 (Dietsch), 41 (Kritz). Cp. Mommsen Hist. III. 306, 311.

viatica, properly 'travelling money' [whence the usage in the Church for the administration of the Eucharist in preparation

for the last journey], then a soldier's private stock of money, his savings, as here, and in Tac. Hist. I. 57, 5, Suet. Caes. LXVIII.

27. ad assem, quite equivalent to our to a penny': cp. *ad unum*, Verg. Aen. V. 687, and often.

28. vehemens: this form is given here in all MSS., but the same is the case in v. 120 where the metre makes *vemens* necessary. Lachmann on Lucret. II. 1024 (*nam tibi vementer nova res molitur ad auris accedere*) shows that *vehemens* is not necessarily an anapaest anywhere before a letter of Marcus Aurelius to Fronto (p. 53), that in Lucretius III. 152, 482 and VI. 517 there is good authority for *vemens*, and that even Cicero uses *vemens*: cp. Boot on ad Att. VIII. 5, 1. Probably *vemens* is right here too.

lupus, another instance of the use of metaphor for simile, which is so common in Horace. Ep. I. 1, 2; 2, 42; 7, 74; 10, 42. [Perhaps a camp word in this application: cp. Liv. III. 66, 3 *occaecatos lupos intestina rabie occasionem opprimendi esse*: Ov. Trist. I. 2, 17 *eques instructus perterrita moenia lustrat more lupi*. J. S. R.]

30. praesidium, 'garrison', *φρουρά*, not *φρούριον*, which is denoted by *locus summe munitus* (Schütz).

31. rerum: cp. Carm. IV. 8, 5 *divite artium*.

32. donis honestis, 'gifts of honour', such as the *corona muralis*, the *hasta pura*, *phalerae*, *torques aureae*, etc. The *vet. Bland.* has *opimis*, which one editor (Stallbaum), but probably only one, has ventured to adopt. It is a clear instance of the tendency to arbitrary alterations, which appears so perplexingly in this famous MS. by the side of precious indications of the genuine tradition.

33. super, 'in addition', adverbial. **bis dena sestertia**, about £170. **nummum**, not very commonly used after *sestertia*, denotes here 'in cash'.

34. sub hoc tempus: Ep. I. 16, 22 (note). **praetor** here in its original sense, as 'general': *στρατηγός* is the regular Greek representative of the word, even when used of the *praetor urbanus*.

36. mentem, 'resolution': it would be hard to find a passage in prose, where *mens* so nearly approaches to the force of *animus*, or rather *animi*: cp. Verg. Aen. XII. 609 *demittunt mentes*, for which the phrase elsewhere used is apparently always *demittere animum*.

39. catus, 'sharp', a word said by Varro L. L. VII. 46 to be Sabine, and used several times by Ennius, but only once by

Cicero, and then with an apology: cp. de Leg. I. 16, 45 *prudens, et, ut ita dicam, catus.* Horace has it in Carm. III. 12, 10, *catus iaculari.* Cp. Reid on Cic. Acad. II. 30, 97.

40. zonam: for the custom of carrying money in a belt cp. the passage from a speech by Gaius Gracchus, preserved in Gell. XV. 12, *cum Romam profectus sum, zonas, quas plenas argenti extuli, eas ex provincia inanes rettuli.* This practice does not seem to be mentioned in classical Greek [Xen. Anab. I. 4, 9 quoted by Mr Yonge is not an instance]: but cp. Matth. x. 9, μὴ κτήσησθε χρυσὸν μηδὲ ἄργυρον μηδὲ χαλκὸν εἰς τὰς ζώνας ὑμῶν. So Livy XXXIII. 29, 4 *negotiandi ferme causa argentum in zonis habentes commeatibus erant.* In Plaut. Trin. 862 *sector zonarius* is a 'cut-purse'.

41. contigit: Ep. I. 2, 46 (note).

42. Achilles: cp. Quint. I. 8, 5 *optime institutum est ut ab Homero atque Vergilio lectio inciperet:* Plin. Ep. II. 14, 2 *in foro pueros a centumviralibus causis auspicari ut ab Homero in scholis.*

43. bonae agreeing with **Athenae** 'kind', almost equivalent to **grato** below. Others, not so well, connect the word with **artis**, comparing Tac. Ann. I. 3, 4 *Agrippam rudem bonarum artium.*

44. vellem: the MSS. vary here between *vellem, possim,* and *possem:* but Keller seems to be right in saying that the first has the most authority, while the last (though preferred by many good recent editors) has the least. With *vellem, ut* must be taken as consecutive 'so that it was my desire', i.e. 'and inspired me with the wish': with *possem, ut* would probably be final 'that it might be in my power'.

rectum carries with it the mathematical sense of a 'right' line, as well as the moral sense; and hence is opposed to *curvus:* so *pravus* originally means 'crooked', and our 'wrong' is what is 'wrung' aside or perverted. Skeat quotes from Wyclif 'wrung nose' for 'crooked nose'. Persius IV. 12 again imitates Horace: *rectum discernis, ubi inter curva subit, vel cum fallit pede regula varo.*

dignoscere, retained by many editors, is quite without authority.

45. silvas Academi: cp. Eupolis frag. 32 Mein. ἐν εὐσκίοις δρόμοισιν Ἀκαδήμου θεοῦ, whence Diog. Laert. III. 7, calls it γυμνάσιον προάστειον ἀλσῶδες. The enclosure sacred to the hero Academus lay about three-quarters of a mile outside the walls of Athens on the road which ran through the Outer Ceramicus to Colonus. Its olive groves and plane-trees were famous: they

were planted by Cimon, for 'the Academy, which was before a bare, dry and dirty spot, he converted into a well-watered grove, with shady alleys to walk in, and open courses for races' (Plutarch Cimon c. 13). Sulla in his siege of Athens is said to have cut down the trees, but they must have been replanted by this time. Plato had been wont to teach there, a custom followed by his successors. Cp. Cic. de Fin. V. 1, 2 *venit enim mihi Platonis in mentem, quem accepimus primum hic disputare solitum: cuius etiam illi propinqui hortuli non memoriam solum mihi afferunt, sed ipsum videntur in conspectu meo ponere. Hic Speusippus, hic Xenocrates, hic eius auditor Polemo: cuius illa ipsa sessio fuit quam videmus.* When Horace was at Athens the head of the Academic school was Theomnestus, whose lectures Brutus attended after the murder of Caesar (Plut. Brut. XXIV.). The expression however seems to be here a general one for the study of philosophy: Horace nowhere shows any special attachment to the Academic doctrines: he professes himself rather a follower of Epicurus, though occasionally attracted to Stoic views of life and the universe.

46. **dura tempora**, i.e. the struggles between the murderers and the avengers of Caesar. **emovere** 'tore me away'. Brutus induced Horace to follow him into Asia: cp. Sat. I. 7, 18; 6, 48.

47. **civilisque**: the order is *civilisque aestus* [I. 2, 8] *tulit* me *rudem belli in arma non responsura* etc.

48. **Caesaris Augusti**: so united only here by Horace: Vergil has the title twice, Aen. VI. 793, VIII. 678.

responsura 'fated to prove a match for', with something of the ironical humour which always marks Horace's references to his military experience. Cp. Sat. II. 7, 85 *responsare cupidinibus*, ib. 103, II. 4, 18, a usage apparently confined to Horace.

49. **unde** = *ab armis*. **simul primum**: a rare combination, rejected by Gronovius and Drakenborch on Liv. VI. 1, 6 *interim Q. Fabio simul primum magistratu abiit, dies dicta est*, and pronounced 'everywhere suspicious' by Draeger *Hist. Synt.* II. 573; but sufficiently established by this passage. *Simul ac primum* is used by Cic. in Verr. Act. II. i. 13, 34, and by Suet. Caes. XXX., Nero XLIII. Horace did not, like Pompeius Varus and other of his friends, join the forces of Sextus Pompeius and continue the struggle, but gave up arms at once.

50. **inopem**: Horace's father's estate had evidently been confiscated after the victory of the triumvirs.

51. **paupertas**: it was perhaps with the proceeds, direct or indirect, of these early verses (which Ritter wrongly limits to

lyrics) that Horace bought himself the clerkship in the Quaestors' office, which put him out of the reach of absolute want, before he secured the patronage of Maecenas. These poems probably included some of the earlier epodes and satires, 'which have no value, except as showing how badly even Horace could write' (Martin), and more of the same kind which have happily been lost. But Horace is of course humorously exaggerating in his suggestion that the greater part of his poetry had been produced under the stress of poverty. He had received his Sabine estate by about B.C. 34, and probably all his works, except the first book of Satires, were published after this date. Cp. Theocrit. XXI. 1 *ἁ πενία...μόνα τὰς τέχνας ἐγείρει.* Hirschfelder argues that, as there is no sufficient evidence that the booksellers paid authors for their works (cp. Marquardt *Röm. Privatalt.*[2] p. 805), Horace can only mean that '*nihil ab eis quos impugnavisset sibi eripi posse videbat,*' and that thus he attacked without fear. But this view is hardly consistent with *impulit.*

52. quod non desit = *quod satis sit:* **habentem** = *nunc, cum habeo.*

53. cicuta 'hemlock' was used as a febrifuge: cp. Plin. H. N. XXV. 13, 95 *cicutae semini et foliis refrigeratoria vis.* There is no need to suppose with the Schol. that *cicuta* is here put loosely for *elleborus:* the plants are quite unlike, and the medicinal use of hemlock, denied by Lambinus, is common even yet. Persius, as usual, imitates in v. 144—5 *calido sub pectore mascula bilis intumuit, quod non extinxerit urna cicutae.* For the plural 'doses of hemlock' cp. Kühner *Ausf. Gr.* II. 51—55, 60. S. G. § 99 (*c*). **poterunt—ni putem** Roby § 1574, S. G. § 654, 2.

55—57. *Then again, with my youth my poetical powers have left me.*

55. anni: cp. Verg. Ecl. IX. 51 *omnia fert aetas, animum quoque.* Or. quotes from [Plat.] Epinom. 976 A *ὅσων ὧραι... λῃΐζονται τὴν τῶν ζῴων φύσιν.*

euntes 'as they go': Carm. II. 14, 5 *quotquot eunt dies.* Ov. A. A. III. 62 *ludite: eunt anni more fluentis aquae.*

56. iocos: Ep. I. 7, 26—28.

57. quid faciam vis? 'what am I to do?' i.e. how am I to resist them? with something of the impatience of the French *que voulez-vous?* Roby § 1606. S. G. § 672.

58—64. *Thirdly, tastes vary so much, that I cannot please every one.*

59. carmine: Ep. I. 3, 24. **iambis**, i.e. such as the epodes: I. 19, 23. Cp. Nettleship in *Journ. Phil.* XII. 55, note 1.

60. Bioneis. Bion the Borysthenite, a teacher of philosophy at Athens towards the end of the fourth century and the beginning of the third, a pupil of the Academy, Crates, Theophrastus, but especially Theodorus the Cyrenaic (called the Atheist), was more distinguished as a wit than as a philosopher. Diog. Laert. IV. 46—57. Acron says *in libro, quem edidit, mordacissimis salibus ea, quae apud poetas sunt ita laceravit, ut ne Homero quidem parceret*, which is in harmony with the words of Diogenes *εὐφυὴς ἦν καὶ παρῳδῆσαι...καὶ ὅλως καὶ μουσικὴν καὶ γεωμετρίαν διέπαιζεν.* Cic. Tusc. Disp. III. 26, 62 gives an example of his coarse wit as directed against Agamemnon: *in quo facetum illud Bionis, perinde stultissimum regem in luctu capillum sibi evellere, quasi calvitio maeror levaretur.* Among other sharp sayings ascribed to him is *τὴν φιλαργυρίαν μητρόπολιν πάσης κακίας εἶναι*, which may be the source of 1 Tim. 6, 10. The Bion, No. 7 in *Dict. Biog.* is undoubtedly to be identified with the Borysthenite, though there distinguished from him. **sermonibus**, 'satires': Horace's satires have with one exception little or nothing of the cynical profligacy which seems to have marked the writings of Bion.

sale nigro, 'coarse wit': black salt would be at once stronger and less refined than the purified condiment. Cp. Sat. II. 4, 74: I. 10, 3.

61. tres, the smallest number of guests, who could form a party: cp. Gell. XIII. 11, 2 [*M. Varro in satiris Menippeis*] *dicit convivarum numerum incipere oportere a Gratiarum numero et progredi ad Musarum.* But even in so small a number there would be differences of tastes. **prope**=*fere*, 'I might almost say'.

62. multum: Ep. I. 10, 3 *multum dissimiles.*

63. renuis tū, quod: Bentley read *renuis quod tu*, but the change in the leading subject is rather agreeable than otherwise.

64. sane, not concessive, as Orelli, but intensive with **invisum**: cp. v. 132 below, II. 1, 206. **acidum** keeps up the metaphor of the feast, and seems especially to refer to wine.

65—80. *Fourthly, the distractions of life in Rome are so great that it is impossible to compose.*

65. praeter, 'beyond', rather than 'beside': cp. Reid on Cic. pro Sull. 3, 7.

67. sponsum; 'to stand security', Sat. II. 6, 23 *Romae sponsorem me rapis.* Ep. I. 16, 43.

auditum scripta: the nuisance of recitations soon became almost intolerable at Rome: cp. Cic. Att. II. 2, 2 *coniurasse*

mallem quam restitisse coniurationi, si illum mihi audiendum putassem: Ep. I. 19, 39. Mayor on Juv. III. 9.

68. cubat, 'lies sick'. Sat. I. 9, 18 *trans Tiberim longe cubat is:* (where Palmer quotes Ov. Her. XX. 164 *haec cubat, ille valet*), II. 3, 289 *mater ait pueri menses iam quinque cubantis.* The Quirinal was at the extreme N.E., the Aventine quite at the S.W. of the city.

70. humane 'prorsus ut ἐπιεικῶς' Or. i.e. =*probe, admodum;* and no fatal objection lies against this force of the word. *humanus* like ἀνθρώπινος (cp. Dem. in Mid. 527 ἀνθρωπίνη καὶ μετρία σκῆψις) often means 'reasonable': so Cic. Phil. XIII. 17, 36 *moderate aut humane.* Cp. ad Att. XIII. 52, 2 *homines visi sumus* 'we showed ourselves reasonable beings'. Many editors have hesitated to accept it. Ribbeck conjectures (very badly) *homini uni,* as if two men would have found the distance shorter! Fröhlich suggested *haud sane,* which has naturally met with much approval. If we suppose that HAVTSANE became by the obliteration of two letters H V I ANE the correction to HVMANE must have followed as a matter of course. There is also strong confirmation from Terence, whom Horace seems to have known by heart, in Adelph. 783 *edepol commissatorem haud sane commodum.* But the parallel of ἐπιεικῶς is too close to allow us to say with confidence against all MS. evidence that Horace could not have used *humane.* We do not gain much by assuming with Schütz that *humane* points to a man as the measure of the convenience, 'convenient for one who is but a poor human being'. This is an equally unexampled use, and destroys the parallelism. Another plausible suggestion is that of Jeep (in Krüger's *Anhang*) *insane commoda,* comparing Plaut. Mil. 24 *insane bene* (but there A has *insanum*).

verum. 'Yes but you say', introducing an objection, with the force which *at enim* so often has in prose. *Verum* assents, but introduces a qualification: cp. Kühner II. 686.

71. plateae is marked *plătēa* in the dictionaries based on Freund and in Georges, with this passage and Catull. XV. 7 noted as exceptional instances of the short penultimate. But it is short also in Plaut. Trin. 840 *sed quis hic est qui in plateam ingreditur* (an anapaestic dimeter), Ter. Andr. 796, Eun. 344, 1064, Phorm. 215, Adelph. 574, 582. I can find no instance of the long penultimate, which might have been expected from the derivation of the word from πλατεῖα, (cp. Philem. Frag. 55 Mein. τὴν πλατεῖάν σοι μόνῳ ταύτην πεποίηκεν ὁ βασιλεύς;) earlier than Prudentius Perist. IV. 71 *Christus in totis habitat plateis;* and Auson. Ep. X. 22. We have a parallel to the shortening in *balinĕum* from βαλανεῖον *chorĕa, gynaecĕum,* etc. (Roby § 229). Macleane says 'it suits Horace to shorten it'.

purae, 'clear'; i.e. free from obstructions: cp. Ov. Met. III. 709 *purus ab arboribus, spectabilis undique campus*: Liv. XXIV. 14, 6 *puro ac patenti campo*.

72. **calidus**, 'in hot haste'; cp. Sat. I. 3, 53: Carm. III. 14, 27, where however the meaning is rather 'impetuous'. **redemptor**, 'a contractor' for buildings, as in Carm. III. 1, 35 *huc frequens caementa demittit redemptor cum famulis*. **mulis gerulisque**, instrumental ablatives, indicating how the contractor showed his impetuosity. It is quite illegitimate to say with Macleane that '*cum* is omitted': Krüger compares military expressions such as *ingenti exercitu, omnibus copiis, quadrato agmine*: but the addition of the epithet makes all the difference (Roby § 1234); *equis virisque* in Cic. de Off. III. 33, 116 is evidently proverbial (cp. Holden's note). The *geruli*, 'porters' are the same as the *famuli* of the passage in the Odes. The word does not appear to be used elsewhere in quite so general a meaning.

73. **machina**, apparently 'a crane' which 'swings' (*torquet*) stones or beams needed for building, properly called *tolleno*, but sometimes by a metaphor like our own, *ciconia*, cp. *γέρανος*.

74. **robustis**, i.e. built for heavy loads, not quite as Orelli 'magnis largumque spatium occupantibus', Sat. I. 6. 42 *si plostra ducenta concurrantque foro tria funera*. The form *plostrum* was the more vulgar one, therefore it is admitted only in the Satires, while the evidence of MSS. in the Odes and Epistles is in favour of *plaustrum*. Cp. Suet. Vesp. 22 *Mestium Florum consularem, admonitus ab eo,* plaustra *potius quam* plostra *dicenda, postero die Flaurum salutavit*. The use of wheeled vehicles was forbidden in Rome until ten hours after sunrise, except in the case of those employed in connexion with public buildings, temples, etc. (as probably here and in Juv. III. 214), of market-carts leaving the city, and of certain privileged persons. Cp. Marquardt, *Röm. Privatalt.* II. 319 ff. Friedländer, *Sitteng.* I. ch. I. App. 3.

75. **fugit**; Galen noticed among the signs of madness in a dog τὸ ἀλόγως τρέχειν, which is still regarded as an indication of frenzy: *furit*, the reading of some inferior MSS. would be needless after *rabiosa*.

76. **i nunc**: Ep. I. 6, 17, note.

77. **scriptorum**, of poets especially, as in Ep. II. 1, 36 and elsewhere.

urbem: the great preponderance of MS. authority is in favour of the singular here. Many recent editors have preferred the plural, on the ground that the singular after what has gone

before could only be understood of Rome. This would certainly be the case, if *nemus*, used in a generic sense, had not come between: but the parallelism justifies us, I think, in following the best MSS. Cp. Juv. VII. 57, Ov. Trist. I. 1, 41, for the commonplace of the poet's love of retirement.

78. rite cliens Bacchi 'in loyal allegiance to Bacchus'. *rite*='as is fit'. Cp. Carm. II. 19, III. 25.

79. strepitus: Carm. III. 29, 12 *fumum et opes strepitumque Romae*. The continual noise at Rome is one of its worst terrors, as painted by Juv. Sat. III.

80. contracta: the *vet. Bland.* had *cantata*, evidently only a correction for the reading of the great majority of MSS. *contacta*, which is clearly indefensible, as Bentley showed. He argues himself in favour of *non tacta*, but *contracta* which he rejects contumeliously ('quasi vero poetae, quo nobiliores, non eo maiora et clariora vestigia post se relinquant'), really comes to much the same thing: paths which few have trodden, and which therefore offer no broad beaten track. Conington rightly has

'Tread where they tread, and make their footsteps out'.

[*contracta* does not give the right contrast to *strepitus*. Possibly *cātata* is a corruption of *pacata*. J. S. R.]

81—86. *Retirement from the world makes a man ridiculous even in a quiet town like Athens: and how can I venture to pursue my studies at Rome?*

The connexion of these lines with the context is not very clear, and the thought not logically developed. Hence some have rejected them as spurious. But the drift seems to be somewhat as follows. Life in Rome, as we have seen, is ill adapted for poetic composition. But if a man grows old in studious retirement, he unfits himself for practical life. I do not choose to retire from society and make myself a laughingstock, a course which is needful for true inspiration: nor, on the other hand, can I write here. Hence expect no more lyrics from me. Some critics have oddly enough supposed that Horace must himself be the *ingenium*, and have thence argued that he must have lived seven years at Athens. That he is not is shown clearly by the contrast with *ego*, and not less by *hic*, i.e. at Rome. Plat. Theaet. 174 has an amusing sketch of the philosopher, how 'on every occasion, private as well as public, when he appears in a law-court, or in any place in which he has to speak of things which are at his feet and before his eyes, he is the jest, not only of Thracian handmaids but of the general herd, tumbling into wells and every sort of disaster through his inexperience. His awkwardness is fearful, and gives the impression of imbecility' (Jowett IV. 324). Jacobs'

interpretation, approved by Orelli, 'even those who have given years to quiet study sometimes fail to secure success as popular poets, and how can I satisfy myself with what I can produce amidst all this' gives a less satisfactory connexion of thought.

81. **sibi desumpsit** 'has chosen as his home'. **vacuas**: Ep. I. 7, 45 *vacuum Tibur.*

83. **curis** 'studies', ἐπιτηδεύματα, especially philosophy.

statua taciturnius: cp. Sat. II. 5, 40 *infantes statuas:* Lucian Imag. I. ἀχανῆ σε καὶ τῶν ἀνδριάντων ἀκινητότερον ἀποφανεῖ.

exit 'turns out', not necessarily at Athens, as some have explained, but still less at Rome, as Orelli says, which is at variance with the contrast in **hic**.

86. **digner**, not quite = *coner*, a reading found in some MSS., but rather 'am I to think myself fit for this task, and so set my heart upon achieving it?' A rhetorical question of this kind is usually not introduced in Latin by the 'and', which would be natural in English.

87—105. *Fifthly, mutual admiration has reached such a pitch here, that I can find no favour unless I am willing to humour and flatter every one in my turn, but if I refuse to write, I can live at my ease.*

87. **frater...ut alter.** This line can hardly be genuine, as it stands. All attempts to explain *frater...ut* as = *tam fraterno animo ut*, and to defend the expression by Sat. I. 1, 95 *quidam... dives ut metiretur nummos* [where however the true reading is probably *qui tam*] or Sat. I. 7, 13 *ira fuit capitalis, ut ultima divideret mors* (cp. Sat. II. 7, 10), break down utterly: *frater* is not an adjective of quality with which an adverb of degree can be easily understood. Nor is the 'Globe' rendering legitimate: 'There were two brothers at Rome:—their compact was that the one etc.' Bentley, who well explained (against Heinsius) the connexion of the passage with the general line of thought in the epistle, admitted that the text as it stood was indefensible, and added 'magni sane emerim interpretem, qui locum hunc expedire possit'. His own suggestion (though not regarded by him as certain enough to be placed in the text) was *Pactus erat Romae consulto rhetor* 'a rhetorician at Rome had bargained with a lawyer': a construction which he illustrates with his usual fulness. Meineke thought that a line must have been lost, owing to the copyist's eye falling on two similar syllables recurring; and would read

> Frater erat Romae consulti rhetor, ut[erque
> alterius laudum sic admirator ut] alter
> alterius etc.

In this reading the thrice repeated *alter* is far from elegant, and the combination *uterque alterius* very dubious Latin. Keller removes the latter difficulty, but increases the former by substituting *et alter* for *uterque*. But, as Bentley saw, there is no point in making the two men brothers (as there is in *v.* 183), and the corruption is likely to be in the word *frater*. Schütz suggests *fautor*, which goes far to remove the difficulty. It is a favourite word with Horace in very similar expressions: cp. Sat. I. 10, 2 *tam Lucili fautor:* Ep. II. 1, 23 *sic fautor veterum:* Ep. I. 15, 33 *nequitiae fautoribus:* Ep. I. 18, 66 *fautor laudabit:* and the meaning of the substantive allows it to take or to dispense with an adverb, as much as an adjective could. That there was mutual patronage may well be left to be understood from the context. [Prof. Palmer suggests *auctor erat consulto*, a reading which restores a good classical phrase: 'a rhetorician proposed to a lawyer'.]

88. meros honores 'nothing but compliments': cp. Ep. I. 7, 84, Cic. de Orat. II. 22, 94 (note): Catull. XIII. 8 *contra accipies meros amores*, quoted by Orelli, is not really parallel: cp. Ellis ad loc.

89. Gracchus, undoubtedly Gaius, who is praised by Cicero Brut. 33, 126 as a greater orator than his elder brother Tiberius: *eloquentia quidem nescio an habuisset parem neminem*. Bentley suggested as a correction *Crassus*, i.e. L. Licinius Crassus, the famous orator, who takes a leading part in Cicero's three books De Oratore. Cicero (Brut. 39, 145) describes how a case was argued on the one side by Crassus, and on the other by his friend and colleague in the consulship L. Mucius Scaevola the Pontifex *ut eloquentium iuris peritissimus Crassus, iuris peritorum eloquentissimus Scaevola putaretur* (cp. De Orat. I. 39, 180 note). Hence the line of Horace would gain in point by the substitution of *Crassus* for *Gracchus:* but this is not a sufficient reason to induce us to abandon the MSS. If Horace had any particular Mucius in view, it was probably the colleague of Crassus: but several other members of the family were distinguished for their legal learning, especially P. Mucius Scaevola Pont. Max. (the father of the colleague of Crassus, consul himself in B.C. 133) and Q. Mucius Scaevola Augur (the father-in-law of Crassus, consul B.C. 117). Hence perhaps we should translate 'so that the one was a Gracchus, the other a Mucius'.

foret huic ut Mucius ille: *all* known MSS. have *hic ut Mucius illi*, but as early as 1516 this was corrected into the now all but universally received *huic ille*. It is plainly impossible to believe that Horace should have written *ut hic illi Gracchus foret, hic illi Mucius*. Keller adduces examples of *hic-hic*, but none where *ille* is also used in the passage. This line must therefore be re-

garded as one of the instances in which the archetype was clearly corrupt. Even Macleane, who holds that it is inexcusable to desert the MSS., does not attempt to defend their unanimous evidence here.

90. qui minus 'in what way less?' Sat. II. 3, 311 *qui ridiculus minus illo?* ib. 7, 96 *qui peccas minus atque ego?* Translate 'And are our tuneful poets less troubled by this madness?' *Qui minus* is merely a rhetorical question, and does not at all mean *quo modo fit ut minus?* Bentley's conjecture *versat* for *vexat* is needless; this absurd 'mutual admiration' based upon vanity is not really, as he thinks, a matter of pleasure in the long run, rather than annoyance.

91. carmina compono 'I am a writer of lyrics'; though for the time being Horace had abandoned this form of composition, he speaks of it as his most distinctive style.

hic, probably Propertius, who delighted to be regarded as the Roman Callimachus (v. 100: cf. Propert. V. 1, 63—64). If chronology forbids us to regard him as the bore of Sat. I. 9 (cf. Palmer's edition, p. 219), written about B.C. 35, he had probably published most of his elegies before the date of this epistle. 'The charge of belonging to a clique of mutual admirers might with a show of fairness be brought against one who, amongst other instances of exaggeration, compared his friend Ponticus to Homer (I. 7, 3—4). The expression *caelatum novem Musis opus* is not more extravagant than many in Propertius. *V.* 96 is probably a hit at P.'s frequent use of the metaphor with reference to himself. Again *fastu* and *molimine* just hit the impression which the style and perhaps the bearing of P. would make upon an unfavourable observer. *V.* 94 is a clear allusion to P.'s exultation at the reception of his poems into the Palatine library: see IV. 1, 38 and note. Even *Romanis* has its sting: I. 7, 22. Lastly, I trust that it is not fanciful to see in the two words *adposcere* and *optivus*, which are each only found in one other passage in Latin, a travesty of P.'s love of archaisms.' (Prof. Postgate's *Introduction* to his *Select Elegies of Propertius* pp. xxxiii-iv).

mirabile visu caelatumque novem Musis opus! an admiring exclamation not, I think, used by the author of his own work, as most editors take it, but of mutual compliment, as seems to be required by the context. Bentley objected (1) that *visu* could only be used of external appearance, which is out of the question here: (2) that *caelatum Musis* could only mean 'adorned with figures of Muses' (as in Ov. Met. XIII. 110 *caelatus imagine mundi*, ib. 684 *longo caelaverat argumento*). Hence he wished to govern these words by *circum spectemus*, taking them in apposition to *aedem*. If they are interpreted of a book he

argues that it is necessary, if of a temple it is at least an improvement to read for *caelatum sacratum.* But we may reply, without pressing the fact that *visus* is used for any kind of appearance, (1) that *mirabile visu* had become a stereotyped compound expression for 'admirable', (2) that the construction of *caelo* with the ablative does not exclude an entirely different construction with the dative of the agent. Cp. Ep. II. 1, 27. **novem**: all the Muses must have had a hand in such an exquisite work of art!

93. **fastu** 'airs': **molimine** 'importance', the bearing of a man '*qui magna* molitur'. **circum-spectemus**: so Sat. I. 2, 62—3 *inter-est,* Sat. II. 3, 117—8 *unde-octoginta,* A. P. 424—5 *inter-noscere.* Here the rhythmical effect is perhaps intended to suggest the slow important look.

94. **vatibus** dat. 'free to receive the works of'.

aedem, the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, with its annexed libraries. Ep. I. 3, 17. Porphyrion is wrong in explaining (a note which he gives also on Sat. I. 10, 38) 'aedem Musarum in qua poetae recitabant': the recitations follow in v. 95. But there seem to have been statues of the Muses in the temple of Apollo and public recitations were given there, at least in later times: cp. Mayor on Juv. VII. 37.

95. **sequere**, i.e. to the place of recitation, whatever it might have been, not necessarily to the temple. **procul** 'hard by'. Sat. II. 6, 105, Verg. Ecl. VI. 16. Schütz not so well interprets 'at a distance', so as to slip away, if you feel inclined.

96. **ferat** 'brings' as his contribution to the recitation. **qua re** i.e. what the grounds are, on which, etc.

97. **caedimur...Samnites**, Liv. IX. 40 *Romani ad honorem deum insignibus armis hostium usi sunt: Campani ab superbia et odio Samnitium gladiatores* (*quod spectaculum inter epulas erat*) *eo ornatu armarunt: Samnitiumque nomine compellaverunt.* Sil. Ital. XI. 51 *quin etiam exhilarare viris convivia caede mos olim, et miscere epulis spectacula dira certantum ferro.* Athen. IV. 39 Καμπανῶν τινες παρὰ τὰ συμπόσια μονομαχοῦσι. The brutal custom of these gladiatorial combats doubtless spread from Capua to Rome under the *later* Empire: but I have found no passage which bears out Macleane's statement 'among the amusements that rich men had at their dinners were gladiators who fought with blunt weapons' (cp. Becker *Gallus*[3] III. 261—2). If this were so, he could hardly be right in translating *ad prima lumina* 'till the lights came in'. The after-dinner amusement would not begin until the lights were lit (cp. Sat. II. 7, 33 *sub lumina prima*): and if there is any reference to a sham-fight for the amusement of a dinner-party, it is necessary to translate

'when lights are first lit'. But I doubt whether it means more than 'like well-matched gladiators, whose protracted struggle lasts till the darkness of evening puts an end to it'. Horace humorously represents the stock of poems which they bring and alternately inflict upon each other, drawing out mutual compliments, but really inflicting painful weariness, as inexhaustible. Pers. IV. 42 *caedimus inque vicem praebemus crura sagittis* imitates the turn of the expression, but in a different connexion.

99. **discedo** 'I come off' from the contest, as in Sat. I. 7, 17. Prof. Palmer suggests that this use corresponds to the laudatory *abi* of v. 205. **Alcaeus** Ep. I. 19, 29; Carm. II. 13, 26 ff.

puncto 'vote'. When by the Lex Gabinia of B.C. 139 the ballot had been introduced in the election of magistrates, it was the custom for the voting-tablets to be distributed by *rogatores:* these were then marked by the voters, and placed in *cistae*, from which they were taken out and sorted by *diribitores*. That these then reported the results to certain *custodes*, who (as Macleane says) were 'appointed to take the votes and prick off the number given for each candidate', is a very doubtful inference from Cic. in Pis. 15, 36 *vos rogatores, vos diribitores, vos custodes fuisse tabularum.* It is more probable that the *diribitores* reported directly to the presiding magistrate, who declared the election; and that Cicero simply means that the Senators showed such interest in his case that they took charge afterwards of the voting-tablets for fear of fraud. The passage in the text shows plainly that the *punctum* cannot have been used merely to record a vote already given. On the other hand, the voting-tablet itself was probably given out blank, and marked by the voter with the initials of the candidate for whom he voted: at least this seems the only explanation of the phrase of Cicero de Dom. 43, 112 *postea quam intellexit posse se...a L. Pisone consule praetorem renuntiari, si modo eadem prima litera competitorem habuisset aliquem*, a condition which would have left an opening for fraud. We must then suppose (with Prof. Ramsay *Rom. Ant.* p. 109) that the term *punctum* for a vote was retained from the days of *viva voce* voting, when the *rogatores* would ask each voter, as he passed along the *pontes* for whom he voted, and record the answer by pricking a tablet. So we still retain the term 'polling booth' even under the ballot. *Punctum* is used for 'vote' similarly in A. P. 343, Cic. pro Planc. 22, 53 *non nullas* [tribus tulerunt] *punctis paene totidem*, pro Mur. 34, 72 *recordor quantum...punctorum nobis detraxerint* (where Long misunderstands the meaning of the words of Festus s. v. *suffragatores:* cp. Müller's note).

100. **adposcere** 'to demand in addition', only found elsewhere in Ter. Haut. 838. See Postgate's remark above.

101. Mimnermus: cp. Ep. I. 6, 65. Although Callimachus (flor. B.C. 260—240) was ranked by some critics (e.g. Quintilian X. 1, 58 *cuius princeps habetur Callimachus*, with Mayor's note) as the first of elegiac poets, Horace seems to have agreed with Ovid, Am. I. 15, 14 *quamvis ingenio non valet, arte valet.* In any case Mimnermus (flor. B.C. 640—600) was the first to use elegiac verse for love poetry (cp. Prop. I. 9, 11 *plus in amore valet Mimnermi versus Homero*), and it was naturally a higher compliment to give to an erotic poet the name of the founder of his style of poetry, than that of one who was not especially distinguished in this department, and who had devoted himself also to so many branches of literature, prose as well as verse.

optivo = *adoptivo, adscito* Porph. The word is properly a legal term: Gaius I. 154 *vocantur autem hi qui nominatim testamento tutores dantur, dativi; qui ex optione sumuntur, optivi.* Hence it means 'any which he may choose'. Macleane is not exact in rendering 'desired', nor is there any reason to suppose this only a later use. The *tutoris optio* was sometimes given to a woman by the will of her husband or father (Liv. XXXIX. 19, 5). In the time of Claudius women above the age of puberty were released from the guardianship of their agnates, which had been ordained by the Twelve Tables, and allowed to choose their own *tutor* (Gaius I. 157) and in the Lex municipii Salpensae (circ. A.D. 81) c. 22 the *ius tutoris optandi* is spoken of as no new thing. The word is much more likely to be an archaism.

crescit 'is glorified'.

103—105. So long as I am myself composing, and am a candidate for popularity, I have to put up with much: but as soon as I return to my senses, I can stop my ears when poets recite, and fear no revenge on their part. Keller has a mark of interrogation at *auris*, which is not so good.

Orelli argues that the rhythm of the verse requires us to take **inpune** with **legentibus**, understanding that the poetasters can thenceforward recite without any fear of retaliation on the part of Horace (as in Juv. I. 1—3). But the context requires us rather to regard Horace as now able to do what he dared not do before.

104. studiis 'ambition', not as in v. 82. **mente recepta** cp. A. P. 296.

105. obturem: Roby § 1534, S. G. § 642.

106—128. *Bad poets, though ridiculed, are delighted with their own productions. But good poetry requires rigorous self-criticism, with a careful treatment of the diction; and ease in writing comes only of laborious training.*

107. scribentes 'while they are writing', i.e. in the mere act of doing so. Cp. Catull. XXII. 15 *neque idem unquam aeque est beatus ac poema cum scribit.*

108. si taceas, laudant, i.e. it is their habit to praise their compositions, and they would do so, even if you should say nothing about them. Cp. Mayor on Juv. X. 141, Roby § 1574, S. G. § 654. **beati** goes with *laudant* rather than with *scripsere*, or else there would be a tautology after *gaudent scribentes.*

109. legitimum 'according to the rules of art'; A. P. 274. **fecisse,** not *ἀορίστως* as Orelli says, but used because the result rather than the process is the object of desire. So in Ep. I. 17, 5. Cp. Roby § 1374, S. G. § 541 (*b*).

110. cum tabulis 'along with his tablets', i.e. when he begins to write. Wax tablets were used for the first rough draft, which might need correction (cp. Sat. I. 10, 72 *saepe stilum vertas*); then the fair copy was made upon paper. These tablets for notes were often called *pugillares* (Plin. Ep. I. 6, 1; III. 5, 15) or simply *cerae.* I doubt much whether there is any διλογία, as Orelli supposes, playing upon the *tabulae censoriae.* But in the following lines words are used, which certainly point to the censor's functions: **splendor** is a word especially applied to the *ordo equester* (e.g. Cic. de Fin. II. 18, 58 *eques Romanus splendidus,* pro Sext. Rosc. 48, 140 *equestrem splendorem*); and *loco movere* recalls *tribu movere.*

honesti 'conscientious', one who will act loyally as duty bids him.

111. audebit 'he will resolve' v. 148. Ep. I. 2, 40. **quaecumque** sc. verba.

112. ferentur 'will be current' when published. So Keller and Schütz, quoting Lucil. XXX. 4 M. (=906 L.) *et sola ex multis nunc nostra poemata ferri.* Others 'will be judged', comparing Verg. Aen. VI. 823 *utcunque ferent ea facta minores.* Orelli, less probably, takes the metaphor as that of a river 'quae rapido cursu fertur', cp. Sat. I. 4, 11 *flueret lutulentus.*

The future *ferentur* though it has but slight MS. authority is clearly necessary: Ritter almost alone retains the reading of the best MSS. *feruntur.*

113. invita keeps up the personification of the *verba* which has been suggested by the metaphor of the censor, and perhaps too by *honore indigna.*

114. versentur intra penetralia Vestae: Schütz (after Porph.: 'id est, domi') takes this to mean simply the privacy of the poet's own house, from which the poems are not yet sent

forth by publication; and accounts for the unusual expression by saying that the poet is regarded as the keeper of a shrine. He thinks the point to be that the poet is to exercise a severe criticism upon his writings before entrusting them to the general judgment. But it is doubtful whether *penetralia Vestae* could thus be used of a private house, even though there was usually an altar to Vesta on the hearth. Besides this separates the words too much in thought from *invita recedant;* it is better to render 'although they may be reluctant to retire, and may still cling to the sanctuary of Vesta's fane'. In the temple of Vesta there were certain mysterious objects, accessible only to the Vestals and the Pontiffs, and carefully kept from the eyes of the multitude: they were kept in the *penus interior* or *penetrale* of the temple, shut up in earthen vessels, and were regarded as the *pignora imperii* (Liv. XXVI. 27, Ovid, Fast. VI. 359, 439). The most famous among these was the Palladium: but there were also other divine figures (especially of the Penates) and mystic emblems. (Preller, *Röm. Myth.* p. 543). Keller interprets 'although they may be phrases hallowed by antiquity, which it seems profanation to touch'. Macleane's paraphrase 'the verses though they may be expunged, still are kept in the author's desk, because he has a regard for them and cannot make up his mind to destroy them' is quite impossible. Orelli thinks the point to be 'although you may plead that, as they are not yet published you need not be so severe with them'. The only difficulty in the way of the interpretation proposed above (which does not differ much from Ritter's) is that there is no positive evidence that the temple of Vesta had the privileges of an asylum. But the notion of a sacred protection was always associated with the Vestal Virgins: if they met a condemned criminal in the street he was set free; and their intercession carried the greatest weight. (Preller, p. 540). Hence it is not too much to assume that those in danger might have recourse to the temple for at least temporary protection. So Conington,

'And cling and cling like suppliant to a shrine'.

115. **populo**: the rhythm and the sense alike require this to be connected with **obscurata**, not with **bonus**, which can well stand alone, nor with **eruet**, which would make the taste of the people, which Horace elsewhere scorns, that which he desires to gratify.

116. **speciosa** 'brilliant' or 'beautiful', opposed to *verba quae parum splendoris habent.* Cp. Quint. I. 5, 3 *licet enim dicamus aliquod proprium, speciosum, sublime.*

117. **Cethegis**: M. Cornelius Cethegus (consul B.C. 204) is mentioned by Cic. Brut. 15, 57 as the first *quem extet et de quo sit memoriae proditum eloquentem fuisse, et ita esse habitum.*

Ennius praised his *suaviloquens os* (Annal. IX. 304) and said he was called '*flos delibatus populi Suadaeque medulla*'. Cato censorius was consul in B.C. 195. The plural denotes 'men like C.': cp. Cic. de Orat. I. 48, 211 (note), Cope on Arist. Rhet. II. 22, 3. Bentley on Lucan I. 317.

118. situs, properly 'neglect', 'letting alone', hence the result of neglect, 'mould', 'rust', 'squalor'. Cp. Verg. Aen. VII. 440 *victa situ...senectus*. Georg. I. 72 *et segnem patiere situ durescere campum*. Seneca, in the very interesting Epistle (VI. 6) in which he points out how many words used by Vergil had become obsolete in his own time, says (§ 5) *id ago...ut hoc intellegas quantum apud Ennium et Accium verborum situs occupaverit, cum apud hunc quoque, qui cotidie excutitur, aliqua nobis subducta sint.*

informis 'unseemly'. Horace himself indulges but rarely in archaisms, whether of vocabulary or inflexion, and these are much more common in his earlier writings than in his later ones. (Walz, *Des Variations de la langue d'Horace* pp. 41—59.) Cicero de Orat. III. 38, 153 allows an occasional use of unfamiliar (*inusitata*) language to the orator: *inusitata sunt prisca fere ac vetustate ab usu cotidiani sermonis iam diu intermissa, quae sunt poetarum licentiae liberiora quam nostrae.*

119. nova 'newly coined' words.

Quintilian (VIII. 3, 24) says *verbis propriis dignitatem dat antiquitas: namque et sanctiorem et magis admirabilem faciunt orationem, quibus non quilibet fuerit usurus, eoque ornamento acerrimi iudicii P. Vergilius unice est usus.* Cic. l.c. *novantur autem verba quae ab eo qui dicit ipso gignuntur ac fiunt, vel coniungendis verbis, ut haec* [expectorare, versutiloquae]: *sed saepe vel sine coniunctione verba novantur ut ille senius desertus, ut di genitales, ut bacarum ubertate incurvescere.*

Walz (*op. cit.* pp. 59—77) after excluding all words, not found elsewhere, but apparently technical, or for other reasons not to be assigned to Horace himself, gives a list of 130, or about one in every 60 lines; a proportion less than that occurring in Vergil who has about one in every 40 lines. He justly concludes that the originality of the style of Horace is due mainly to the skill with which he used the existing stores of the language: as Quintilian says (X. 1, 96) *Horatius varius figuris et verbis felicissime audax.*

usus, personified as in A. P. 71, and spoken of here as a 'begetter' of new words, while there it is the despot who decides upon their fate. Orelli supposes that there is a brachylogy: the poet coins words, which meet with so much approval and such wide adoption, that they seem to have been in use from the

earliest stages of the language. It is difficult to find this in the text; Pope's imitation is based upon a similar interpretation ('For use will father what's begot by sense'). The fact is that Horace is not speaking here of *coining* new terms, so much as adopting and so stamping with his sanction those which have but lately become current, and are not yet recognized as classical. Hence **adsciscet** which is used of admitting strangers to the franchise, or recruits into a legion. It is impossible to resist the force of the parallel passage in A. P. 70—72, or we might be tempted to give to *usus* the force of 'his needs', as in Sat. I. 3, 102 *armis, quae post fabricaverat usus.*

'New phrases, in the world of books unknown,
So use but father them, he makes his own.' Con.

120. vemens: cp. note on v. 28. The poet must have the swift strong rush of a full stream, without losing clearness and purity of style. Cicero Brut. 79, 274 says of M. Calidius: *primum ita pura erat* [oratio], *ut nihil liquidius, ita libere fluebat, ut nusquam adhaeresceret.*

121. beabit, a favourite word with Horace (Ep. I. 18, 75; Carm. II. 3, 7, IV. 8, 29), but not often used elsewhere, except in the comic poets. It may perhaps be reckoned (as by Walz) among his archaisms.

122. luxuriantia, sc. verba, of a redundancy in style, compared to the rank growth of trees not duly pruned. The metaphorical reference is confirmed, not, as Schütz thinks, disproved by *compescet:* cp. Verg. Georg. II. 370 *ramos compesce fluentis:* ib. I. 112 *luxuriem segetum tenera depascit in herba:* Cic. de Orat. II. 23, 96 *luxuries stilo depascenda est* (i.e. must be kept down by the practice of writing); Quintil. X. 4, 1 *luxuriantia adstringere...duplicis operae.*

sano, i.e. one which does not emasculate: cp. A. P. 26.

123. virtute, not 'merit', but rather 'energy, vigour'. The other faults can be set right: this admits of nothing but complete excision.

'But show no mercy to an empty line'. Pope.

Orelli, overlooking this, thinks that there would be a tautology after *compescet*, and would translate *tollet* 'will raise', i.e. add force to. His first quotation from Quintilian is garbled: for the second, IV. 2, 61 *supra modum se tollens oratio* would have been more to the point. But it is not likely that Horace would have used a term so likely to be misunderstood. Cp. Plaut. Asin. 783 *ergo, ut iubes, tollam*, i.e. 'I will strike it out'. The codd. Bland. and some other MSS. have *calentia*. To defend this, and interpret *tollet* of a father 'tanquam infantem natum, ut nutriat educatque' is the blindest partisanship.

124. ludentis, 'of one in sport', not 'of an actor': **et torquebitur**, 'and yet he will exert himself to the utmost'. As the proverb has it, 'easy writing makes hard reading', so a writer to seem at his ease, must put forth all his powers. One of the most striking illustrations is Addison's style, which attained its consummate ease only after the most careful revision. Pope has again caught the point admirably;

> But ease in writing flows from art, not chance,
> As those move easiest who have learn'd to dance.

The apparent ease of motion of the trained dancer is due only to long continued effort.

125. Satyrum...movetur: Roby § 1120 (*a*), S. G. § 469. The Satyr would dance lightly, the Cyclops heavily and clumsily: cp. Carm. I. 1, 31 *nympharumque leves cum Satyris chori*: Sat. I. 5, 63 *pastorem saltaret uti Cyclopa rogabat*: Verg. Ecl. V. 73 *saltantis Satyros imitabitur.*

126—140. *A man who is labouring under a delusion may be a very happy man, and it is not always kind to dispel it.*

126. praetulerim...ringi. Horace has been throughout this Epistle attempting to prove to Florus why he must expect no poems from him. Here he argues that as great exertions are necessary to success, *le jeu ne vaut pas la chandelle.* There are some people who are blissfully unconscious of the worthlessness of their own productions, and live in a pleasing state of self-satisfaction. This he confesses, with some irony, to be the happier state. But it is over for him now. He is like a man who has been cured of an agreeable delusion, and restored to the hard realities of life. He knows he cannot write good poetry without an effort, and it is not worth his while to make it. It is plain therefore that Horace is speaking of himself, and not of some one else, as Macleane says; and that there is no need of a note of interrogation at *ringi*, as Krüger and others print. For the mood and tense cp. Roby § 1540, S. G. § 644 (*b*).

128. ringi, 'to be worried': cp. Ter. Phorm. 341 *dum tibi fit quod placeat, ille ringitur*: *ringi* (Macleane's *ringere* is non-existent) is to show the teeth, used of an angry dog. Here the meaning is to be vexed with a sense of failure, not generally (as Schütz) of the morose gloom (*senium*) of the philosopher.

haud ignobilis; *quidam* may be understood from the relative in the next line. Pseud.-Arist. Mir. Ausc. § 30 tells the same story of a man at Abydos: Aelian has a similar one of an Athenian Thrasyllus, who fancied that all the ships sailing into the Peiraeus belonged to him, until his brother got him cured.

Argis: the Romans changed Ἄργος into *Argi* on the analogy of names like *Delphi*, *Veii*, *Gabii*, etc., and perhaps misunder-

standing the termination as an acc. plur. No other form but *Argis* is found for the dat. and abl.; the genitive does not occur: the accusative *Argos* is usually masc. plur. (perhaps always in the historians) as in Verg. Aen. II. 95 *patrios ad Argos:* but occasionally neuter, as in Carm. I. 7, 9 *aptum dicit equis Argos* (so in Ovid, but not in Verg.). Cp. Neue I² 477, 629.

130. sessor, 'sitting regularly'. Cp. Juv. XIV. 86 (Mayor).

133. ignoscere servis: a reluctance to do this is treated as a sign of insanity in Sat. I. 3, 80 ff.

134. signo lagoenae: wine flasks were always sealed up: cp. Mart. IX. 87, 7 *nunc signat meus anulus lagoenam.* Q. Cicero tells Tiro (Cic. Ep. Fam. XVI. 26, 2) that his mother used to seal up even the empty ones *ne dicerentur inanes fuisse, quae furtim essent exsiccatae. Lagoena* and *lagona* are both legitimate forms, but not *lagena:* the first has the best support here, the second in Juvenal. Cp. Fleckeisen *Fünfzig Artikel* 20.

135. rupem: Sat. II. 3, 56—60; A. P. 459.

136. opibus, Orelli says would have been *ope* in prose. It is doubtful whether even in verse the two can be thus interchanged. In Carm. III. 3, 28 *Hectoreis opibus* is 'by the might of H.': in Ep. I. 10, 36 perhaps 'resources' is a better rendering than 'aid'. Cp. Cic. ad Att. IX. 16 *Caesar iam opes meas, non ut superioribus litteris, opem expectat.*

137. expulit: cp. Catull. XLIV. 7 *expuli* (?) *tussim:* Tibull. (?) IV. 4, 1 *Huc ades et tenerae morbos expelle puellae.*

elleboro is much better established both for Horace and for Vergil (Georg. III. 451 Ribb.), than *helleboro. Elleborus*, for which the pure Latin word was *veratrum* (Lucret. IV. 640, Pers. I. 51), though a poison if taken unduly, was a favourite remedy for insanity. The best grew at Anticyra: cp. A. P. 300 (note). Sat. II. 83 *nescio an Anticyram ratio illis* [avaris] *destinet omnem.* Persius as usual overstrains the expression: *Anticyras melior sorbere meracas.*

bilemque: bile, especially when black (*μέλαινα χολή*), was considered to cause frenzy or melancholy. Cp. Plaut. Amph. 720—1 *atra bili percita est. Nulla res tam delirantis homines concinnat cito;* Capt. 590 *atra bilis agitat hominem:* Cic. Tusc. D. III. 5, 11 *quem nos furorem, μελαγχολίαν illi vocant.* Sir A. Grant on Ar. Eth. Nic. VII. 7, 8 rightly says 'With the moderns the term *melancholy* is restricted to the cold and dejected mood: while the ancients much more commonly applied the term *μελαγχολικός* to denote warmth, passion, and eccentricity of genius: cp. Ar. Probl. XI. 38 *τὸ τῇ φαντασίᾳ ἀκολουθεῖν ταχέως τὸ μελαγχολικὸν εἶναι ἐστίν*'. Prior (*Alma* 210—11) has the older sense of the word: 'Just as the *melancholic* eye

Sees fleets and armies in the sky': but I have found no other instance in English.

138. **pol**: Ep. I. 7, 92.

140. **gratissimus**: the Abydene in Pseud.-Aristot. l.c. said ἐκεῖνον αὐτῷ τὸν χρόνον ἥδιστα βεβιῶσθαι.

141—144. *Sixthly, (and in all soberness) the right occupation for a man of my years is to care less about harmony in verses, and more about a true harmony of life.*

141. **sapere**, i.e. to devote one's self to philosophy, not as in v. 128 of a knowledge of the laws of poetry. **nugis** are the *ludicra* of Ep. I. 1, 10.

142. **pueris** primarily with **concedere**, but supplied again after **tempestivum**, 'to give up to boys the sport which is seasonable for them': Ep. I. 14, 36.

143. **sequi** 'to try to find': A. P. 240 *carmen sequar.* **fidibus**: cp. Carm. IV. 9, 4 *verba loquor socianda chordis.* The case is abl. as we see from Verg. Ecl. X. 51 *carmina pastoris Siculi moderabor avena;* the lyre plays the tune, by which the rhythm of the verse is regulated. *Mihi* may be understood as the agent. Orelli quotes Hand Tursell. I. 473 to show that *ac non* is used rather than *et non* where the meaning is 'and therefore not'. Sat. II. 3, 135, Ep. I. 10, 46.

144. **numerosque modosque**: Ep. I. 18, 59. Cp. Plat. Prot. 326 B πᾶς γὰρ ὁ βίος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εὐρυθμίας τε καὶ εὐαρμοστίας δεῖται.

145—154. *Hence I set myself to reflect upon the true cure for the common disease of avarice.*

146. **lymphae**: used for the water of a spring in Carm. II. 3, 12; 11, 20; III. 11, 26; 13, 16; Sat. I. 5, 24 (as in Lucret. Verg. and Ovid): for the water-nymphs ib. v. 97. LVMPHIEIS corresponding to ΝΥΜΦΑΙΣ appears in a bilingual inscription in the Naples Museum (C. I. L. 1238, Ritschl P. L. M. LXXII. D, Garrucci 1670). It is probable that the change from N into L was due to a Greek dialect, not to the adoption of the word into Latin. Cp. Curt. *Gr. Etym.* II. 45. *diumpais* in the Oscan tablet of Agnone (II. 9) seems to be = *Nymphis.*

sitim: Carm. II. 2, 13 *crescit indulgens sibi dirus hydrops, nec sitim pellit.* Dropsy is often accompanied by thirst, which must be resisted, as much as possible.

147. **quod** 'seeing that', not directly dependent upon *faterier* (Ep. II. 1, 94). Horace returns so frequently to the vice of avarice that it is clear that he considered it one of the most common failings of his time: cp. Ep. I. 1, 53.

149. monstrata 'prescribed'. Verg. Aen. IV. 636 *monstrata piacula:* Georg. IV. 549 *monstratas aras:* Juv. X. 363 *monstro quod ipse tibi possis dare:* Gronov. on Sen. de Ben. IV. 28 *medicina etiam sceleratis opem monstrat.*

151. curarier 'to be treated', of course not 'to be cured' as L. and S. render. In most of the cases to which they assign the meaning 'cure', it is much better to translate 'tend' or 'treat'. Even in Liv. XXI. 8, 1 sometimes quoted as a clear instance of the meaning 'cure' the other rendering is quite as legitimate. *corpora curare* is Livy's regular phrase for 'to take food'. Cp. Drakenborch on Liv. XXI. 54, 2.

audieras, from the talk of people in general, who are apt to think that wealth means happiness. Ep. I. 1, 53.

152. donarent: so all MSS. in accordance with the principle that even in stating a general truth, the tense of the verb on which another depends determines the sequence. Cp. Cic. de Off. II. 1, 1 *quem ad modum officia ducerentur ab honestate...satis explicatum arbitror* (with Holden's note). Roby § 1508. S. G. § 620. Hence Bentley's *donarint*, which he introduced by conjecture, adding 'ita loquuntur qui pure scribunt' is indefensible.

154. plenior = *ditior:* Carm. II. 12, 24 *plenas Arabum domos.*

155—179. *If wealth made you wise, you ought to devote yourself to this. But really all you can secure is the enjoyment of what you need. What is commonly regarded as ownership gives no more pleasure to the temporary proprietor than is derived from the use of the produce by any one who can buy it: and no one can really own anything in perpetuity.*

156. nempe 'of course', often ironically, but not so here or below v. 163: cp. *nimirum* above: so Sat. I. 10, 1; II. 3, 207; 7, 80, 107.

158. libra et aere. Gaius I. 119 thus describes the process: *Est autem mancipatio...imaginaria quaedam venditio: quod et ipsum ius proprium civium Romanorum est; eaque res ita agitur. Adhibitis non minus quam quinque testibus civibus Romanis puberibus, et praeterea alio eiusdem condicionis qui libram aeneam teneat, qui appellatur libripens, is qui mancipio accipiat rem, aes tenens ita dicit:* hunc ego hominem ex iure Quiritium meum esse aio, isque mihi emptus est hoc aere aeneaque libra: *deinde aere percutit libram, idque aes dat ei a quo mancipio accipit, quasi pretii loco.* The articles sold by mancipation were slaves, oxen, horses, mules and asses, and landed property in Italy. The coin or ingot was of bronze, because in the early days that metal was alone used for coinage: the balance was employed because all money was originally weighed out by the purchaser (Gaius ib. § 122).

mercatus—est: the perfect is better supported, and much better suited to the sense than *mercatur*, the reading of Orelli and Macleane.

159. consultis as in v. 87. **mancipat** 'makes your property'. Strictly speaking *mancipare* could be used only of the transference of chattels by the formal *mancipatio* just described. But uninterrupted enjoyment (*usus*, *usucapio*) of moveable property for one year, of immoveable for two years gave a legal title, in the case of *res mancipi* and *res nec mancipi* alike; and this is here loosely described by the term *mancipare*. The word is used by Tacitus (Hist. II. 71) for 'give up to'—*luxu et saginae mancipatus emptusque* [not in Cic. de Sen. 11, 38: cp. Reid's note], but nowhere else quite as here. The line of thought is 'If not merely purchase, but also continuous enjoyment makes property your own, then there is no advantage in the ownership of a large estate: you enjoy it just as much if you can purchase enough of its produce to supply your needs'. Cp. Cic. ad Fam. VII. 30 *id cuiusque est proprium, quo quisque fruitur atque utitur.*

160. Orbius is quite unknown.

161. daturas has been preferred by most editors since Bentley to the alternative reading *daturus*. Keller has returned to the latter on the strength of what he considers the better MSS. But the codd. Bland. and other good MSS. have *daturas*, and the word seems to go better with the 'corn-fields' (**segetes**) than with the bailiff: cp. Verg. Georg. II. 440, 520.

163. temeti, an old word used by Plautus, and by Cato according to Plin. XIV. 13, 90 *Cato ideo propinquos feminis osculum dare* [scripsit], *ut scirent an temetum olerent. Hoc tum vino nomen erat, unde et temulentia appellata. Abstemius* is also akin: cp. Gell. X. 23, 1 *aetatem abstemias egisse, hoc est vino semper, quod temetum prisca lingua appellabatur, abstinuisse;* and as the root seems to denote confusion and darkness, we may connect *temere* and *tenebrae*. The passage in Cic. (de Rep. IV. 6) cited by Nonius is virtually a quotation from the old law. Cp. Juv. XV. 25.

modo isto: Lachmann (*on Lucret.* p. 197) wished to read *modo sto* in order to avoid the elision of an iambus in an acute syllable, quite correctly, so far as the pronunciation goes; but there is not a trace in the MSS. here of this spelling.

164. mercaris. The purchaser of the estate has to pay the price down, while a man who buys the produce secures all the advantage of it, and has only to pay by instalments. But, as Schütz notices, Horace seems to forget that after the full value of the land had been paid in these instalments, the purchaser of

the produce would still have to go on paying for all that he wanted. **trecentis milibus nummorum**, i.e. about £2400.

166. numerato, not in the technical sense of 'ready money' (cp. Ep. II. 1, 105 note), as the dictionaries based on Freund say, for then the construction becomes inexplicable, but 'by what you have paid down'. You must pay in any case, says Horace; the only question is whether you have just paid, or paid long ago. Here **olim**=**quondam** of the next line. Cp. *vivere rapto* in Verg. Aen. VII. 749, and often in Livy, e.g. VII. 25, 13. Mr Yonge rightly says that the stress lies on the participle, not, as would be required in our idiom, on the finite verb: hence *vivas numerato*=*numeraveris*. Cp. A. P. 104 (note), Sat. II. 2, 32.

167. emptor quondam go together, 'a man who bought of old', as *late tyrannus* in Carm. III. 17, 9: *eri semper lenitas* in Ter. And. 175: *neque enim ignari sumus ante malorum* (τῶν πρὶν κακῶν) in Verg. Aen. I. 198. But the great preponderance of MS. authority is in favour not of **quondam**, but of *quoniam;* and Keller warmly defends this reading, placing a comma at **olim**, and the note of interrogation at **aenum**. His arguments are (1) that the position of *quondam* makes its grammatical connexion somewhat obscure; and (2) that *quondam* is not found with a substantive until later Latin. The objections to *quoniam* are (1) that it is rather a prosaic word, found only in the Satires (I. 6, 22; II. 3, 201; 4, 25; 6, 52) though used by Vergil and other poets: (2) that it is much more in the style of Horace to have a short rhetorical question, followed by an example, than a long argumentative question, such as the retention of *quoniam* would involve. A rhetorical question does not well admit of the addition of the reasons, which determine the answer. Besides, with a question ending at **aenum**, **sed** follows very awkwardly. The place which *quoniam* would take in the line might be defended on the plea of metrical convenience. But as *quondam* and *quoniam* would be represented in the MSS. by almost indistinguishable abbreviations, their evidence need not go for much: and the former clearly makes the better construction.

Aricini Veientis et arvi: *suburbana praedia* at Aricia or Veii would be of more value than those at a distance from Rome. Cp. Tac. Ann. XIV. 53 *per haec suburbana incedit.* Veii had been lying in ruins since its capture by Camillus (B.C. 396), and its land had been divided among the soldiers of Julius Caesar in B.C. 45. These formed a small colony, which was dispersed during the wars of the triumvirs, and Propertius IV. (V.) 10, 29 in a poem probably written about the time of this epistle speaks of the land within its walls as given up to herdsmen and reapers.

Towards the end of the reign of Augustus a *Municipium Augustum Veiens* was established on the old site, and continued to exist at least for three or four centuries. *Isola Farnese* does not, as Orelli says, mark the site of Veii, but is separated from it by a deep ravine. Cp. Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria* I² 1—42. For *Aricia* cp. Sat. I. 5, 1.

168. emptum is the emphatic word: 'if a man has bought land of old...the vegetables on which he dines are bought: bought too are the logs', etc.

169. sub noctem gives an instance where 'towards' is a better rendering than 'just after': 'as the chill of night comes on'. Cp. Sat. II. 1, 9; 7, 109; Epod. II. 44. Verg. Georg. I. 211 *usque sub extremum brumae intractabilis imbrem.*

170. suum, i. e. 'he calls all (the land) his own': **usque... qua** 'as far as the spot where': **adsita** not simply 'planted', as Servius explains in Verg. Aen. VI. 603, *ad* being virtually redundant, as in *adsimilis.* The word is used in Varro R. R. I. 16 and 26 for 'planted near': *vitis adsita ad holus.* An old grammarian (Agroec. p. 2274 P.) explains *adsita arbor est, cui incolumi aliud quod sustineat adiungitur. Horatius 'qua populus adsita surgit', quippe qui vitibus maritata sit.* But this meaning is, when found, only derived from the context, as in Catull. LXI. 102, *velut adsitas vitis implicat arbores;* and is here out of place. The poplar is here not used for the support of vines, but only to mark the boundaries, as the beeches in Verg. Ecl. IX. 9 *usque ad aquam, et veteres, iam fracta cacumina, fagos.*

171. limitibus. The *limites* were properly strips or balks of land, left uncultivated in order to mark the boundaries of estates and used as highways. Niebuhr *Hist. Rom.* Vol. II., App. I. and II. describes very fully the Roman practice of *limitatio:* the use of the word *limes* is also admirably discussed by Dr Hort in *Camb. Journ. of Phil.* for 1857, p. 350 ff. in explaining Tac. Ann. I. 50 *limitem scindit.* The case may be either dative or ablative of place. Schütz less probably takes it as an ablative of instrument: but the *limites* were *certi* before the tree was planted. Cp. Verg. Aen. XII. 898 (saxum) *limes agro positus, litem ut discerneret agris.*

refugit: both the word and the tense have caused much difficulty to the critics. Bentley adopts the reading of some inferior MSS. *refigit*, which he takes as equivalent to *resolvit*, without however supporting the meaning by any parallel instance, Others have suggested *refligit*, *refutat*, or *refringit:* the last of which is the best, if any conjecture is needed. But it is not too bold a metaphor to speak of the tree as itself avoiding the

quarrels, which it enables the owner to avoid. So Varro, in speaking of this very custom of planting trees to mark boundaries, says (R. R. I. 15) *praeterea sine saeptis fines praedii sationibus notis arborum tutiores fiunt, ne familiae rixentur cum vicinis, ac limites ex litibus iudicem quaerant. Serunt alii circum pinos...alii cupressos...alii ulmos* (Cicero pro Caec. 8, 22 adds olives). In Ter. Andr. 766 *recte ego semper fugi has nuptias* 'I have always tried to avoid' is said not by the bride or bridegroom, but by the father of the latter. The perfect tense may be used as in Verg. Aen. II. 12 *quanquam animus meminisse horret, luctuque refugit* as expressing 'the instantaneous and instinctive action of the feeling' (Con.): or may be aoristic, as in Ep. I. 19, 48, 'has been known to avoid': cp. Carm. I. 28, 20. Cp. Aen. X. 804, Georg. I. 330 where *fugit* is used in description, of an instantaneous effect.

vicina iurgia 'differences with the neighbours': so Soph. Ant. 793 νεῖκος ξύναιμον. Bentley says '*iurgia* sunt *lites*'. But the two are not quite synonymous. Cp. Nonius p. 430 *iurgium et lis hanc habent distantiam.* Iurgium *levior res est: si quidem inter benevolos aut propinquos dissensio vel concertatio* iurgium *dicitur: inter inimicos dissensio* lis *appellatur. M. Tullius de Rep. lib.* III.: '*admiror nec rerum solum, sed verborum etiam elegantiam. Si* iurgant, *inquit. Benevolorum concertatio non lis inimicorum* iurgium *dicitur'. Et in sequenti:* 'iurgare *igitur lex putat vicinos, non* litigare'. But in the legal phraseology of de Legg. II. 8, 19 *feriis iurgia amovento* he uses the word in its archaic sense of 'actions at law' generally. The word is derived from *ius*, but is not a compound of *ago:* cp. Ritschl, Op. II. 427. Cp. Ep. II. 1, 38.

172. sit. Roby § 1580: S. G. § 660. The pres. subj. is used in such sentences, unless there is historic sequence, even though the hypothesis is not one viewed as possible. For the sentiment cp. Sat. II. 2, 129—133.

puncto: cp. Sat. I. 1, 7 *horae momento*, where Palmer shows that the phrases are not synonymous, but that *punctum* expresses a much briefer period of time than *momentum. Punctum temporis* is by far the most usual expression, but Lucret. IV. 201 has *puncto diei.*

173. nunc prece, nunc pretio: with intentional alliteration, cp. Ov. Fast. II. 805 *instat amans hostis precibus pretioque minisque: nec prece nec pretio nec movet ille minis.*

morte suprema 'by death which closes all'. Cp. Ep. II. 1, 12: I. 16, 79: so *ultima mors* in Sat. I. 7, 13.

174. in altera iura = *in alterius iura*, i.e. *potestatem.* Cp. Verg. Georg. IV. 37 *utraque vis* (sc. frigoris et caloris); Aen. IV.

357 *testor utrumque caput*, and other instances quoted by Munro on Lucret. II. 433. See Reid on Cic. Acad. I. 2, 5 *utramque vim*.

175. sic quia: Keller holds that the archetype here had *si*, but admits that *sic* is a necessary correction.

176. alterius is somewhat redundant, being really implied in *heredem*: but Bentley does not much improve matters with his *alternis*: for the passage which he quotes from Lactantius does not suffice to show that *alternis* can be used of regular progression, not of change backwards and forwards. Porphyrion's explanation 'ut fluctus super se invicem veniunt' does not necessarily imply that he read *alternis*.

177. vici rustici; Acron explains *villae*, but the word conveys more than that: rather 'estates', or as Mr Yonge suggests 'manors'. Cp. Cic. ad Att. I. 4 *Crassum divitiis supero, atque omnium vicos et prata contemno* (where Boot is clearly wrong in taking *vicos* to be landed property in the city): ad Fam. XIV. 1, 5 *scribis te vicum vendituram*. In Ep. I. 11, 8: 15, 7 (grouped with this passage and that last quoted in the dictionaries based on Freund) the meaning is quite different.

Calabris...Lucani: flocks of sheep were pastured in the plains of Calabria or Apulia during the winter, and driven up into the hills of Lucania or Samnium for the summer. Cp. Epod. I. 27, *pecusve Calabris ante sidus fervidum Lucana mutet pascuis*: Varro R. R. II. 1, 16 *itaque greges ovium longe abiguntur ex Apulia in Samnium aestivatum*: II. 2, 9 *mihi greges in Apulia hibernabant, qui in Reatinis montibus aestivabant*. Cp. Carm. I. 31, 5 *non aestuosae grata Calabriae armenta*. A similar practice is still observed in Spain for the Merino sheep.

178. metit: Orcus is the true reaper after all; 'est translatio a segete ac messoribus', Porph.

180—189. *Some men value highly what others care nothing for. Even brothers have strangely different tastes, and the reason for this is mysterious.*

180. Tyrrhena sigilla, little bronze statuettes of deities, of which numbers are still preserved in museums. Porphyrion says *apud Tuscos primos Italiae signa de marmore processerunt*: but marble has been already mentioned; besides, these would not be called *sigilla*. Cp. Dennis *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria* I^2 lxxiv., and II. p. 233 for a figure of one of the most archaic. Cic. de Nat. D. I. 85 *novi Epicureos omnia sigilla venerantes*. These were often carried about attached to the person, like Louis XI's little leaden images of the saints.

181. argentum, here clearly 'plate': cp. Ep. I. 2, 44 (note). **Gaetulo**: 'Afro, ac per hoc Mauro: significat enim purpuram Girbitanem' Porph. The geographer Pomponius Mela III. 11 says *Nigritarum Gaetularumque passim vagantium ne litora quidem infecunda sunt purpura et murice efficacissimis ad tingendum.* The island of Girba (modern Jerbah) or Meninx, as it was earlier called, lies to the south-east of the Lesser Syrtis. The Lotophagi were said to have lived there: but it was not near the territory occupied in historic times by the Gaetulians, who extended to the sea only to the S.W. of Mauretania. (At the same time we may notice that Juvenal XIV. 278—9 places the *Gaetula aequora* to the east of Calpe, and that Strabo (XVII. p. 829) makes the Gaetulians extend as far as the Syrtes.) It was here mainly that the purple fish was found (Plin. V. 1, 12 *cum ebori citro silvae exquirantur omnes scopuli Gaetuli muricibus purpuris:* VI. 31, 201 *nec Mauretaniae insularum certior fama est: paucas modo constat esse ex adverso Autololum a Juba repertas, in quibus Gaetulicam purpuram tinguere instituerat:* IX. 36, 127 *Tyri praecipuus hic Asiae, Meninge Africae et Gaetulo litore oceani, in Laconica Europae.* Porphyrion is therefore in error in supposing that Horace puts Gaetulian for Girbitan purple: the former was the more famous of the two. Cp. Carm. II. 16, 35 *te bis Afro murice tinctae vestiunt lanae.*

182. curat: the indic. is much better established here than the subj. But if Horace had meant, as most editors say 'the wise man', could he have used the indicative? Orelli's explanation 'quia certum est, indicativo utitur, cum illud *sunt qui non habeant* a casu tantum pendeat', is not satisfactory. The poet rather denotes himself: 'I know one at least who does not care to have'. So Conington rightly takes it, and Dr Kennedy in the P. S. G. p. 456. Cp. Roby §§ 1680, 1681, S. G. §§ 703, 704.

183. cessare: Ep. I. 2, 31; 7, 57. Brothers unlike in character and tastes are common enough in history and in fiction: but probably Horace was most familiar with the pairs who appear in the Adelphi and the Hautontimorumenos of Terence.

184. Herodis, i.e. Herod the Great who reigned B.C. 39—4. The most famous palmgroves, according to Pliny, N. H. V. 14, 70 were near Jericho: *Hiericuntem palmetis consitam, fontibus riguam.* Strabo XVI. 2, 41 says of Jericho *ἐνταῦθα δ' ἐστὶν ὁ φοινικών, μεμιγμένην ἔχων καὶ ἄλλην ὕλην ἥμερον καὶ εὔκαρπον, πλεονάζων δὲ τῷ φοίνικι, ἐπὶ μῆκος σταδίων ἑκατὸν διάῤῥυτος ἅπας καὶ μεστὸς κατοικιῶν· ἔστι δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ βασίλειον καὶ ὁ τοῦ βαλσάμου παράδεισος.* Tacitus too (Hist. V. 6) speaks of the *palmetis proceritas et decor* in Judaea.

pinguibus, 'rich' i.e. productive, as often of soil: e.g. Ep. I. 3, 5, Verg. Georg. I. 14 *pinguia dumeta*, ib. IV. 118 *pinguis hortos*, etc. Schütz says 'productive of rich palm-oil', and the 'Globe' version has 'unctuous'. I cannot find any authority for supposing that palm-oil was known to the ancients: Pliny says nothing about it in describing the palms (N. H. XIII. 26—50), and the palms of Jericho were certainly date-palms. Ritter oddly says 'ubi pinguia unguenta parantur delicatis hominibus iucunda'.

185. importunus, 'merciless', both to others and to himself. Cp. Ep. I. 6, 54 (note), Palmer on Sat. II. 5—96.

186. mitiget, 'reclaims', cp. *pacantur* in Ep. I. 2, 45. This passage is rather against the notion of Lachmann on Lucret. V. 1203 that *pacare* there refers to the expulsion of wild beasts. **flammis**: 'Palladius directs that when land is covered with trees, a distinction must be made between that which is naturally good and that which is poor, as from the former the timber should be merely removed, and the land ploughed up (*vomere* = **ferro**): whereas in the latter it should be burned, in order that the soil may be enriched with the ashes left behind'. (Daubeny, *Roman Husbandry*, p. 94.)

187. Genius: Ep. II. 1, 144 (note). **natale...astrum.** Horace tells us (Sat. I. 6, 114) that he was fond of standing by the astrologers in the Circus, and listening to their predictions, without any great faith in them: in Carm. II. 17, 17—22 he uses the language of astrology merely as poetical ornament, and in a manner which shows his own indifference to it; in Carm. I. 11 he condemns it as an idle superstition. Persius, as usual, imitates the language of Horace, and like him does not profess to know what his own horoscope is (V. 45—51). After the time of Horace, astrology received a considerable impulse at Rome from the patronage of Tiberius: cp. Tac. Ann. II. 27, 2; 32, 5; VI. 20, 3, and Hist. I. 22, 2 *mathematicis...genus hominum... quod in civitate nostra et vetabitur semper et retinebitur.* Cp. Mayor on Juv. X. 94.

temperat 'controls': Pers. l. c. has the same word, but in a different sense: *quod me tibi temperat astrum* 'a star which fuses me with you'.

188. mortalis: viewed in itself, and as a part of the divinity which rules the universe, the genius is immortal, as Apuleius says (de deo Socr. c. 15) *is deus, qui est animus suus cuique, quamquam sit immortalis, tamen quodammodo cum homine gignitur.* But as regards the individual (**in unum quodque caput**) it is mortal, and on the death of the man to whom it is attached, it returns into the universal soul of the world. Of the Stoics

some believed that all souls existed independently until the end of the world's course, when they would be resolved into the Divine Being, others that only the souls of the wise retained for a time this independent existence. The Epicureans held that the soul was dispersed immediately upon death from the fineness of its atomic composition. Cp. Zeller, *Stoics and Epicureans*, pp. 217, 454. Marc. Aurel. IV. 21. The theory of the re-absorption of the soul into the sum total of being has been defended in more recent times. Cp. Archer-Hind's Introduction to Plato's Phaedo, p. 18. The notion that the genius of the individual is but a part of the World-soul explains how it can be regarded as 'controlling the natal star'.

189. albus et ater 'fair and gloomy' according as men are fortunate (εὐδαίμονες) or unfortunate (κακοδαίμονες): *albus* is properly a dull white, as *ater* is a gloomy black, while *candidus* denotes a bright white: hence *albus* is used of the paleness of disease (Carm. II. 2, 15, Epod. 7, 15), but also in Carm. I. 12, 27 of a star of good omen. But *albus* and *ater* are often coupled, cp. Cic. Phil. II. 16, 41 *albus aterne fueris ignorans:* Catull. XCIII. 2 *nec scire utrum sis albus an ater homo.*

190—204. *For my own part, I believe that the pleasures of life should be enjoyed, but with moderation; and therefore my wishes are limited.*

190. utar, best taken absolutely, 'I will enjoy what I have', not, as Schütz, either understanding *genio*, or anticipating *modico acervo.* Cp. Pers. VI. 22 *utar ego, utar*, with the context.

ex modico acervo: the miser in Sat. I. I. 51 defends himself by the plea *at suave est ex magno tollere acervo.* **res** 'the occasion'.

191. heres: Ep. I. 5, 13. Horace had no natural heirs, and ultimately left his property by a verbal declaration to Augustus, *cum urgente vi valetudinis non sufficeret ad obsignandas testamenti tabulas* (Suet. Vit. Horat.).

192. datis, i.e. than what he may actually have received.

193. volam 'it will be my wish'. The future is occasioned by the preceding futures *tollam* and *metuam:* otherwise the present would be more natural. **simplex**, 'unsuspicious' or 'frank'. **nepoti**, 'spendthrift' as Ep. I. 15, 36 (note): for the case cp. Ep. I. 18, 4 (note).

195. neque...neque, 'without being...yet you do not, etc.'

197. ac potius: our idiom is 'but rather': cp. Cic. de Orat. II. 18, 74 (note).

Quinquatribus, the 'spring holidays', which were observed not only in schools, but as general festivities, from March 19 to March 23. Ovid (Fast. III. 809, 810 *fiunt sacra Minervae, nomina quae iunctis quinque diebus habent*) derives the name from the fact that the holiday extended over five days: but Festus (p. 254 M.), by quoting forms like Triatrus, Sexatrus, etc. shows that the word was applied originally only to the first day of the festival, and that it denotes the fifth day after the Ides. Cp. Mayor on Juv. X. 115 *totis Quinquatribus optat.* **olim**, Ep. I. 3, 18.

199. domus. Bentley attacked this reading, as inconsistent with the metaphor of a ship in the next line. One MS. of no great excellence repeats *procul* which Bentley gladly accepted. But this repetition, though common enough in passages of earnest and impressive diction (e.g. Verg. Aen. VI. 258 *procul o procul este profani:* Ov. Fast. II. 623, Metam. VIII. 589 etc.) is not well suited to the quiet tone of Horace here. Some MSS. of the third class omit *domus* and *absit* (not, as Bentley supposed, *domus* only): but this is clearly due to an accident, and does not justify the suspicion of Orelli and others that the genuine word has been lost, and that *domus* is due only to conjecture. Meineke approved the conjecture *modo*, but in Horace we always find *mŏdŏ*, and that only after *dum* or *si*. This difficulty is avoided by Jeep's conjecture, adopted by Krüger, *modo ut procul.* No satisfactory substitute for *domus* has been proposed, and the word is in itself not indefensible, although Macleane says 'it has no meaning here'. There is nothing metaphorical in this line, and consequently no clashing of metaphors. We may fairly assume, with Ritter, that *pauperies immunda domus* represents *pauperies immundae domus* (cp. Carm. III. 1, 42): Horace goes back in thought to the costly ornaments of the house mentioned in vv. 180—182, and says that all these may well be spared: provided the straitened means are not such as to produce sordid surroundings, a man's lodging makes no more difference to himself than the size of a ship would, in which he might happen to be sailing.

utrum—an. This is at first sight a startling substitution of the dependent double interrogative for the alternative hypothesis *sive—sive.* But it is to be explained by supposing that some expression like *nihil distat* was present to the mind of Horace, for which he afterwards substituted *ferar unus et idem.* Hand (*Tursell.* I. 302) quotes Ov. Rem. Am. 797 *Daunius an Libycis bulbus tibi missus ab oris, an veniat Megaris, noxius omnis erit*, where the explanation is similar. In Fast. III. 779 Ovid uses *an* as parallel to *sive...sive*, where we have a transition from alternative hypotheses to a direct question. This leads the way to the interchange of the two, as in Tac. Ann. XI. 26

sive—an ratus: XIV. 59 *sive—seu—an,* and to their complete confusion in later Latin: cp. Dräger *Hist. Synt.* II. 466.

201. non agimur, concessive, 'we are not driven on, it is true': cp. Ep. I. 1, 33; 6, 29.

aquilone secundo: the strong north wind, even if favourable, might swell the sails to a dangerous extent: hence it is here used of perilous prosperity. The *aquilo* is *clarus* in Verg. G. I. 460, and in G. III. 196, 7 scatters the *arida nubila,* while it is *siccus* in Lucan IV. 50. Elsewhere it brings storms and snow, but rarely rain: hence the derivation from *aqua* is to be rejected without hesitation, in favour of that from *aquilus* 'dark' (Vaniček, p. 13). Cp. Carm. II. 10, 23 *contrahes vento nimium secundo turgida vela.*

202. aetatem ducimus 'we drag out our life'. Epod. 17, 63 *ingrata misero vita ducenda est.* **austris:** the south wind is usually regarded as stormy (*turbidus,* Carm. III. 3, 4), rainy (*umidus,* Verg. G. I. 462, *pluvius,* Ov. Met. I. 66), and cold (*frigidus,* Verg. G. IV. 261, *hibernus,* Tib. I. 1, 47): cp. Verg. Aen. V. 696 *imber...densisque nigerrimus austris.* But cp. Verg. III. 60, V. 764.

203. virtute: Schütz, who renders 'excellent capacities', and denies that a man can have too much virtue, has forgotten Ep. I. 6, 15—16. **loco,** 'position'.

204. extremi ... priores: cp. Ep. I. 2, 70—71. **usque,** 'ever'; A. P. 154, 354 and often.

205—216. *But true wisdom consists in avoiding not only avarice, but also all other distracting passions and fears, and in renouncing the pleasures of life, when you can no longer enjoy them in accordance with the rules of virtue.*

205. non es: again concessive. Horace is not addressing Florus, but any reader; cp. Ep. 1, 1, 28. **abi,** 'very good', a colloquial use: cp. Plaut. Asin. 704 *em sic: abi, laudo:* Ter. Adelph. 564 *laudo: Ctesipho, patrissas: abi, virum te iudico.*

206. fugere: the codd. Bland. and other good MSS. have *fuge: rite caret* which Bentley in his *Curae novissimae* (II. p. 172 Zang.) approves in the form *fuge rite. Caret,* etc. But there is at least as much authority for the text, which seems to have been altered only because the copyists did not understand the perfect tense, or, perhaps, as Keller thinks, from a misunderstood correction of an unmetrical *fugerunt.*

inani: Ep. II. 1, 211 (note).

207. ira, sc. *mortis:* for the sense cp. Lucret. III. 1045 *tu*

vero dubitabis et indignabere obire? For *ira* 'rage' followed by a genitive of that which occasions it cp. Liv. I. 5 *ob iram praedae amissae:* XXI. 2 *ob iram interfecti domini.* 'Anger' would not come in naturally before vv. 210, 211. The conjecture *dirae* for *et ira* is worse than needless.

208. terrores magicos must be taken together. Some editors separate by a comma, taking *magicos* to be 'wizards', but this usage is doubtful, and *terrores* is too general to stand by itself here.

sagas: cp. Cic. de Div. I. 31, 65 *sagire enim sentire acute est: ex quo sagae anus, quia multa scire volunt, et sagaces dicti canes.* From the notion of prophetic power that of witchcraft was easily developed: cp. Carm. I. 27, 21.

209. lemures: Porphyrion explains 'umbras vagantes hominum ante diem mortuorum et ideo metuendos: et putant *lemures* esse dictos quasi *Remulos* a Remo, cuius occisi umbras frater Romulus cum placare vellet, Lemuria instituit, id est, Parentalia quae mense Maio per triduum celebrari solebant'. The derivation is of course erroneous: the origin of the word is uncertain, but it has been suggested (cp. Vaniček, p. 169) that it may be connected with *clemens*, meaning 'kindly': cp. *manes* Ep. II. 1, 138 (note). The Lemures were usually identified with the *larvae*, spirits who in consequence either of wicked lives or of a violent death were doomed to restless roamings about the world at night; while the *lares* were the spirits of the good departed ones. But sometimes the term *lemures* was used to include both *larvae* and *lares* (Preller *Röm. Myth.*[2] p. 499). The festival of the Lemuria, at which they were honoured for three nights (on May 9th, 11th and 13th), is described by Ovid Fast. V. 419—492. The connexion with Remus is simply due to 'popular etymology'.

Thessala: the Thessalian witches were said to draw down the moon and the stars from heaven: cp. Epod. 5, 45—46: Plat. Gorg. 513 A τὰς τὴν σελήνην καθαιρούσας τὰς Θετταλίδας: Plin. N. H. XXX. 1, 2 *Menander Thessalam cognominavit fabulam, complexam ambages feminarum detrahentium lunam;* Aristoph. Nub. 749 γυναῖκα φαρμακίδ' εἰ πριάμενος Θετταλὴν καθέλοιμι νύκτωρ τὴν σελήνην.

210. grate numeras: 'quod non faciunt nimium timidi ad senectutem et mortem; quia ex natalibus multis obitum iam propinquum perhorrescunt' Porph. Cp. Mart. X. 23, 1—4 *iam numerat placido felix Antonius aevo quindeciens actas Primus Olympiadas, praeteritosque dies et totos respicit annos, nec metuit Lethes iam propioris aquas.* Cp. Pers. II. 1, 2.

212. **levat** is much more pointed than *iuvat*, and is adopted by most good recent editors since Bentley, though it has not much MS. authority. Cruquius quotes it from three codd. Bland. Cp. Epod. II, 17; 20; Carm. Saec. 63; Sat. II. 3, 292; Ep. I. 8, 8. **spinis**: Ep. I. 14, 4.

213. **recte** 'aright', i.e. in accordance with virtue: so *rectum* = *κατόρθωμα*.

decede peritis 'make way for those who have learnt the lesson': *peritis* is dat. as in Verg. Ecl. VIII. 88 *serae decedere nocti.* Cp. Lucr. IV. 962 *agedum gnatis concede.*

214. **lusisti**: 'ludere ubi cum verbis edendi bibendique consociatur, semper amoris ludum denotat, ut in Graeco *παίζειν, ἐσθίειν, πίνειν*' (Ritter); cp. Carm. III. 12, 1 *amori dare ludum.* Festus (p. 11 M.) quotes from Livius Andronicus *affatim edi, bibi, lusi*, probably a mistranslation of Hom. Od. XV. 372. (Mommsen II. 420: but cp. Wordsworth, *Fragments and Specimens*, p. 569.) So Arrian Exped. Alex. II. 5, 5 translates the epitaph on Sardanapallus (from the Assyrian) *σὺ δέ, ὦ ξένε, ἔσθιε καὶ πῖνε καὶ παῖζε, ὡς τἆλλα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα οὐκ ὄντα τούτου ἄξια*, while Plutarch de Fort. Alex. II. p. 336 C. has *ἔσθιε, πῖνε, ἀφροδισίαζε· τἆλλα δὲ οὐδέν.*

215. **abire** as from a banquet, or the *comissatio* which followed. Cp. Sat. I. 1, 119; and Lucret. III. 938.

216. **lasciva decentius** 'that may more becomingly make merry', cp. A. P. 106: the reading *licentius* has very slight support, and only comes from Carm. I. 19, 3 *et lasciva Licentia.*

pulset 'drive you out'.

ARS POETICA.

THE place now generally assigned to the *Epistola ad Pisones*, as the third epistle of the second book, rests upon no ancient authority. In the MSS. it always appears, detached from the other epistles, either after the Fourth Book of the Odes, or after the Carmen Saeculare. H. Stephanus first placed it at the end of his edition: and Cruquius set the fashion, which has recently been revived, of denoting it as Epistolarum Lib. II. Ep. III. The editors, who have given it this position, seem to have been led to do so by their view as to the date of its production. It has been commonly supposed to be the latest of the works of Horace; and the want of structural completeness, which it undoubtedly displays, if regarded as a poetical treatise 'on the Art of Poetry', has been considered as a proof that it was never finished, and probably was not published by the poet himself. This theory has been further confirmed by the assumption made as to the identity of the *Pisones*, to whom the epistle was addressed. Porphyrion begins his commentary with the words: *hunc librum, qui inscribitur de arte poetica, ad Lucium Pisonem, qui postea urbis custos fuit, eiusque liberos misit; nam et ipse Piso poeta fuit et studiorum liberalium antistes*. This Lucius Piso was the son of the enemy of Cicero: he was born B.C. 48, and was consul in B.C. 15. After some years' absence in Pamphylia and Thrace he returned to Rome in B.C. 11, and was granted the insignia of triumph for his victories over the Bessi (Tac. Ann. VI. 10). Under Tiberius he was *praefectus urbi*, an office which he held for twenty years, according to Tacitus (cp. Furneaux on Tac. Ann. VI. 11, 5), dying in A.D. 32 at the age of 80. Now it is just possible that this Piso had two sons, old enough to be addressed as *iuvenes*, before the death of Horace in B.C. 8, and Borghesi believes that he has discovered evidence that one of them was *consul suffectus* in A.D. 7, in which case he must have been born not later than B.C. 26 (Mommsen *Röm. Staatsv.* I.^{2} 553 note 4). But it is only by straining probabilities to the utmost, that we can bring these young Pisos into connexion with Horace; and the difficulty thus arising makes us

inclined to look for other indications of an earlier date, which would show that the statement of Porphyrion is erroneous. These indications have been put together in an excellent paper by A. Michaelis (*Commentationes in honorem Theodori Mommseni*, Berlin 1877, pp. 420—432), and supplemented by Prof. Nettleship in the *Journal of Philology*, Vol. XII. pp. 43—61.

(1) P. (not, as commonly given, Spurius: cp. Jordan in *Hermes* VIII. 89 f.) Maecius Tarpa is mentioned in v. 387 as a critic whose judgment would be of value to a young composer. Now in B.C. 55 Maecius was entrusted by Pompeius with the superintendence of the plays and other spectacles, which were to be produced in the stone theatre, which he had just built. It is indeed conceivable that at that time he was not more than 30 years of age, and that in B.C. 8 he was still living at the age of 77; but it is much easier to understand the reference, if it was made some ten or twelve years earlier. Horace mentions him as a critic of plays in Sat. I. 10, 38, but the date of this is probably about B.C. 35.

(2) In v. 371 Aulus Cascellius is mentioned as a type of a learned lawyer, in connexion with Messalla, who is a type of eloquence. The language used indicates that both were living, and certainly Messalla was. But Cascellius was already famous in B.C. 56; and although he reached old age, it is barely possible that he was living in B.C. 8. (Macrob. II. 6, 1, Val. Max. VI. 2, 12.)

(3) On the other hand in v. 438 Quintilius Varus is spoken of in a manner which implies that he was dead at the time. But the terms of the reference suggest that he had been known to the young Pisos, and was not long dead. Now Eusebius (in Jerome's translation) assigns his death to B.C. 24 (cp. Carm. I. 24, 5), and there is no reason to doubt this statement.

(4) The reference to Vergil and Varius in v. 55 is much more appropriate, if we suppose them both to be living, or at any rate, if we suppose the Aeneid to have been very recently published. Horace is evidently contending for a right which was disputed by the critics of his time, and in the thick of the battle: he is defending the school to which he himself, as well as Vergil and Varius, was attached against criticisms like those of Agrippa (Suet. Vit. Verg. 44: cp. Nettleship in Conington's Vergil, Vol. I.[4] p. xxix.). But in the latest years of his life the 'Augustan' school of poetry had already won a decisive victory, and its leading writers were recognized as classic models. There was no longer need for the warm and strenuous pleading for that freedom in dealing with language, which was now generally conceded: it was sufficient to assert it quietly in the tone of Ep. II. 2, 115 ff.

(5) Horace's tone in speaking of himself points to the earlier rather than to the later date. There is no reference to his advanc-

ing years, as e.g. in Ep. II. 2, 55 f. 'There is nothing of the air of a man who is weary and feels that his work is done' (Nettleship). It is true that in v. 306 he says that he is now writing nothing himself; but this expression may be referred just as well to that period of inactivity which followed the publication of Odes I.—III., and to which Horace refers in Ep. I. 1, as to that which marked the latest years of his life.

(6) The metrical structure of the *Epistola ad Pisones* has been carefully examined by Haupt and Michaelis, without leading to any very definite conclusion. But in some points it stands midway between the First and the Second Book of the Epistles.

(7) Prof. Nettleship has remarked that the Rhine (v. 18) would not be a welcome theme for poets or their patron after the defeat of Lollius on its banks in B.C. 16. (Tac. Ann. I. 10.) On the other hand we must not forget the brilliant campaigns of Drusus in B.C. 12, 11, and 9.

(8) The arguments for the traditional date drawn from v. 63 ff. break down upon a more correct interpretation of that passage, for which see notes in loc.

(9) It is noteworthy that there is no trace of intimacy with Augustus in this epistle. His name is not even mentioned. Now Horace was probably in very close relations with the emperor after his return to Rome from the East in B.C. 19.

All indications therefore agree in pointing to a time not far removed from the date of the First Book of the Epistles, i.e. about B.C. 20, as the date for the composition of the *Epistola ad Pisones*. But this date is quite incompatible with the identification of the Pisos given by Porphyrion. It only remains then that we should regard this as an unlucky guess of the scholiast, or rather of the unknown authority on whom he drew; and see what other Pisos are available. The name was a very common one in Rome at this time, and no little care is required in reading Cicero or Tacitus to keep its various bearers distinct. But one of the most eminent was Gnaeus Calpurnius Piso, the consul of B.C. 23. He had fought against Caesar in Africa, and had afterwards joined Brutus and Cassius. After the amnesty which followed the battle of Philippi, he had kept aloof from public life, until Augustus urged him to accept the consulship. He was probably some ten or twelve years older than Horace. His eldest son Gnaeus was consul in B.C. 7 and must therefore have been born not later than B.C. 40. But another fact enables us to determine the date of his birth more precisely. At his death in A.D. 20 he could appeal to Tiberius *per quinque et quadraginta annorum obsequium*, whence it appears that he must have entered upon public life not later than B.C. 26. We must therefore place his birth in B.C. 44, so that at the death of Quinctilius he was in his twentieth year. This Piso plays an important part in the earlier years of the reign of

Tiberius, and was accused of hastening the death of Germanicus. (Cp. Tac. Ann. II. 43, 55, 57, 69—81, III. 1—18.) His younger brother Lucius was consul in B.C. 1, and must therefore have been born not later than B.C. 34, while it is probable that he may have been born some years earlier. If these are the Pisos addressed in this epistle, we have in the case of the father, as in that of Messalla Corvinus (Carm. III. 21, 7), Sestius Quirinus (Carm. I. 4, 14), Pompeius Varus (Carm. II. 7), and Torquatus (Carm. IV. 7), an instance of the loyalty with which Horace clung to the friends who had gone through with him the campaign of Philippi.

The title 'Ars Poetica', or 'De Arte Poetica Liber', is found in almost all MSS. Quintilian VIII. 3, 60 writes *id tale est monstrum, quale Horatius in prima parte libri* de arte poetica *fingit:* and in the Epist. ad Tryph. 2 (prefixed to his Institutio) says *usus Horatii consilio, qui* in arte poetica *suadet, ne praecipitetur editio, nonumque prematur in annum.* Later grammarians regularly use the same title, and it is employed also by Porphyrion and the so-called Acron. There is no evidence that it comes from Horace himself; it was probably invented by an early editor, and it is not very suitable to the contents of the epistle, suggesting, as it does, a regularity and completeness of treatment to which the poem makes no claim, and which indeed seems to be intentionally avoided. But a name which has been so long in use cannot be abandoned without inconvenience; and it may be accepted on the authority of tradition, provided we do not allow it to mislead us as to the real character of the epistle.

Porphyrion adds to the words previously quoted *in quem librum congessit praecepta Neoptolemi τοῦ Παριανοῦ non quidem omnia, sed eminentissima.* Much difficulty has been found in accepting this statement. Ritter altogether rejects it: 'Nam Horatium sua hausisse ex poeta recente et parum cognito, qualis fuit Neoptolemus grammaticus et Alexandrinorum studiis imbutus (cp. Meinekii *Analecta Alexandr.* p. 375), credat Judaeus Apella'. But it is not likely to have been a mere invention, and the case is quite unlike that which we have just been considering, where there was probably a confusion between two persons of the same name. Michaelis in his early dissertation *de Auctoribus quos Horatius in libro de Arte Poetica secutus esse videtur* (Kiel 1857), argued that Horace could have borrowed very little from Neoptolemus, first because Horace is above all other poets of his time free from the influences of the Alexandrian school, with its pedantic erudition and tortuous diction, and secondly because he seems to have had in view in respect of metre mainly the practice of his countrymen, and because his references to the early history of the Greek drama are too confused and inaccurate to have been derived from an Alexandrian scholar. The first of these objections is sufficiently met by Prof. Nettleship's reply that there

is no reason for ascribing to the *criticism* of Alexandria the characteristics of its *poetry:* on the contrary 'from one point of view the *de Arte Poetica* seems to bear an Alexandrian stamp: it contains the neatly-formulated criticism of a refined, intelligent and well-trained scholar, not that of a philosopher whose eye is set upon great things'. The second is met, at least in part, by his valuable suggestion that Horace is sometimes translating or paraphrasing his Greek original, sometimes adding his own comments in the way of limitation, expansion or illustration from contemporary life and thought. With this qualification, there is no reason why we should not accept the statement of Porphyrion. It is not necessary to assume that Horace borrowed from no other sources: but Michaelis has sufficiently disproved the theories which would derive a large part of this epistle from Democritus, Crito, Plato (in his Phaedrus), or Aristotle. From Varro he may have obtained something, but we have no means of determining how much.

The epistle is certainly not a complete 'Art of Poetry'. Some important branches of the subject are omitted altogether: others are discussed with a fulness quite disproportionate to their importance. It is sometimes difficult to trace the sequence of the remarks; and digressions and repetitions appear to abound. Many attempts have been made to remedy a disorder, which was supposed to have originated either in the unskilfulness of those who published, after Horace's death, the fragmentary drafts of a poem, to which his own revision would have given unity and completeness, or else in the poet's own 'habitual indolence, which prevented his ever producing a complete work of any length' (Macleane). But such attempts have had no real basis to go upon: they have rarely satisfied any but their propounders: and each suggested rearrangement has been declared by later critics to make matters only worse. It has been too commonly overlooked that very probably Horace intentionally avoided in this, as in other epistles, the appearance of a formal regularity of treatment. The epistle, like the *Satura*, from which it originated, was of the nature of a familiar chat, rather than a set treatise, and precisely marked divisions and subdivisions were quite foreign to its nature. Still with the help of Prof. Nettleship's valuable suggestion as to the relation of the poem to its Greek source, we may find in it traces of an orderly though not strictly systematic arrangement of subjects.

The epistle may be divided into three main sections. In the first (1—72) the poet is enjoined to look to the unity of his style and conception, and to avoid all that is out of keeping. In the second (73—288) these general principles are applied to the various kinds of poetry, and especially to the drama, which is discussed at length. In the third (289—476) the manifold requisites for a successful cultivation of poetry are dwelt upon, and

the young Pisos are warned of the difficulties which surround the poet who is not fitted by learning, genius, and painstaking labour for his high vocation. The further development of these general divisions must be reserved for the running analysis. But one point calls for further remark, in the space which is given to the criticism of the drama. While only 24 lines are assigned to epic poetry, no less than 170 are devoted to dramatic poetry. For this various reasons have been given. It has been suggested that Horace himself, who was certainly not without dramatic power, may have contemplated writing for the stage, at the time when his somewhat scanty fountain of lyrical inspiration seemed to be running dry. Others have found the explanation in the hypothesis that the young Pisos had shown tendencies in that direction. But without denying the possibility of either of these suppositions, it may be suggested that Horace has rather in view the awakened interest in the drama, prevalent in his own day, and among his own set. In the generation of Cicero dramatic literature had fallen out of favour; and though Quintus Cicero was proud of having written four tragedies in sixteen days, the rapidity of the production shows how little it was regarded as a serious pursuit. But of Horace's contemporaries some of those of highest mark had devoted themselves to tragedy. Asinius Pollio, Varius, and Ovid, all won high distinction in this branch of literature, and although Augustus had the good sense to cancel his own tragedy of Ajax, the fact that he had written it shows the direction which the current was taking. It is probable that Horace, in devoting so much attention to the criticism of the drama, did so in recognition of the prevalent literary tastes, and with the wish to influence them in the direction of profounder study of the true classical models.

1—37. *The first requisite for a work of art is harmony and proportion between the various parts, which alone can secure unity.* Porphyrion says *primum praeceptum est περὶ τῆς ἀκολουθίας*, i.e. consistency in dealing with the several portions (*vv.* 1—9). Prof. Nettleship suggests that the *praeceptum* of Neoptolemus is translated or paraphrased in vv. 1—5, and that 6—9 form Horace's comment. In painting the neglect of organic unity results in a ridiculous monster: the effect is not less absurd in poetry.

1. humano—equinam: the inverted order (*chiasmus*) adds emphasis. For creatures 'ex alienigenis membris compacta' cp. Lucret. v. 878 ff. Perhaps we may suppose Horace to be thinking especially of a centaur, a harpy and Scylla.

2. velit, Roby § 638.

inducere 'penicillo adiungere' Comm. Cruq., which Orelli adopts. But Acron is more correct with his *imponere* 'lay on', as Or.'s quotation shows: Plin. H.N. xxxv. 6, 26 *si purpuram facere*

malunt (pictores), *caeruleum sublinunt, mox purpurissum ex ovo inducunt.* Bentley objected to *plumas* as denoting only the feathers covering the body, not the wing-feathers, which he thought the context required. The distinction though usually is not always observed, and is not in question here: the monstrous form is represented as having the body of a bird, which would be covered with *plumae.*

3. **undique collatis membris**, probably the dative after *inducere*, not the abl. abs. (as Orelli thinks), for the indirect object after *inducere* can hardly be spared: *sic* is understood from the following *ut*, as in v. 8 etc. 'and to spread feathers of varied hues over limbs brought together from all sides in such a way that' &c. Ritter places a comma at *plumas*, understanding *inducere* simply of the horse's neck (with *et ei* understood), and taking *collatis membris* as abl. abs. This leaves the body undescribed.

turpiter atrum go together, as in Ep. I. 3, 22 *turpiter hirtum:* **atrum**=*foedum* 'hideous': Ep. II. 2, 189.

4. **in piscem** 'in beluam marinam, i.e. pistricem' Acron, whence some have read *atram...in pristim:* cp. Verg. Aen. III. 427 *postrema immani corpore pistrix* of Scylla, X. 211 *in pristim desinit alvus* of Triton. [For the form of the word cp. Nettleship on Aen. III. 427.] But the general term is at least as good as the more specific one, if not better.

5. **spectatum** 'to a private view', of course the supine.

7. **aegri** seems to have rather more authority than *aegris* which Keller defends, and it is a better parallel to *cuius.* **vanae** 'unreal'. Cp. Ep. II. 1, 210 (note).

8. **fingentur** is required after *fore*, by the sequence of tenses, not *finguntur.*

species 'fancies': *vanae species*, as Schütz points out, are not in themselves blameworthy in a work of imagination: only they must not be inconsistent, like the dreams of a man suffering from fever.

nec pes nec caput, a metaphor suggested by the comparison with a picture. Cp. Plaut. Asin. 729 *nec caput nec pes sermoni adparet.* Capt. 614 *garriet quoi neque pes umquam neque caput compareat.* Cic. ad Fam. VII. 31, 2 *tuas res ita contractas, ut, quemadmodum scribis, nec caput nec pedes.*

uni proleptic: *ita ut una fiat.*

9. **reddatur** 'is adapted to'. 'Natura rerum *dat*, poeta *reddit* ut debitum' Or.

pictoribus...potestas: the objection of a critic (*subjectio*), as Acron says, or as Prof. Nettleship prefers to regard it, another dictum quoted from the Greek, to which Horace supplies the necessary qualification.

10. **aequa**: Acron interprets this as 'equal'. The connexion then is: 'poets have just as much licence of unrestricted imagination as painters have: but we have seen that there are limits in the one case; therefore there must be also in the other'. Orelli and Schütz reject this interpretation, preferring to translate 'reasonable', as in *aequum ius* etc. But 'a reasonable power of unlimited licence' is a contradiction in terms, not to be defended by saying that *quidlibet* is an intentional exaggeration, corrected in the next line.

11. **petimus** quasi poetae, **damus** quasi critici. Acron.

12. **coeant**: cp. Ep. I. 5, 25 *ut coeat par iungaturque pari*.

13. **geminentur** 'are paired'.

14. **inceptis** = 'plans'.

15. **purpureus** 'brilliant': for the wide sense in which this word is used cp. the commentators on Carm. III. 15, 15, IV. 1, 10 or Verg. Aen. VI. 641. Orelli thinks there is a reference to the *latus clavus* which bordered the *toga praetexta*, or to the flounce (*instita*), sometimes attached to the *stola*. This hardly suits the context: the *panni* are not attached as appendages to the body of the work, but incorporated here and there in it.

16. **lucus et ara**. This and the following instances are probably taken from contemporary poets, but we cannot identify any of them.

18. **Rhenum**, an adjective, as Carm. IV. 4, 38 *Metaurum flumen*: Tac. Hist. IV. 12 *mare Oceanum*.

19. **nunc** 'at the moment'.

erat, from the point of view of the reader, who goes back to the time of writing the poem.

cupressum. The scholiasts tell a story of a bad painter, who could paint nothing but a cypress. A shipwrecked man requested him to paint a picture of his disaster, that he might, according to the custom, carry it about, and get alms (Juv. XIV. 301 *mersa rate naufragus assem dum rogat et picta se tempestate tuetur*). The painter asked if he did not want a cypress introduced; which gave rise to a Greek proverb μή τι καὶ κυπαρίσσου θέλεις; applied to one who wishes to introduce ornaments out of place.

21. coepit institui: cp. Ep. II. 1, 149 (note). The *urceus* or 'pitcher', though not necessarily smaller than the *amphora*, was so as a rule: and the sentence gains in point if we suppose that to a vessel of the size of an *amphora*, the shape of an *urceus* was given; at any rate, it was something very different. **rota**, of course the potter's wheel: cp. Senec. Ep. XC. 31 *Anacharsis, inquit, invenit rotam figuli, cuius circuitu vasa formantur.* But it is mentioned by Homer Il. XVIII. 600. **exit**: cp. Pers. I. 45 *non ego, cum scribo, si forte quid aptius exit, quando haec rara avis est, si quid tamen aptius exit, laudari metuam.*

23. quidvis, a reading restored by Bentley for the vulgate *quod vis*: the latter has the support of almost all MSS., and would mean *quod instituis*: but this is very frigid, and Ritter is the only recent editor who defends it.

dumtaxat 'provided only it be'. Cp. Reid on Cic. Lael. § 53. **simplex**, i.e. constituting a single and uniform whole.

24—31. Prof. Nettleship takes these lines to be again a paraphrase of the Greek original, with Horace's comment in vv. 32—37. *The desire to avoid a fault must be directed by knowledge, or the opposite fault is incurred.*

25. specie recti 'by our idea of what is right': *species* is not here in a bad sense, a mere phantom: cp. Quint. VIII. 3, 56 *κακόζηλον vocatur quicquid est ultra virtutem, quoties ingenium iudicio caret et specie boni fallitur: omnium in eloquentia vitiorum pessimum.* The word is often used in Cicero with the meaning of 'general notion' = *ἰδέα*.

26. levia 'smoothness', *τὴν λειότητα* of the rhetoricians, to which vigour and energy (*δεινότης*) was in danger of being sacrificed. Bentley preferred *lenia*, which has very slight authority: the passage from Cic. Brut. 48, 177 *sunt eius aliquot orationes ex quibus...lenitas eius sine nervis conspici potest*, adduced in support of this reading, tells really rather against it. We do not want quite a repetition of the same idea, but a slight variation, as in *brevis*,)(*obscurus*. A man who aims at an excellence is in danger of falling into a fault, closely connected with it: but *lenia* would denote not an excellence, but a fault. Keller points out that as the archetype was undoubtedly written in capitals, the difference between the two words is not so slight as it is in MSS. written in small letters.

nervi: cp. Cic. Brut. 31, 121 *quis Aristotele nervosior?* Quint. VIII. proem. 18 *resistam iis, qui omissa rerum*, qui nervi sunt in causis, *diligentia quodam inani circa voces studio senescunt.* In good Latin *nervus*, like *νεῦρον*, always denotes sinews or tendons (literal or metaphorical): cp. Celsus VIII. 1 *nervi quos*

τένοντας Graeci appellant, but sometimes appears to include also what we call 'nerves': see Mayor's note on Cic. Nat. Deor. II. 55, 136. Galen (born A.D. 130) was the first to limit *νεῦρον* to the meaning 'nerve', in its present sense.

27. animi 'spirit'. **professus grandia**: cp. Quint. X. 2, 16 *plerumque* (imitatores) *declinant in peius et proxima virtutibus vitia comprehendunt fiuntque pro grandibus tumidi.*

28. serpit humi. Horace mixes the metaphors of one who fears to soar and so creeps along the ground, and of a sailor who hugs the shore in his dread of a storm. Cp. Carm. II. 10, 1 ff. Perhaps there is a reference to *pedestris* oratio.

29. prodigialiter occurs in good Latin only here and in Colum. III. 3, 3. In Plaut. Amph. 732 *prodigialis Iuppiter* is the god who sends marvels. Hence the word seems to mean 'so as to produce a marvellous effect'. Krüger and Keller (in his smaller edition) adopt Jeep's punctuation and interpretation *qui variare cupit, rem prodigialiter unam*, 'he who desires to give variety paints—a marvel of unity—a dolphin in the woods' etc., referring to Madvig on Cic. de Fin. II. 23, 75 *rem videlicet difficilem et obscuram.* But it is doubtful whether *variare* can thus be separated from *rem;* and there seems no reason to depart from the natural rendering: 'he who wishes to lend variety to one and the same subject so as to introduce a marvel'. This Keller now admits. Perhaps it is better to take *unam* as merely denoting 'one and the same', rather than as 'simple'.

30. delphinum: the Greek δελφίν or δελφίς becomes usually *delphinus* in Latin, as ἐλέφας becomes *elephantus;* but Ovid has twice *delphin* as the nom. (found occasionally in other poets), and five times *delphina* as the acc. sing.: Vergil (once—Aen. VIII. 673) and Ovid (three times) have *delphines* as nom. sing., and Vergil (Ecl. VIII. 56) has *delphinas* as acc. plur. Ovid has the abl. *delphine* in Met. XI. 237, and the gen. plur. *delphinum* is found thrice in Vergil and once in Propertius. But these Greek forms are entirely confined to poetry: cp. Cic. de Nat. D. I. 27, 77, Neue, *Formenlehre* I.[2] 322.

32. Aemilium ludum, according to Porph. a gladiatorial school near the Forum, built by an Aemilius Lepidus, who cannot now be identified with any one of the many who bore that name at or about this time.

imus was confessedly the reading of the archetype, but Bentley's conjecture *unus* has found almost universal acceptation; not only those editors who usually follow him, but even those who set least value on his judgment admit it. Macleane says 'there can be no doubt that it is the true reading', and Keller 'after weighing the whole question a hundred times, *unus* appears to

me the more correct'. But I cannot but think that Ritter, Krüger and Schütz are right in defending *imus*. It is not necessary to accept Porph.'s explanation 'hoc est, in angulo ludi tabernam habentem' though it may well be founded on a genuine tradition, as the details which he adds (see below) are not likely to be mere invention; while Acron's interpretation of the word as a proper name is the last refuge of a despairing commentator. But I do not see why *imus* should not have the natural force of 'the lowest in rank', i.e. the poorest, or most unskilful. Bentley had of course no difficulty in showing that *unus* is often used of preeminent excellence (cp. Sat. I. 10, 42; II. 3, 24; 6, 57); but why is it necessary to suppose that Horace had in view a particular craftsman, who was distinguished for his skill in details, but failed in his works as a whole? It is surely legitimate to say 'the poorest smith who lives by the Aemilian school will represent you nails, and imitate waving hair in bronze': and if so, there is no reason to depart from the MSS. Jordan (*Hermes*, Vol. IX. 416 ff.) shows that probably around the outer walls of the *ludus* there were *tabernae*, let out to *fabri* by the builder or lessee of the school: he thinks that the last of these facing the main street was tenanted by the *faber* in question under the sign of a figure of Polycletus, which gave rise to the name by which (according to Porph.) the *ludus* was afterwards known, when turned into a bath (*quod nunc Polycleti balineum est*). If it is not legitimate to take the expression as a general one, and some particular craftsman is denoted, this view seems defensible.

'Fix on some casual sculptor, he shall know
How to give nails their sharpness, hair its flow'. Con.

Orelli seems wrong in regarding elaborate accuracy in the representation of the hair as a great merit in a sculptor. After the path had once been pointed out (according to Pliny N. H. XXXIV. 8, 19 by Pythagoras of Rhegium: but cp. Overbeck, *Gesch. d. Griech. Plastik*, p. 183), it was not hard to follow it.

33. mollis 'waving', as often in Vergil, e.g. Ecl. III. 45 *molli acantho*, applied to hair by Tibull. I. 8, 9 *quid tibi nunc mollis prodest coluisse capillos?*

34. infelix operis summa 'failing in his work as a whole': *summa* may be best taken as the ablative of the part concerned (Roby § 1210, S. G. § 497): Bentley puts a comma after *operis*, which is then the genitive of the part concerned (Roby § 1320, S. G. § 526), a construction which is legitimate enough in itself, but here leaves *summa* to stand by itself very awkwardly.

ponere 'represent', often used of plastic art, as in Carm. IV. 8, 8 *sollers nunc hominem ponere, nunc deum:* so *componere* in the next line.

me esse velim: cp. Cic. in Cat. I. 4 *cupio me esse clementem*, with note.

36. pravo, cp. Ep. II. 2, 44 (note).

37. spectandum=*dignum qui specter*: cp. Carm. I. 32, 11 *Lycum nigris oculis nigroque crine decorum.*

38—41. *The subject chosen must be within the poet's powers.*

38. aequam=*parem*, 'not too much for'.

39. versate 'consider'. Or. thinks that the metaphor is taken from porters, who 'onera manibus versant, antequam in humeros tollant', but it is too common to need such an explanation: cp. Plaut. Trin. 223 *multas res simitu in meo corde vorso.* **ferre recusent**, Ep. II. 1, 258.

40. potenter=κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν 'in accordance with his powers'. So Porph., and this view has been generally adopted. But the word occurs nowhere else in anything like this sense, any more than δυνατῶς by which Ritter renders it: Schütz quotes (from Forcellini) Quint. XII. 10, 72 *ut dicat utiliter, et ad efficiendum quod intendit potenter*, which is clearly not parallel. May not the meaning be rather 'with self-restraint', as opposed to the common force of *impotens* and *impotenter?* So Cic. Tusc. Disp. I. 3, 6 *hominis est intemperanter* abutentis et otio *et litteris*, and Acad. I. 1, 2 *intemperantis enim esse arbitror scribere quod occultari velit.* [I think the sense is 'he who spends all his powers on the choice', i.e. 'who uses every effort to choose aright'. J. S. R.]

41. facundia: cp. Cato's golden rule for an orator '*rem tene, verba sequentur*'.

42—44. *The virtue of arrangement lies in a choice of what has to be said at the time.*

42. ordinis, repeated by *anaphora*, as the subject-matter of this and the next two lines. The general rule περὶ τῆς εὐταξίας (Porph.) is given in brief, for the detailed precepts depend entirely on the nature of the matter dealt with.

venus 'charm', v. 320.

aut ego fallor 'or else I am quite mistaken', i.q. *ni fallor.* Cp. Ov. Met. I. 607 *aut ego fallor, aut ego laedor:* Liv. praef. *aut me amor suscepti negotii fallit, aut*, etc. The reading of many inferior MSS. *haud* or *haut* is not an indication of the original identity of the two words, as some have thought (cp. Donaldson's *Latin Grammar*, p. 194): the notion of a connexion between the two words is now abandoned by all scholars (cp. Corssen *Ausspr.* II. p. 595): but is due simply to a misunderstanding of the phrase.

43. iam nunc, 'at once', 'at this very time', Ep. II. 1, 127, Carm. II. 1, 17; III. 6, 23: the proper arrangement is secured by not saying anything which is not immediately necessary to the clear comprehension of the narrative or the sentiment. Bentley argues that *iam nunc—iam nunc* can only mean 'at one time—at another time', quoting Pers. V. 110 *iam nunc astringas, iam nunc granaria laxes?* where it certainly has this meaning. He therefore takes away the comma after *dici*. But the sense which results 'to say sometimes [everything], and sometimes to postpone much that ought to be said', is so poor that we cannot possibly accept it.

44. pleraque 'much' as in Ep. II. 1, 66 (note): so *plerumque* 'often' in Ep. I. 18, 94, and above in v. 14.

differat expresses rather the purpose of the poet, *omittat* his action: hence there is no tautology.

46—45. Bentley first transposed these two lines, so that *hoc—hoc* means 'one word—another word'; many of the best recent editors have followed him, and his reasoning seems to be irresistibly cogent. No error is more common in MSS. than the omission of a verse, which afterwards is restored to a wrong place: and *hoc—hoc* seems almost inexplicable, if referred to the topic of order. It is extremely otiose to say that the composer of a poem long promised is to make a selection of his subject-matter. Schütz attempts to defend the traditional order, but with little success. His argument that *dicat*, *differat* and *omittat* need *auctor* as a subject is not strong: the subject is easily supplied from *hunc* of v. 41: and the change to the second person *dixeris* is not harsh, and does not require the introduction of a new theme.

45—59. *Familiar words acquire freshness in a new connexion; and new words may be coined with discretion.*

46. tenuis, here a word of praise, not blame=*subtilis*, λεπτός. Cp. Carm. II. 16, 38 *spiritum Graiae tenuem Camenae.*

serendis 'connecting', suggesting both the avoidance of hiatus, and awkward juxtaposition, and also fresh syntactic combinations.

47. callida iunctura: Orelli quotes as instances from Horace himself *splendide mendax*, *insanientis sapientiae consultus*, *animae magnae prodigus*. Prof. Nettleship happily refers to the charge brought against Vergil by Agrippa that he had been suborned by Maecenas to invent a new kind of affectation, which consisted in an unusual employment of ordinary words, and was therefore difficult of detection (Sueton. XLIV. *novae cacozeliae*

repertorem, non tumidae nec exilis, sed ex communibus verbis atque ideo latentis); and quotes phrases like *recens caede, tela exit, tendit iter velis* (Conington's Vergil, Vol. I.[4] pp. xxix.—xxxiii.).

iunctura cannot refer, as some have supposed, either to composition, or to metaphor.

49. **indiciis** = *σημείοις*. 'Indicia verba appellavit: philosophi enim dicunt indicandarum rerum causa inventas esse voces.' Porph. Perhaps this use of *indicium* is intended as a case of *callida iunctura*.

abdita rerum 'new conceptions', not previously brought to view. The great majority of MSS. read *rerum et*, which was omitted (silently) by Bentley, and which almost all editors recognize as indefensible. There is a similar erroneous addition in Ep. II. 1, 73.

50. **cinctutis** = *qui cinctu induebantur*. The *cinctus* was a broad waistband, or loin-cloth, worn by the old Romans instead of the *tunica* under the *toga*, and by the younger men in their exercises in the Campus, whence it was also called *campestre*. The younger Cato wore it in accordance with the ancient practice (Ascon. p. 30, 9 Or. *Cato praetor iudicium, quia aestate agebatur, sine tunica exercuit, campestri sub toga cinctus*), and Porph. here says: *omnes enim Cethegi unum morem servaverunt Romae... nunquam enim tunica usi sunt: ideo cinctutos eos dixit quoniam cinctus est genus tunicae infra pectus aptatae*. As the arms and breast were left bare Lucan II. 543 speaks of *exsertique manus vesana Cethegi*; and Sil. Ital. VIII. 587 has *ipse umero exsertus gentili more parentum difficili gaudebat equo*. This must be distinguished from the *cinctus Gabinus*, which was the old way of wearing the *toga* in time of war. Cp. Marquardt, *Röm. Privatalt.* II. 159, 167. Several figures wearing the *cinctus* are represented in Daremberg and Saglio's *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, p. 1173.

51. **continget** 'you will be allowed': not very commonly used so without the dative expressed, as in Ep. I. 17, 36, II. 2. 41.

pudenter = *cum pudore*, i.e. 'with moderation'.

52. **fictaque**: Bentley wished to change this into *factaque*, because of *fingere* in v. 50, but the repetition is pleasing rather than otherwise. The phrase *facere novum verbum* is good enough in itself: cp. Cic. Orat. 62, 211 with Sandys' note.

habebunt fidem 'will find acceptance' or 'credit'. The limitation is at first sight by no means clear. Why should newly-coined words find favour only if they come falling like

streams from a Greek source? Is Greek alone the lawful fountain-head of a new vocabulary? Lehrs supposed a line to be lost, closing with *aut si*, so as to supply the missing alternative. But Schütz appears to interpret more correctly by pointing out that two ways of supplying what is lacking are touched upon in vv. 45—53: (1) by a skilful connexion which adds new force to current words: (2) by new words coined to express new ideas. The second cannot be supplied from the stores of the Latin language, or this method comes to coincide with the first (as e.g. when 'booking' is used to describe the purchase of railway tickets): hence it must be met from the Greek. It is hardly possible, with Orelli, to suppose that *Graeco fonte cadere* means simply to be constructed on a Greek model, and refers to compounds such as *centimanus* (ἑκατόγχειρος), or phrases like *aurum vestibus illitum* (χρυσόπαστος), or Cicero's *indolentia* for ἀπάθεια. Madvig's *et si* (*Adv. Crit.* II. 62) is attractive, but not necessary.

parce detorta '*deducta cum parsimonia*', Or. 'a little altered in form', i.e. modified so as to have the form of genuine Latin words, like *amphora* from ἀμφορεύς, *placenta* from πλακοῦς, etc. But this is not consistent with his interpretation of *Graeco fonte*. Cp. Cato as quoted by Priscian IX. p. 487 H. *Marrucini vocantur, de Marso detorsum nomen.*

53. quid autem is used in introducing a statement which removes an objection which might have been made to a previous statement: 'why indeed?'

54. dabit...ademptum: 'grant to...and refuse to V.': the thought might have been more exactly expressed by *datum—adimet*. Some copyists, not understanding that the reference is to the critics of Horace's own time, changed *dabit* into *dedit*, quite needlessly. These critics allowed a free use of words borrowed from Greek to the old dramatists; why refuse it to contemporary poets? Vergil was attacked for his use of Greek words: cp. the quotations from Macrobius in Conington's Vergil, Vol. I.[4] p. xxxiii. Among the words censured are *dius*, *daedala*, *trieterica*, *choreas*, *hyalus*. Cp. Cic. de Fin. III. 4, 15 *si Zenoni licuit cum rem aliquam invenisset inusitatam, inauditum quoque ei rei nomen imponere, cur non liceat Catoni?* where Cato Minor is meant, not as Schütz says, by an oversight, Cato Censorius.

55. Varioque: Varius is connected with Vergil also in Ep. II. 1, 247. Some MSS. have *Varoque*, as in Verg. Ecl. IX. 35. For the freedom with which Plautus adopts Greek words in a Latinized form cp. Sellar, *Roman Poets of the Republic*, p. 165, or *Encycl. Brit.* XIV. 331 *b*.

56. invideor for the more usual *invidetur mihi* = φθονοῦμαι: cp. *imperor* Ep. I. 5, 21, *credor* Ov. Trist. III. 10, 35. Priscian

in commenting upon this (XVIII. 18, 138) compares Ep. I. 14, 41 *invidet usum*, but the acc. of the thing grudged, though not found in Cicero, occurs in Livy, Vergil (Ecl. VII. 58, Aen. VIII. 509), and Ovid.

Catonis: the modernised form in which his only important extant treatise *De Re Rustica* has come down to us precludes us from ascertaining in what way he enriched the Latin language. Ennius did very much to fix the literary pronunciation of Latin, and to determine its vocabulary.

59. producere nomen: Bentley on very slight authority read *procudere* and (on none) *nummum*, which Ribbeck adopts as necessary. But *procudere* is really tautologous after *signatum*: we need both 'to coin' and 'to utter'; and the metaphor being sufficiently expressed in these words *nomen* is required for its application. The metaphor of coinage applied to language is a very common one: cp. Quint. I. 6, 3 *utendum plane sermone ut nummo, cui publica forma est.*

praesente nota 'with the current stamp'. Plin. N. H. XXXIII. 3, 13 *signatum est* (aes) *nota pecudum.* Acron explains *notamine praesentis temporis.*

60—72. *All mortal things are doomed to change and to perish; and so too words.*

60. foliis is an abl. of instrument 'by means of their leaves', i.e. by the growth of new leaves, while the earlier ones fall off [or 'parted from their leaves' on the analogy of *mutari civitate* (Aes. Salp. c. XXII.; Cic. Balb. 31), *mutari finibus* (Liv. V. 46, 11), *mutari voluntate* (Cic. ad Fam. V. 21, 1). In all these cases the abl. is strictly one of respect, but the notion of severance comes in. J. S. R.]. The *silva* corresponds to the *aetas*, the *folia* to the individual *verba*. Bentley printed *silvis folia*, supposing that *foliă* could be lengthened before *pr-*, which would be unparalleled in Horace. The quotation in the grammarian Diomedes p. 394 P. *ut folia in silvis* is probably due only to a slip of memory, for it is hard to see how it should have been altered into the reading of all MSS. if genuine. He also ingeniously suggested *privos* for *pronos*, comparing Lucret. V. 274 *privas mutatur in horas* and 733 *inque dies privos*, with the explanation of Paulus p. 226 M. *privos privasque antiqui dicebant pro singulis*, and Gell. X. 20, 4 *veteres priva dixerunt, quae nos singula dicimus.* But *in annos* stands very well by itself for 'each year' as Carm. II. 13, 14 *in horas* = 'every hour': and there is no reason to ascribe an archaism to Horace here. That Gellius supports his statement by a quotation from Lucilius is, as Schütz notices, an indication that he did not find the word in Horace. Acron well explains *pronos* as *declives et cito labentes, instabiles, volubiles.* Orelli rejects this explanation, and interprets 'ad finem vergentes': but the birth of new

leaves is suggested as much as the loss of old ones. It is doubtful however whether *foliis* can mean by itself 'by the growth of new leaves', even with the antithesis of *prima cadunt*: the passages quoted by Vahlen (on Aristot. Poetik[2] p. 88) by no means suffice to establish this. A mediaeval commentary paraphrases *prima, scilicet, folia, cadunt, nova succrescunt, ita vetus aetas verborum, id est, verba in vetere aetate inventa intereunt, et modo nata...florent.* Hence Prof. Nettleship (*Journal of Philology*, XII. 51) suggests that the line originally ran *prima cadunt, nova succrescunt; vetus interit aetas:* the words *ita verborum* having been originally a gloss upon *aetas:* and this he finds confirmed by a passage in Jerome which runs (*cum*) *alia venerit generatio primisque cadentibus foliis virens silva succreverit.* Lehrs had already suggested the loss of a line after v. 60 in which *succrescunt* occurred. The only difficulty as to accepting Nettleship's ingenious suggestion is the doubt whether *verborum* can be spared. —The metaphor is doubtless suggested by Homer, Il. VI. 146—9 οἵη περ φύλλων γενεή, τοίη δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν. φύλλα τὰ μέν τ' ἄνεμος χαμάδις χέει, ἄλλα δέ θ' ὕλη τηλεθόωσα φύει, ἔαρος δ' ἐπιγίγνεται ὥρη· ὣς ἀνδρῶν γενεὴ ἣ μὲν φύει ἣ δ' ἀπολήγει—a passage which has found many other echoes in literature.

63. **debemur**: cp. Simonides frag. 122 Bergk θανάτῳ πάντες ὀφειλόμεθα. Ov. Met. X. 32 *omnia debemur vobis* (dis inferis).

sive receptus etc. The western coast of Italy was very deficient in good harbours (though not so bad as the eastern, but cp. Cic. de Orat. III. 19, 69). Hence at the time when Sextus Pompeius was threatening Rome with a strong fleet, Agrippa, the admiral of Augustus, found it necessary to construct an artificial port. On the coast of Campania, between Misenum and Puteoli, there were two small lakes, the Avernus and the Lucrinus, separated from each other by a strip of land about a mile in breadth, while the latter, the outer lake, was divided from the sea by a narrow belt of sand or shingle. It seems that the sea occasionally broke through this, and that Julius Caesar accordingly had it strengthened, in order that the fish-preserves of the Lucrine lake might not be disturbed. Agrippa now further strengthened this barrier by facing it with stone, but pierced it with a channel to admit ships, and also connected the two lakes by a canal, so as to form a safe and capacious harbour, called the Portus Julius. Vergil (Georg. II. 161—164) speaks of this work as one of the glories of Italy. But though the Lacus Avernus was of great depth, the Lucrinus was but a shallow lagoon; so that the operation was not permanently successful, and even in the time of Strabo the harbour was practically abandoned. Merivale (III. 261) seems to be in error in ascribing its abandonment to the construction of a harbour at the mouth of the Tiber by Octavius; for the *portus Augusti* near Ostia,

though planned by Julius Caesar, was, according to the best authorities, commenced only by Claudius (cp. Boissier, *Promenades Archéologiques*, p. 269; Burn, *Rome and the Campagna*, p. 370). But whether there is any reference here to this work, as is almost universally assumed, is very doubtful: see on v. 67 below.

64. arcet, here with the acc. of the thing defended, and the abl. of that from which it is defended. In prose it is more common to have the acc. of the thing kept off, and the ablative (with *ab*) of that from which it is kept off.

65. regis opus: Meineke thinks the singular here indefensible, holding that it could only mean 'the work of one who was a king', a title always rejected by Augustus, as by Julius: and therefore suggests *regium opus*, like *regiae moles* in Carm. II. 15, 1. The suggestion has found much favour: and I am by no means sure that the vulgate can be defended. Cp. Theocr. I. 32 γυνά τι θεῶν δαίδαλμα.

palus diu. The MSS. read **diu palus**: Bentley first objected to the unparalleled shortening of *palŭs*, and suggested *palus prius*: Gesner's *palus diu*, in which the long vowel is not elided but shortened in hiatus, has in its favour *si mĕ amas* of Sat. I. 9, 38 and Vergil Ecl. VIII. 108 *an quĭ amant*, Aen. VI. 507 *tĕ amice*. [Ovid Met. I. 155 *Pelio Ossam*, and III. 501 *vale, vale inquit et Echo*, are no more parallel than Verg. Georg. I. 281 and Ecl. III. 70 from which they are copied; and in Propert. IV. (III.) 11, 17 *Omphale in tantum* Palmer ingeniously reads *Jardanis in tantum*.] The hiatus is common in Lucretius and Catullus: cp. Munro on Lucr. II. 404 and Lachm. *Comm.* p. 176. Although we cannot very confidently ascribe it to Horace here, especially as the instances apparently similar shorten the vowel in the first not the second thesis, it is less improbable than the shortening of the final syllable of *palŭs*, to which no sort of parallel can be adduced. Hence the best recent editors admit it. But I am by no means sure that Bentley's *palus prius* is not a safer correction. PRIV̄ would easily become DIV. Or if it dropped out after *palus*, *diu* might be inserted to make out the line. Macleane entirely misunderstands Quint. I. 7, 3 which in no way 'shows that later poets had followed Horace's licence'. Both Servius and Priscian had the reading of the MSS. and remark upon the shortened final syllable, but quote no other instance of it.

sterilisve, though it has not much more authority than *sterilisque*, is clearly the better reading.

The scholiasts explain this to refer to the draining of the Pomptine marshes by Augustus: *Pomptinas paludes Augustus exsiccavit et habitabiles reddidit iniecto aggere lapidum et terrae.*

But although Julius Caesar intended to attempt this work (Suet. Jul. XLIV.), and perhaps met with some partial success, reclaiming some land which Antonius proposed to divide among the poorer citizens (Dio. XLV. 9), there is no evidence that it was carried out by Augustus: and Mr Long (*Notes on Plutarch* Caes. LVIII.) points out some engineering difficulties which would make the complete fulfilment of the task almost impossible.

67. seu cursum mutavit amnis. Porphyrion says 'Tiberim intellegamus: hunc enim Agrippa derivavit, qua nunc vadit: antea per Velabrum fluebat', and similar notes are given by Acron and Comm. Cruq. But the Velabrum was drained by the Cloaca Maxima in the time of the kings, and the Tiber never flowed through it. Suet. Aug. XXX. says *ad coercendas inundationes alveum Tiberis laxavit ac repurgavit, completum olim ruderibus et aedificiorum prolapsionibus coartatum:* but of this we have no further details. For the inundations of the Tiber cp. Carm. I. 2, 13—20: but *frugibus* shows that in this place the damage done to the city cannot have been prominent in the mind of Horace. But the three instances of great works of men here mentioned as perishing are strikingly parallel to what Plut. Caes. LVIII. says of the schemes of Julius Caesar: 'He had also a design of diverting the Tiber, and carrying it by a deep channel directly from Rome to Circeii, and so into the sea near Tarracina, that there might be a safe and easy passage for all merchants who traded to Rome. Besides this he intended to drain all the marshes by Pomentium and Setia, and gain ground enough from the water to employ many thousands of men in tillage. He proposed further to make great mounds on the shore nearest Rome, to hinder the sea from breaking in upon the land, to clear the coast at Ostia of all the hidden rocks and shoals that made it unsafe for shipping, and to form ports and harbours fit to receive the large number of vessels that would frequent them. These things were designed without being carried into effect'. Now it seems pretty clear that the draining of the Pomptine marshes was never carried out to an extent sufficient to justify Horace's language, if taken strictly. There is great probability therefore in the view of Preller (*Aufsätze*, p. 515 ff.) that Horace has in view throughout the designs of Julius rather than any works actually executed by Augustus. It would be a very doubtful compliment to the reigning emperor to take great engineering operations of his as instances of works doomed to pass away; whereas it would be natural for him to speak thus of gigantic schemes commenced a quarter of a century before and never completely carried out. We must therefore suppose Horace to be using a kind of poetic anticipation, 'assuming the great dictator's plans to have been achieved, still they are destined to fail in the long run'. So Nettleship l.c. p. 52 note.

68. facta is not often used for *opera*, perhaps never in prose: but Ovid Her. X. 60 has *non hominum video, non ego facta boum*, where the last words translate ἔργα βοῶν: so that Bentley's substitution of *cuncta* is needless.

69. nedum—stet, Roby § 1658, S. G. § 688. Key's notion (*L. G.* § 1228), that *existumes* is omitted for the sake of brevity, will not stand examination. But in cases like the present Mr Roby's way of stating the usage needs to be modified or rather inverted: the 'greater event', i.e. the perishing of all works of men, is rhetorically regarded as having for its purpose the prevention of the 'less event', the continued currency of words.

sermonum, a very rare, perhaps unparalleled use of the plural, for 'style' or 'language'. Carm. III. 8, 5 *docte sermones utriusque linguae* is quite different, if the usual interpretation is correct.

70. multa renascentur: archaisms were much affected by the writers of the second century after Christ, such as Fronto, A. Gellius, and Apuleius. Our own time has similarly witnessed a great revival of archaic words in poetry.

72. '**arbitrium** quod statuimus nulla causa allata; **ius** facultas quam ceteri ultro agnoscunt: **norma** regula a nobis praescripta cui ceteri obtemperant' Orell. **penes** personifies **usus** ('in whose hands'). Cp. Ep. II. 2, 119.

73—309. In this second main section of the poem Horace applies his general principles to the treatment of different kinds of poetry, passing from one to the other with little formality, but dwelling mainly upon the drama.

73—85. *Homer first wrote hexameters; then followed elegiac verse of uncertain origin: iambics were invented by Archilochus for his lampoons, and adopted both by comedy and tragedy. Lyric verse is fitted for hymns, for odes of victory, and for songs about love and wine.*

74. Homerus: the invention of the hexameter was ascribed to the Delphic priests, and it is no improbable conjecture that the earliest epic poetry—which in any case must have existed for centuries before the Iliad assumed its present form—was of purely religious origin. Cp. Mahaffy's *Greek Literature*, I. pp. 15—17. The hexameter arose, as may be seen from the importance of the caesura, from a combination of two short lines, the first normally –⏑⏑ | –⏑⏑ | –, the second the same in structure but with an anacrusis, and an added syllable at the end – | –⏑⏑ | –⏑⏑ | – ‖ –. From this the pentameter was formed by the omission of the added elements in the second half. Thus the character of the verse was entirely changed. Cp. Coleridge's version of Schiller's lines:

In the hexameter rises the fountain's silvery column:
In the pentameter aye falling in melody back.

75. **impariter**, one of Horace's *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα*. **querimonia**, i.e. elegy. Horace seems to allude to the traditional derivation of *ἔλεγος* from *ἒ ἒ λέγειν* 'to say ah me', a derivation quite impossible for scientific etymology. As the word denoted primarily a plaintive tune played on the Phrygian pipe, it is probably of Phrygian origin (Mahaffy, I. p. 157). The Phrygian *αὔλησις* became widely familiar in Greece in connexion with the worship of Dionysus and the Phrygian Mother of the Gods, especially through the compositions of Olympus: and there is reason to believe that it was especially used in laments over the dead: cp. Plutarch, de *εἶ* c. XXI. *ὁ αὐλὸς ὀψὲ καὶ πρώην ἐτόλμησε φωνὴν ἐφ' ἱμεροῖσιν ἀφεῖναι, τὸν δὲ πρῶτον χρόνον εἵλκετο πρὸς τὰ πένθη, καὶ τὴν περὶ ταῦτα λειτουργίαν οὐ μάλα ἔντιμον οὐδὲ φαιδρὰν εἶχεν, εἶτ' ἐμίχθη παντάπασιν*. But it was Callinus of Ephesus (circ. B.C. 665) who first wrote verses in elegiac metre, to be sung to the accompaniment of the pipe. (Bergk, *Gr. Litteraturgesch.* II. 125 ff.) His poems were not of a religious character, but adapted for ordinary social intercourse. The only important fragment which we possess (some twenty lines) was intended to stir up his countrymen to greater energy in their struggle with the Magnetes (Bergk, *ib.* pp. 178—180). Archilochus somewhat later used the same metre as a vehicle for the expression of the most varied emotions, introducing many references to his personal history. Tyrtaeus (circ. B.C. 600—580) followed more closely in the steps of Callinus, dealing in his *Εὐνομία* with the internal disorders and external dangers of Lacedaemon. Mimnermus of Colophon (circ. B.C. 575) wrote mainly, but not exclusively, love-poems, and hence is often regarded as the inventor of the erotic elegy (cp. Ep. II. 2, 100), here denoted by **voti sententia compos** 'the feelings of one who has gained his prayer', i.e. of a successful lover. The 'sweet and tender' character traditionally ascribed to the poetry of Mimnermus is not, in the opinion of Bergk (*ib.* II. 262), justified by 'the vigorous and manly tone' in which he expresses even sorrowful emotions: but a large proportion of the extant fragments consist of *querimoniae* over the approach of old age. His love for the flute-girl Nanno, who rejected him, was not *voti compos*. Indeed successful love is rarely a theme for elegiac verse: hence Michaelis prefers to understand the words here of the epigram.

77. **exiguos** refers mainly to the slighter and less dignified character of elegiacs as compared with hexameters, as Ovid (Am. II. 1, 21) calls them *leves*: but it may allude also to the more confined metrical structure. Cp. Tennyson's 'tiny poem'.

78. **grammatici** 'our teachers', i.e. professors of literature, as in Ep. I. 19, 40. The origin of the doubt may have arisen from the fact that there was nothing plaintive or mournful in the stirring 'elegies' of Callinus.

79. Archilochum: Ep. I. 19, 23—25 (notes). **iambo**: the word ἴαμβος is undoubtedly derived from ἰάπτω 'to fling' (Curt. *Etym.*[5] 537, E. T. II. 154), and denotes originally a flinging, or a verse flung at another, whence ἰαμβίζω 'to lampoon'. When Aristotle Poet. v. 6 says of Crates πρῶτος ἦρξεν ἀφέμενος τῆς ἰαμβικῆς ἰδέας καθόλου ποιεῖν λόγους καὶ μύθους he refers to the change from the mere abuse of the earliest stages to a regular comedy.

80. socci, Ep. II. 1, 174. Comedy is mentioned before tragedy, though later in origin, or at any rate, later in reaching literary development, perhaps as being more akin in subject to the satire of Archilochus. Mr Mahaffy thinks that we cannot say what metre was used by Thespis, for the recitations with which he separated the choral parts of the earliest tragedies (I. 234): but as the next tragic poet Phrynichus used iambic trimeters, while it is expressly said that he was the first to introduce trochaic tetrameters in tragedy, although nothing of the kind is said about his use of iambics, it is pretty clear that the latter must have been used by Thespis. Yet Aristotle Poetics IV. 18 says τό τε μέτρον ἐκ τετραμέτρου ἰαμβεῖον ἐγένετο, as though the earliest tragedies had been in tetrameters: cp. Rhet. III. 1. 9 (below). Four or five iambic lines, ascribed to Susarion, the reputed introducer of comedy into Athens from Megara, are preserved, but they are not genuine. Comedy can hardly be said to have taken literary form before the time of Cratinus, and he used iambics largely, though not exclusively. Bergk however (*G. L.* III. 107) thinks that the use of iambics was even earlier in comedy than in tragedy. Undoubtedly the reason for the choice of this metre is that given by Horace, that it comes nearest to the ordinary rhythm of prose. Cp. Arist. Rhet. III. 8, 4 ὁ δ' ἴαμβος αὐτή ἐστιν ἡ λέξις ἡ τῶν πολλῶν· διὸ μάλιστα πάντων τῶν μέτρων ἰαμβεῖα φθέγγονται λέγοντες. So in III. 1, 9 he speaks of tragic poets who ἐκ τῶν τετραμέτρων εἰς τὸ ἰαμβεῖον μετέβησαν διὰ τὸ τῷ λόγῳ τοῦτο τῶν μέτρων ὁμοιότατον εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων, and in the Poetics IV. 18 he says μάλιστα γὰρ λεκτικὸν τῶν μέτρων τὸ ἰαμβεῖόν ἐστι· σημεῖον δὲ τούτου· πλεῖστα γὰρ ἰαμβεῖα λέγομεν ἐν τῇ διαλέκτῳ τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους: a remark repeated by Cic. Orat. 56, 189: cp. Cic. de Orat. III. 47, 182.

coturni. All MSS. have *coturni* here and everywhere in Horace, and, as Keller says (Epil. on Carm. II. 1, 12), in every author who has been carefully collated. Cp. e.g. Riese praef. Ovid. I. p. xiii. Certainly all MSS. give it so in Quintil. X. 1, 68 and in Propert. II. (III.) 34, 41, while Nettleship adopts it in Vergil, e.g. Ecl. VIII. 104. There is therefore no reason to doubt that this form for κόθορνοι had established itself in popular usage. But cp. Ribbeck Proll. in Verg. p. 424, where he shows that the evidence is divided.

81. popularis strepitus, the murmur which always rises from any large assembly, and drowns everything but the clearest and most marked elocution. The frequent recurrence of the *ictus* in iambic rhythm makes it sharper and more easily audible than a metre which contains more short syllables. Cp. Cic. de Orat. III. 47, 182 (note).

82. natum rebus agendis 'suited by their nature to action'. So Arist. Poet. XXIV. 10 *τὸ δὲ ἰαμβικὸν καὶ τετράμετρον κινητικά, τὸ μὲν ὀρχηστικόν, τὸ δὲ πρακτικόν.*

83. fidibus, dat. 'to the lyre'. The object of *dedit* is *referre:* cp. Roby S. G. § 534, and v. 323 *dedit—loqui.* The two main divisions of lyric (or more properly *melic*) poetry were (1) the Dorian, or choric poetry, beginning with Terpander of Lesbos, who flourished at Sparta B.C. 670—640, and including Alcman, Thaletas, Arion, Stesichorus, Ibycus, and most famous of all Simonides and Pindar: this was public, choral, and elaborate in rhythm, and its subjects were religious or national, including the glory of victors in the games: (2) the Aeolic, of which Alcaeus, Sappho and Anacreon were the chief representatives and in which personal emotions were expressed in simpler metrical forms. To the former Horace refers in vv. 83, 84, to the latter in v. 85.

85. libera vina 'the freedom of wine', practically equivalent to 'the wine which frees men' from their cares (Ep. I. 5, 16 f.); or else, as Orelli takes it, of the free speech of those who have drunk much wine (cp. Sat. I. 4, 89; II. 8, 37).

86—118. Not only must the right diction (45—72) and the fitting metre (73—86) be chosen, but also the proper tone and style must be maintained. Horace here begins to deal especially with dramatic poetry, which he keeps in view almost exclusively up to v. 294. *One who cannot keep up the right tone in treating his characters does not deserve the name of poet. Tragedy and comedy have each their appropriate style, though sometimes they seem to pass into each other. A successful play must touch the feelings of the audience, and for this language well adapted to the position and character of the personages must be employed.*

86. descriptas 'marked out', assigned to tragedy and comedy respectively. Bücheler would read here against all MSS. *discriptas* 'apportioned'. For the difference between the words cp. Cic. de Sen. 2, 5; and 17, 59 with Reid's notes.

vices seems never to mean 'parts', the translation often given to it here. Comparing Carm. IV. 7, 3 *mutat terra vices* we see that *vices* may denote the states into which a thing passes by change, as well as the changes themselves. Here it is 'the differences'. **operumque colores** is added to explain *vices:* cp.

v. 236, and Sat. II. 1, 60 *vitae color*. We must say 'style' or 'tone'.

88. pudens prave 'from a false shame'.

90. privatis, i.e. suited to daily life: a shocking tragedy in the life of a king ought not to be described in verse suited to the ordinary affairs of a simple citizen.

91. cena Thyestae: the story of Thyestes, tricked by his brother Atreus into eating the flesh of his own two sons, is told by Aeschylus Agam. 1517—1536 (cp. Soph. Aj. 1294), and was made the subject of a tragedy by Varius, the friend of Horace, which according to Quintilian x. 1, 98 *cuilibet Graecarum comparari potest*. *coena* is a barbarism: Fleckeisen, *Funfzig Artikel* 10.

92. This line has been transposed to after v. 98 by L. Müller, and rejected by Lehrs and Ribbeck. Certainly it rather breaks the connexion of the thought, and could well be spared, but it may be defended as a generalising remark introduced by Horace, to bear out what he said in v. 86: *quaeque* then refers not to tragedy and comedy, which is hardly possible grammatically (though occasionally *quisque* is used where *uterque* would be more correct), but to all kinds of poetry. **decentem** is the reading of the Bland. vet. and the excellent Berne MS. restored by Bentley, and adopted by the best editors since. The construction then is *singula suum quaeque locum teneant*, (*quoniam*) *sortita* (*sunt locum*) *decentem*. Schütz and Keller defend *decenter*, connecting it with *teneant*.

93. et comoedia 'even comedy', as well as tragedy.

94. Chremes, a name borne by old men in the Andria, Phormio, Hautontimorumenus of Terence, and by a young man in the Eunuchus. The reference here is probably to the severe language of Chremes in Haut. v. 4. Horace uses the word of a miser in Epod. I. 33, borrowing it from some unknown comedy. Perhaps the name was applied to old men from a belief in the absurd old etymology 'a χρέμπτεσθαι screare, quia senes screare solent'. It is really connected with χρεμ-ίζω 'to snort', and *grim* etc. (Fick, *Wtb.*[3] I. 582, Curt. *Gr. Et.* I. 250): the Chremes of the Eunuchus is an 'adulescens rusticus'.

delitigat only found here. *de-* is intensive.

95. plerumque 'often' as in v. 14. **tragicus** 'in a tragedy', like *Davus comicus* in Sat. II. 5, 91: cp. Cic. in Pis. 20, 47 *tragico illo Oreste et Athamante dementiorem:* Caec. ap. Cic. Lael. 26, 99 *comicos stultos senes*. **sermone pedestri**: cp. Carm. II. 12, 9 *tuque pedestribus dices historiis proelia:* Sat. II. 6, 17 *quid prius illustrem satiris musaque pedestri?* Quintil. x. 1, 81 *mul-*

tum enim supra prosam orationem, quam pedestrem Graeci vocant, surgit [Plato]. Photius quotes from Aristoph. [Fr. 713 D.] παῦσαι μελῳδοῦσ' ἀλλὰ πεζῇ μοι φράσον: and Plato Soph. 237 A has πεζῇ τε ὧδε ἑκάστοτε λέγων καὶ μετὰ μέτρων. This use of the word is very common in later Greek.

96. **Telephus** was the son of Hercules by Auge, daughter of the king of Tegea. At his birth he was exposed on Mount Parthenius, and his mother fled for refuge to Teuthras, king of Mysia, who being childless adopted her as his daughter. When Telephus was grown up, he went forth in search of his mother, and arrived at Mysia, at a time when Idas was endeavouring to expel Teuthras from his throne. Telephus having defeated Idas was offered by Teuthras the hand of Auge, and the succession to the throne: but their relationship was discovered before the marriage took place. When the Greeks were on their way to Troy, Telephus was king of Mysia, and being married to a daughter (or sister) of Priam he drove them back, but stumbling over a vine, he was wounded by Achilles. The wound could not be cured until in pitiful guise he went to Agamemnon, and *monitu Clytaemnestrae Orestem infantem de cunabulis rapuit, minitans se eum occisurum, nisi sibi Achivi mederentur* (Hygin. Fab. CI.). Achilles was prevailed upon to cure him with the rust of the spear which had inflicted the wound. Plays were written upon this story by Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Agathon, Ennius and Accius. Sophocles in his 'Telephus or the Mysians' (cp. Frag. 358—368, 510 D.) dealt with the former part of the legend: but Euripides, in a play of which we have some 30 fragments preserved, mainly through the scholiast's notes on the merciless parodies by Aristophanes (cp. Fragm. 697—727 Dind.), treated the latter part, representing Telephus in the greatest misery. For the plays of Ennius and Accius based upon this cp. Ribbeck *Röm. Trag.* pp. 104 f., 344 f.

Peleus was banished from Aegina by his father Aeacus for the murder of his half-brother Phocus, and fled to Phthia, where he was received and purified by Eurytion, who gave him his daughter Antigone in marriage, and a third of his kingdom. In the hunt of the Calydonian boar Peleus killed Eurytion by accident, and fled to Iolcus, where he was again purified by Acastus. Here Astydameia [or Hippolyte Carm. III. 7, 18], wife of Acastus, fell in love with him, and when her love was rejected, accused him to Acastus, as Hippolytus and Bellerophon were accused under like circumstances. Acastus in revenge left him asleep on Mt Pelion, after taking away his sword, that he might be a prey to the beasts. Peleus on awakening was attacked by Centaurs, but saved by Chiron. Then followed his famous marriage with Thetis. Afterwards Peleus gathering an army besieged Acastus in Iolcus, and slew Astydameia. For the numerous

variations in the legend cp. *Dict. Biog.* s.v. Sophocles in his Peleus seems to have represented him as expelled by Archander and Architeles sons of Acastus (Frag. 434—442 D.), Euripides as banished by Acastus (Frag. 620—626 D.). But as Isocr. Evag. 192 *b* speaks of him as κατὰ πολλοὺς ἄλλους κινδύνους εὐδοκιμήσας, we cannot say what part of his life of varied adventure was especially in the mind of Horace.

97. **proicit** 'throws aside': *proiicit* is quite indefensible, in spite of the arguments of Prof. J. B. Mayor in Cic. de Nat. D. Vol. I. p. lxvi. Cp. Munro on Lucr. I. 34, Brambach *Hülfsb.* § 20, II.

ampullas, Ep. I. 3, 14 (note): **sesquipedalia**, polysyllables, such as those much in favour with the early Latin dramatists. Gellius XIX. 7 quotes from Laevius *foedifragus*, *pudoricolor*, *trisaeclisenex*, *dulcioriloquus* and others. Pacuvius wrote *Nerei repandirostrum incurvicervicum pecus.* Crates (quoted by Athen. X. 418 C) speaks of ἔπη τριπήχη Θετταλικῶς τετμημένα, i.e. cut into big pieces, such as the Thessalian gluttons loved.

98. **si curat cor**: the neglect of the caesura is intentional, to imitate the carelessness of artistic form in one feeling deeply. Cp. Pers. I. 91 *qui me volet incurvasse querella;* and for the perf. infin. Ep. I. 17, 5 note. The evidence of the best MSS. in Horace (cp. Keller Epil. on Carm. II. 9, 18), in Vergil (Ribbeck, Proll. 429) and Ovid (Merkel, Praef. II. p. viii.), is uniformly in favour of **querella**, not *querela*. Cp. Lachmann on Lucret. p. 204, Munro on Lucr. I. 39. Brambach, *Lat. Orthogr.* p. 259, defends *querela* on the authority of the grammarians.

99. **pulchra** 'fine' when judged by the canons of art: **dulcia** 'charming' to the feelings and hearts of the readers. Gesner quotes the French saying: *La beauté est pour l'esprit, la douceur est pour le cœur.* Bentley's conjecture *pura* is unfortunate. He shows with his usual learning that *pura verba* denotes plain, simple language (cp. Sat. I. 4, 54), but does not prove that *pulchra* is here out of place. On the contrary his quotations from Sat. I. 10, 6 and Ep. II. 1, 72 bear out the meaning here assigned to it.

101. **adsunt** (or *assunt*, Roby I. p. 49 note) is the reading of the MSS. supported by Acron's 'in praesto sunt'. Bentley eagerly accepted what some earlier scholars had suggested, *adflent*, supporting it by a quotation of some anonymous grammarian, doubtless made from memory. But the three-fold repetition of *flere* would be far from elegant, and the antithesis would be disagreeably forced, with this reading. For *adesse* 'to support' with help and sympathy cp. v. 204, Ep. I. 17, 57: so often in Cic. and Livy. Halm reads in Tac. Hist. III. 55 *vulgus aderat* (MS. haberat) in the sense of 'responded to'.

102. dolendum est: Acron here quotes 'illud Ciceronis *ardeat orator, si vult iudicem incendere*', apparently an inaccurate reminiscence of Cic. de Orat. II. 45, 189, 190. Porphyrion quotes a story of Demosthenes declining to plead the cause of a man who said he had been beaten, because he told the story without any emotion, and only undertaking the case when the man repeated the tale of his wrongs for the third time, with tears of indignation.

104. male mandata go together, and are an instance of the idiom noticed on Ep. II. 2, 166, where the participle really expresses the main proposition: 'if the words which you utter are ill assigned to you', i.e. unsuited to your position and emotions.

105. maestum 'dejected', almost always of an outward expression of grief: hence *dolor* and *maeror* are contrasted in Cic. Ep. Att. XII. 28, Phil. XI. 1. Cp. Doederlein *Syn.* III. 234.

107. lasciva 'sportive', with no evil connotation. The word is used ten times by Horace, and never in a distinctly bad sense: cp. Ep. II. 2, 216.

severum seria: 'inter *serius* et *severus* hoc discriminis est, ut prius fere semper dicitur de rebus, posterius de hominibus'. Ruhnken on Ter. Eun, III. 3, 7 (513)—*ait velle agere mecum rem seriam.*

109. iuvat 'gladdens', rare in this sense as a personal verb; and perhaps only here with a person not a thing as the subject: cp. Carm. I. 1, 23 *multos castra iuvant.*

habitum=ἕξιν or σχῆμα 'condition'.

111. motus probably never, even in poetry, used without *animi* for 'emotion'.

interprete lingua, 'by the agency of the tongue'. The origin of the word is very doubtful: cp. Curtius, *Gr. Etym.*[5] p. 660.

113. equites peditesque, 'one and all' from the highest to the lowest. Bentley objects (1) that the phrase is never used to cover the whole people, except with a distinctly military reference, or as in Liv. I. 44 *edixit ut omnes cives Romani, equites peditesque, in suis quisque centuriis in campo Martio adessent*: (2) that Horace professes elsewhere to care only for the judgment of the educated (cp. Sat. I. 10, 76 *satis est equitem mihi plaudere*): and therefore bids us read *equitesque patresque* 'librariorum populo valere iusso'. This reading receives some support from Mart. XIV. 120, where the phrase is used of the educated as opposed to the unlearned: *Quamvis me ligulam dicant equitesque patresque,*

dicor ab indoctis linguâ grammaticis. But here the expression is more forcible, if all the audience is supposed to laugh at the incongruity of language, and there is nothing unnatural in the phrase, used with a certain tone of sportiveness.

cachinnum 'est verbum secundum ὀνοματοποιΐαν fictum a sono risus'. Acron.

114. divusne an heros: this reading (or, what is perhaps to be preferred, *divosne*) has the support of by far the most and the best MSS. But the contrast between a god and a hero is not as great as we might think that the context requires: hence many emendations have been proposed. Erasmus cleverly suggested *divesne—an Irus* (the beggar of the Odyssey), Landinus *Davusne—herusne*, approved by Peerlkamp, Lambinus *Davusne —Erosne:* but the *Davus* of a few inferior MSS. is doubtless due only to an untimely remembrance of v. 237: and there is a very strong objection to it in the fact that, as Orelli points out, Horace is here dealing solely with tragedy, where a comic slave is quite out of place. And unquestionably where the gods appear in tragedy (as in the Eumenides, the Ajax, the Hippolytus and elsewhere) their tone is calmer and more dignified than that of human characters, however heroic.

115. maturusne senex: cp. *maturosque patres* Carm. IV. 4, 55.

116. matrona potens, reproduced in Juv. I. 69 of a woman of high rank, like Clodia.

sedula nutrix, such as the garrulous gossip of the Choephorae, whose language (vv. 734—765) would ill suit a lady of high degree. The nurse who narrates the fate of Deianeira in the Trachiniae is not garrulous.

117. mercator vagus, a part assumed as a disguise by the attendant of Odysseus in the Philoctetes 542 ff.

cultor, like the αὐτουργὸς Μυκηναῖος in the Electra of Euripides.

virentis: there is almost equal authority for *vigentis*, but the use of this word as an epithet of *agelli* would be quite unexampled.

118. Colchus, a fierce barbarian, like Aeetes: **Assyrius**, soft and effeminate, like Xerxes in the Persae. The word 'Assyrian' was used with great latitude by the Latin poets, for any Oriental: cp. Carm. II. 11, 16; III. 4, 32 *litoris Assyrii viator:* Verg. Ecl. IV. 25, Georg. II. 465: Lucan VIII. 292 *et polus Assyrias alter noctesque diesque vertit.*

Thebis: the Thebans were often represented as rude, lawless and overbearing, e.g. Creon in the Antigone and Oed. Colon.,

Eteocles in the Sept. Theb. and the Phoenissae. Of the stupidity commonly ascribed to them (Ep. II. 1, 244) there is, I think, no trace in tragedy. **Argis** (Ep. II. 2, 128 note): the Argives are contrasted with the Thebans, probably because of the prominence of the legends, dealing with the struggle between them, in the tragic cycle. If Agamemnon is the typical Argive, the character is one of proud dignity.

119—130. *Either follow the common story for your plot, or invent a consistent one for yourself. The former is often the easier task.*

119. aut...finge. This line would perhaps be more in place after 124: for **fama** 'the current tradition' refers more naturally to the plot of the play, which is dealt with in 125—135, than to the character of each individual.

120. scriptor 'when writing', not a vocative, as many editors, including Bentley, prefer to take it. It is almost necessary to define *reponis.*

honoratum: this use of the word for 'illustrious' [cp. Ep. I. 1, 107 note] is so rare, and seems so otiose in itself here, that Bentley boldly replaced it by *Homereum:* and this has been accepted by some of the best modern editors. But it is a form found nowhere else, hence L. Müller prefers Bentley's alternative *Homeriacum*, which is supported by the analogy of *Hellespontiacus*, *Tartessiacus*, etc. The adjective in prose is *Homericus*, and this, as Schütz shows, is only used where there is a reference to a particular passage in Homer: e.g. Cic. de Leg. I. 1, 2 *Homericus Ulixes Deli se proceram et teneram palmam vidisse dixit*, i.e. 'Ulysses in Homer (Od. VI. 162) said that he had seen', etc. The epithet *honoratum* may be best defended, by bringing out its full meaning: 'when in the receipt of his due honours': where he complains that he is ἀτίμητος as in Il. I. 644, or is lamenting over Patroclus, the epithets of v. 121 are less suitable to him. Still in Cic. de Leg. I. 11, 32 it is used simply as contrasted with *inglorius*. For Cic. Orat. 9, 32 see Sandys ad loc. [I think Horace may have written *inoratum* in the sense of *inexorabilem:* cp. Prop. V. 11, 4 *non exorato stant adamante viae.* J. S. R.]

122. armis dative, as in Ep. II. 1, 35, Carm. IV. 14, 40.

123. Ino the wife of Athamas, king of Thebes, fled from her maddened husband, carrying with her her two sons Learchus and Melicertes. Athamas seized the former and tore him to pieces: Ino flung herself into the sea with the latter, and they were changed, the mother into the sea-goddess Leucothea, the son into Palaemon. Cp. Ovid Met. IV. 416—541: Hom. Od. V. 333 ff. The woes of Ino (Ἰνοῦς ἄχη) became proverbial, and 'she was

made especially by Euripides a true ideal of sorrow', Preller, *Gr. Myth.* I. 473 note. The schol. on Aristoph. Vesp. 1413 says εἰσήγαγε δὲ Εὐριπίδης τὴν 'Ιὼ ὠχρὰν ὑπὸ τῆς κακοπαθείας. Cp. Eur. Frag. 402—427 D.

124. perfidus Ixion: the faithlessness of Ixion was shown by his conduct to his father-in-law Eioneus, to whom he had promised many presents. When he came to claim them Ixion prepared a trench full of hot ashes, lightly covered over, into which Eioneus fell and was destroyed. Ixion thus became according to Aeschylus (Eum. 441) and Pindar (Pyth. II. 21 ff.) the first murderer of a kinsman, and was seized with a frenzy, which ceased only when he was purified from his guilt by Zeus. The treachery with which he repaid the god, and the punishment inflicted upon him, are known to all. Cp. Carm. III. 11, 21. Aeschylus wrote a tragedy upon his story, Fragm. 86—90 D.: cp. Nauck, *Trag. Gr. Frag.* p. 22.

Io vaga: her wanderings are described in the Prometheus of Aeschylus.

Orestes was **tristis** during his exile after the murder of his mother, as in Aesch.'s Eumenides, and Eur.'s Orestes and Iph. Taur.

126. ad imum 'to the last' as in v. 152.

128. difficile est proprie communia dicere. Acron explains **communia** as 'intacta, non ante dicta', adding that when a theme has been once treated by any one, it is *proprium*, no longer open to all. In this view **communia** is identical with *inexpertum* of v. 125 and *ignota indictaque* of v. 130. Orelli, with many recent editors, extends the meaning of *communia*, so as to cover all general and abstract notions, such as anger, cruelty, cowardice and the like; and takes *proprie dicere*='to give a concrete character to', i.e. to embody in consistent and vivid pictures of individuals. This interpretation altogether ignores the correspondence between *communia* and *publica materies* on the one hand, and *proprie* and *privati iuris* on the other; but the parallelism is too close to be accidental. A meaning which lies on the surface may after all be the right one. Horace has just been saying: 'If you choose a subject not previously treated dramatically, you must take care to be consistent in the portraiture of your characters'. Now he seems to add: 'But this is comparatively easy: the difficulty arises when you endeavour to treat familiar themes in a distinctive and individual manner. You are selecting a theme from the Iliad: then you are wise to confine yourself to simply throwing Homer's poem into dramatic shape, instead of attempting an originality of handling, which would probably lead you into inconsistencies'. If this view of

the drift of the passage is tenable, then **communia** will retain its usual meaning in rhetoric = *volgaria* (cp. *κοινὰ ὀνόματα = ἐν μέσῳ κείμενα* Ernest. *Lex. Techn.* p. 183); and will be identical with *publica materies*, not as 'what is open to all', but as 'what is familiar to all'. Translate then with Conington (p. 199 note), 'It is hard to treat hackneyed subjects with originality'. This interpretation is found (among others) in the Schol. Cruq. The first view has the weighty support of Prof. Nettleship (*Journ. Phil.* XII. 52 note), but I think the third is on the whole the best. There is a discussion of the passage in Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, c. XXX.

129. deducis...proferres: the tense and mood of these two verbs require us to suppose that Piso was already engaged upon a tragedy based upon the Iliad, and are hardly consistent with Nettleship's view that Horace is referring here solely to epic poetry. It is not legitimate to say, with Ritter, that *deducis* would in prose have been *deducas*. The metaphor is the familiar one from spinning; cp. Ep. II. 1, 225: hence the reading *diducis* of some MSS. is out of place. Aristotle (Poet. 23) says that the Iliad and the Odyssey furnish material for one or at most two tragedies each, while several could be made from Cyclic poems such as the Little Iliad or the Cypria. But cp. Mahaffy, *Gr. Lit.* I. 83.

131. publica materies, according to Orelli's view of this passage, the store of mythic and epic stories, from which all might draw at will. But it is better to take it as 'themes already handled', which can be made all a poet's own, by originality of treatment. Orelli's own example of the story of Electra, as treated by Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides, is a very good one, but less applicable to his own view, than to that here preferred. Cp. Milton's name 'sad Electra's poet', which shows how he thought that Euripides had appropriated the theme.

132. vilem patulumque orbem 'the cheap and easy round' of the mode of treatment previously adopted. A familiar theme may be so treated that the situations which it produces may be viewed in a different light, and the reflexions (*sententiae*) suggested may be quite fresh. Of this there is a splendid example in Browning's *Balaustion's Adventure.* I do not think that Schütz is right in referring *orbis* to a set of familiar stories, for which Ritter reminds us that *κύκλος* was the technical name; and certainly Orelli's quotations of *τὰ κύκλῳ* from Aristotle's Rhetoric are quite misleading, and his rendering 'round-about phrases' highly improbable.

133. verbo verbum reddere. The earlier Roman dramatists often did little more than translate very closely their Greek ori-

ginals. Ennius e.g. translates almost literally Eur. Med. 502 ff. in his Medea, frag. x. Ribbeck.

184. desilies in artum 'plunge into a place where you will be cramped'. A writer who begins by copying too closely a Greek original either in treatment, or in diction, will soon find that he is as it were working in fetters. Mr Yonge reminds us of Aesop's fable of the goat in the well: but *orbis* suggests rather the noticn of a horse running a race. Cp. Cic. Acad. II. 35, 112 *cum sit campus in quo exsultare possit oratio, cur eam tantas in angustias...compellemus?*

135. pudor. The copyist will either be ashamed to abandon a method which he has once adopted; or if not, he will find that it is impossible to deviate from the line which he has taken up, without falling into incongruity.

136. nec—incipies. Horace appears to pass here, by one of his rapid transitions so common in this epistle, from the drama to the epos, to which indeed the cautions of the last five lines are almost as applicable as to the drama itself.

cyclicus: Bentley adopted the form **cyclius** from some inferior MSS., but κύκλιος is never used in Greek in the sense for which κυκλικός is the regular term, except once, and then probably for euphony. The 'Cyclic poets' were those epic poets, who probably after the Iliad and the Odyssey had assumed their present form, wrote upon various legends, more or less closely connected with the Theban and Trojan wars. They did not, as has been erroneously supposed, intentionally write a cycle of poems; but the grammarians put together by their aid a cycle of legends. Their position and works have been exhaustively discussed by Welcker in his *Epischer Cyclus:* there is a full account of them in Mure's *Literature of Antient Greece*, Vol. II., and a briefer one in Mahaffy's *Greek Literature*, Vol. I. pp. 85—89. The most noteworthy were Stasinus, Arctinus, Lesches, Agias and Eugammus. The poet, to whom Horace here refers, has not been identified. Perhaps indeed he had no particular writer in view, but is censuring the lack of simplicity in the school as a whole. In that case **olim**=*aliquando*. The line, it is to be noted, contains nothing in itself too high-flown, as some have thought. Hence Peerlkamp thinks that the blame of Horace is directed to the extravagant language which he supposes to have followed it, and which would have been recalled to the Pisos by his citation of the opening line. In that case, it would be very odd that Horace should have omitted just that which he thinks open to censure. But the line, though not extravagant in itself, contrasts unfavourably with the modest and unassuming tone of Homer's introduction. It has been noticed that the first book of the Iliad is entirely without similes.

138. feret 'produce': **hiatu** 'mouthing'.

139. parturient is the reading supported by the evidence of all Keller's MSS. of any value, and by citations of Probus, Servius and Jerome. Bentley justly urged that verbs in *-urio*, 'quae meditativa recte vocant grammatici', have even in the present a future force: '*parturio* perinde est ac si dicas, *meditor parere, inibi est ut pariam*'. He therefore contends that *parturient* cannot stand: 'hoc est, olim meditabuntur parere: quando erit, obsecro, ut mus iste nascatur?' and reads *parturiunt*, which many good editors have accepted. His argument would be sound, if we gave to *parturient* simply a future force; but it may fairly be defended, as parallel to *incipies* of v. 136 'if you do begin so, it will be a case of "Mountains in labour, and out comes a mouse"'. This is perhaps better than to forsake the MSS. and assume that *parturiunt* has been carelessly assimilated to *nascetur*. Nonius p. 479 M. quotes *esuribo* from Pomponius and Nonius, and Ter. Haut. 981 has *esurituros*.—The expression was proverbial. Athenaeus XIV. 6, p. 616 *d*, says that Tachos, the king of Egypt, insulted Agesilaus, who was of small stature, by quoting *ὤδινεν ὄρος, Ζεὺς δ' ἐφοβεῖτο, τὸ δ' ἔτεκεν μῦν.*

141. dic—urbes. Horace gives a compressed rendering of the first three lines of the Odyssey (cp. Ep. I. 2, 19):

> *Ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, πολύτροπον, ὃς μάλα πολλὰ*
> *πλάγχθη, ἐπεὶ Τροίης ἱερὸν πτολίεθρον ἔπερσε,*
> *πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα καὶ νόον ἔγνω.*

tempora may be defended by *Troiana tempora testatus* of Carm. I. 28, 11, and Ov. Met. XI. 757 *Priamusque novissima Troiae tempora sortitus*. Bentley read with some inferior MSS. *moenia*, suggesting also *funera*: the latter would be the better, but no change is needed.

144. cogitat 'his plan is': **speciosa miracula** 'striking marvels'.

145. Antiphaten, the king of the Laestrygonian cannibals Odyss. X. 100 ff. **Scyllamque**, separated rather awkwardly from **Charybdim**, with which Scylla is coupled in Od. XII. 87 ff. as usually, by the mention of the Cyclops, whom Odysseus encounters in Odyss. IX. 160 ff. Hence Bentley suggested **Circamque**, which, like so many of his emendations, is perhaps what Horace ought to have written, and certainly what he did not write.

146. reditum—orditur, a compressed expression for 'nor does he act like the writer who began etc.' Homer of course himself says nothing about the return of Diomede. The scho-

liasts say that Antimachus, in relating the return of Diomede, began with the history of Meleager, the brother of his father Tydeus, and filled twenty-four books before he even got as far as the campaign of the Seven against Thebes, in which Tydeus fell. But as the Thebais of Antimachus—a poem, which though not generally popular, won for its writer in the judgment of some critics a place next to Homer (cp. Quintil. x. 1, 53 with Mayor's note)—can barely have touched upon the return of Diomede from the Trojan War, there is probably some error in the tradition. Welcker *Ep. Cyclus* p. 103 supposes the reference here to be to the return of Diomede to Aetolia after the campaign of the Epigoni against Thebes. But it is hardly possible to understand the 'reditus D.' of anything but his more famous return from Troy (cp. Verg. Aen. VIII. 9, XI. 226 etc.). Hence it is better to suppose that there is no reference to Antimachus or his Thebais at all, but to some Cyclic poem, now unknown, belonging to the legendary cycle of the Νοστοί.

147. gemino—ab ovo, i.e. from the birth of Helen. Servius on Verg. III. 338 says *Ledam Iuppiter in cygnum mutatus gravidam fecit, quae ovum peperisse dicitur, unde nati sunt Helena, Castor et Pollux.* Horace here follows another form of the story, according to which Castor and Pollux were born from one egg (cp. Sat. II. 1, 26 *ovo prognatus eodem*); Helen from another. It is possible that *gemino ovo* means 'the two eggs': cp. Cic. p. Sest. 38, 82 *gemini nominis errore* 'from a mistake caused by his having two names', Verg. Aen. I. 274 *geminam prolem*, III. 535 *gemino muro*, IV. 470 *geminum solem*.

148. ad eventum festinat 'goes straight on to the crisis' without undue digressions, or losing the thread of his narrative.

in medias res: as in Odyss. I. 11 ἔνθ' ἄλλοι μὲν πάντες, ὅσοι φύγον αἰπὺν ὄλεθρον οἴκοι ἔσαν etc. So the Iliad begins with a scene in the tenth year of the siege; and Vergil plunges into the midst of his narrative (Aen. I. 34) with the words: *vix e conspectu Siculae telluris in altum vela dabant laeti* etc. Prof. Nettleship (*Vergil and his Ancient Critics* in Conington's Vergil I.[4] p. xxxvi.) happily suggests that this passage in Horace is intended as a defence of Vergil against contemporary *obtrectatores* 'nescientes hanc esse artem poeticam, ut a mediis incipientes per narrationem prima reddamus' (Servius on Aen. p. 4 Thilo). Cp. Cic. ad Att. I. 16, 1 *respondebo tibi ὕστερον πρότερον, Ὁμηρικῶς*, Quint. VII. 10, 11 *ubi ab initiis incipiendum, ubi more Homerico e mediis vel ultimis?*

151. mentitur 'uses fiction': cp. Aristot. Poet. 25 δεδίδαχε δὲ μάλιστα Ὅμηρος καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ψευδῆ λέγειν ὡς δεῖ. **ita—ne**: cp. Ep. I. 13, 12.

152. discrepet: Cic. de Fin. v. 28, 83 *respondent extrema primis, media utrisque, omnia omnibus.*

153—178. *The characters of the drama are to be handled in accordance with the tendencies of their several times of life.*

153. tu, as general as in v. 119, 128, etc. The line is somewhat weak, and could well be spared, or transferred to after 155, as Peerlkamp suggests; but we have seen frequently that a certain tone of negligence was intentionally preserved by Horace in this epistle.

154. plausoris: Bentley attacked this reading of the MSS. and scholiasts, on the ground that it would be intolerable with *plaudite* so soon following. But his suggestion *fautoris* is no improvement. A *fautor* or *claqueur* would be sure to stay to the end. A dramatist desires, not the patient attention of personal friends, or hired applauders, but the genuine interest of the general audience. Meineke and Peerlkamp read for *si plausoris*, *spectatoris*, and Schütz's arguments do not convince me that this would not be far better, if we ventured to desert the MSS. But *plausor* need not be limited to a paid *claqueur*, as Schütz seems to think; it may denote one who persistently applauds (Ep. II. 2, 130): and applause was not confined to the end of the play, as we see from many references in Cicero.

aulaea: Ep. II. 1, 189 note.

155. cantor: in the best MSS. of the Trinummus of Plautus and of all the plays of Terence, the characters are denoted not by initial letters, but by Greek capitals, and when the same actor took two parts, the same letter was prefixed to each (Ritschl, Praef. Trin. p. lv.). To the word *plaudite*, with which a Latin comedy always closes, is prefixed ω. Bentley supposed that this was a corruption for CA, i.e. *cantor* (on Ter. Andr. v. 6, 17): but this is inconsistent with the use of the other Greek letters (cp. Ritschl, Proll. Trin. p. xxx.). Now the word *cantor* may take one of two meanings, whence much confusion has crept into our authorities: for *canere* is used both of playing on the flute, and of singing with the voice. In a Roman play, as Ritschl first clearly showed, there were three kinds of delivery, (1) recitation, (2) recitative, and (3) lyric song. The first was proper to iambic *diverbia*, unaccompanied by the flute: the second to iambic or trochaic septenarians, accompanied by the flute (and included in the term *cantica*) (cp. Cic. Tusc. I. 44, 107 *cum tam bonos septenarios fundat ad tibiam*): the last to the lyric monologues, which were always sung, and which were *cantica* proper. Livy VII. 2 tells us that Livius Andronicus, having been encored in these last until he lost his voice, introduced the custom of having a young slave, standing

near the flute-player, to sing the *cantica*, while the actor accompanied him with appropriate gestures.—Now Bentley assumed that the *cantor* was the flute-player, and that 'cantoris erat depositis ex ore tibiis *plaudite* insonare'. Hermann on the other hand *Opusc.* I. 302) argues that the *cantor* and the *histrio* were one and the same, quoting Cic. de Sen. 19, 70 *neque enim histrioni, ut placeat, peragenda fabula est, modo in quocumque fuerit actu probetur; neque sapientibus usque ad 'plaudite' veniendum est:* and Quintil. VI. 1, 52 *tunc est commovendum theatrum cum ventum est ad ipsum illud, quo veteres tragoediae comoediaeque cluduntur, plodite.* The passage in Cic. only means that a good actor need not be vexed, if he has to leave the stage before applause is formally challenged, by himself or some one else: the passage in Quintil. says nothing on the present point. I believe that the *cantor* was neither the flute-player, nor an ordinary actor, but the singer to whom the *cantica* had been committed throughout. The usual books of reference are not clear on this point. That *cantor* may mean 'actor' simply has been argued from Cic. p. Sest. 55, 118 *nam cum ageretur togata, caterva tota clarissima concentatione in ore impuri hominis imminens contionata est...Sedebat exanimatus; et is, qui antea cantorum convicio contiones celebrare suas solebat, cantorum ipsorum vocibus eiciebatur.* On this passage Mommsen, *Röm. Gesch.* III. 307, after speaking of the professional demagogues, and their paid applauders, goes on to say: 'the well-trained throats (*Gurgeln*) of the staff of the theatres were a coveted article for these standing thunderings' (a passage oddly mistranslated by Dr Dickson, E. T. IV. 295, and by Dr Holden ad loc.); and this, he says, is the meaning of the passage in Cicero. He had been accustomed to hire strong voices from the theatre to applaud him: now these voices were used to turn him into ridicule. But the narrative is too obscure for us to be able to determine what kind of *cantores* these were, and how they came to be all singing together in a *comoedia togata.* I find no other passage in which *cantor* appears to mean 'actor': Suet. Calig. LVII. is certainly not one. Cp. note on Cic. de Orat. I. 60, 244.

157. naturis: so all MSS. Bentley's *maturis* has found some favour; it gives at first sight an excellent antithesis to *mobilibus*, while *naturae* are not happily described as *mobiles* (cp. Ep. I. 10, 24), and the trajection of *et* is quite in Horace's way. But after all *maturus* does not afford the best contrast to *mobilis:* and *mobilibus naturis et annis* may be taken as a hendiadys 'natures that change with years'.

158. reddere voces 'reply in words', not 'repeat words' (as Or. and Schütz) heard from the mother or the nurse: cp. Verg. Aen. I. 409 *veras audire et reddere voces*, and Catull. LXIV. 166 *nec missas audire queunt nec reddere voces.*

pede signat humum=imprimit vestigiis suis. Acron.

159. colludere, in this sense only here. Cic. has the word in the sense of 'to act in collusion'.

iram colligit: so Verg. Aen. IX. 63 has *collecta rabies edendi.* Ov. Met. I. 234 *colligit os rabiem.* Peerlkamp quotes a number of passages in which *colligere iram* or *iras* is used of one 'qui, sumpto aliquo tempore, caussas irascendi omnes, unde potest, repetit et meditatur, ac tandem iram omnem, ita collectam, effundit': e.g. Lucr. I. 723, Lucan I. 207, II. 33. Hence with one old edition he reads *concipit.* This might have been a more natural expression, but there is no imperative reason to desert the MSS.

160. ponit: Ep. I. 16, 35 note. **mutatur**: Roby, S. G. § 566.

in horas: Sat. II. 7, 10 *vixit inaequalis, clavum ut mutaret in horas.*

161. imberbus: so *vet. Bland.* Cp. Ep. II. 1, 85 note. **custode**, sc. the paedagogus, whose office Horace's father himself discharged for his son: Sat. I. 4, 118, I. 6, 81.

162. campi sc. Martii: Carm. I. 8, 3, Ep. I. 18, 54.

163. cereus flecti, like *leviora tolli* Carm. II. 4, 11. "The adjectives are only more or less coloured forms of *facilis*, and the construction arises from the conversion of the impersonal 'facile est hunc flectere' into a personal 'hic facilis est flecti'." Wickham 'Odes' App. II. 2. Roby § 1361, S. G. § 540. The characters here assigned to youths, to men in mature life, and to old men follow closely those of Aristotle Rhet. II. 12, from whom they were probably borrowed: thus *cereus flecti*=εὐμετάβολος.

164. utilium tardus provisor, prodigus aeris: Ar. φιλοχρήματοι δὲ ἥκιστα διὰ τὸ μήπως ἐνδείας πεπειρᾶσθαι.

165. sublimis=μεγαλόψυχος: Ar. καὶ φιλότιμοι μέν εἰσι, μᾶλλον δὲ φιλόνικοι. ὑπεροχῆς γάρ ἐπιθυμεῖ ἡ νεότης. ἡ δὲ νίκη ὑπεροχή τις. "The φιλοτιμία of youth seems to be represented by Horace's *cupidus* 'desirous', that is of honour or glory, not of course of money, covetous or avaricious." Cope ad loc.

amata relinquere pernix: Ar. καὶ ἀψίκοροι πρὸς τὰς ἐπιθυμίας· καὶ σφόδρα μὲν ἐπιθυμοῦσι, ταχέως δὲ παύονται.

167. inservit honori: Ar. φιλοτιμεῖται πρὸς ἄλλους, 'he devotes himself to securing honour': cp. Cic. de Fin. II. 35, 117 *adulescentes quos suis commodis inservituros arbitrabimur.* Cic. de Off. II. 1, 4 *honoribus inservire* is quite different and means 'to devote myself to the discharge of my public duties in high office'. In Ep. Fam. XVI. 17 the word is used of 'taking care' of one's health. (In Tac. Ann. XIII. 8 it is due only to conjecture.)

168. commisisse: v. 98 note. **mox**=*postea*, as Servius notes on Georg. I. 24, quoting Carm. III. 6, 47 *mox daturos progeniem vitiosiorem*. The explanation *post*, written over *mox*, has given rise in some inferior MSS. to the reading *permutare*, probably from a misunderstanding of the abbreviation *p'mutare*.

169. vel—vel 'both—and', used where both reasons might be correctly alleged. Cic. de Orat. I. 1, 3 note.

170. quaerit: cp. Ep. I. 7, 57: Ar. l. c. *πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον ζῶσιν (οἱ πρεσβύτεροι), ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς τὸ καλόν, μᾶλλον ἢ δεῖ, διὰ τὸ φίλαυτοι εἶναι...οὔτ' ἐπιθυμητικοὶ οὔτε πρακτικοὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ κέρδος.* 'Aristotle as well as Horace confines himself almost exclusively to the delineation of the unfavourable side of the character of old age, suppressing its redeeming features.' Cope ad loc.

171. gelide: Ar. *κατεψυγμένοι γάρ εἰσιν, οἱ δὲ (νέοι) θερμοί. ὥστε προωδοποίηκε τὸ γῆρας τῇ δειλίᾳ· καὶ γὰρ ὁ φόβος κατάψυξίς τις ἐστίν.*

172. spe longus: Aristotle describes old men as *δυσέλπιδας*, i.e. slow to form hopes, and this seems to be the meaning required here. But can *spe longus* bear that meaning? There is no other instance of the phrase: but *spes longa* is used several times by Horace to denote 'a far-reaching hope', a hope which requires much time for its fulfilment, cp. Carm. I. 4, 15 *vitae summa brevis spem nos vetat incohare longam*: ib. I. 11, 6 *spatio brevi spem longam reseces*. But the hopes of old men are necessarily short in their anticipations, and so *spe longus* seems to give just the wrong meaning. Hence Bentley read *spe lentus*, which he took to mean 'slow to conceive hopes'. But it is very doubtful whether this could mean anything but 'tenacious of hope', and hence it amounts to the same thing as *spe longus* in his interpretation of the latter. The MS. reading may however lawfully bear the meaning 'holding long to his hopes', that is to say, not expecting the speedy fulfilment of them, as a young man does, and therefore not pushing on strenuously (*iners*) to realise them. Much as Horace borrows here from Aristotle, it is not necessary to suppose that he follows him in every point: Cic. Fam. II. 16, 6 has *recordor desperationes eorum, qui senes erant adulescente me: eos ego fortasse nunc imitor et utor aetatis vitio*: but this only shows the possibility, not the necessity of a similar idea in Horace. Orelli and L. S. retain the explanation of Forcellini 'tardus et difficilis ad sperandum', without meeting the grave difficulties raised by Bentley.

avidusque futuri is a not less difficult expression: Bentley, to make Horace reproduce Ar.'s *καὶ δειλοὶ καὶ πάντα προφοβητικοί*, read, on quite worthless authority, *pavidusque*: but the poet has in view rather *καὶ φιλόζωοι καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τῇ τελευταίᾳ*

ἡμέρᾳ, διὰ τὸ τοῦ ἀπόντος εἶναι τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν· καὶ οὗ δὲ ἐνδεεῖς, τούτου μάλιστα ἐπιθυμοῦσι. Hence the meaning is 'eager for longer life'. Cp. Soph. Frag. Acris. 64 D τοῦ ζῆν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ὡς ὁ γηράσκων ἐρᾷ. So Acron rightly explains it. But again we must confess that the expression is unparalleled, and hardly in keeping with Horace's frequent use of *futurum* elsewhere.

173. **difficilis** 'cross-grained', Sat. II. 5, 90 *difficilem et morosum*.

querulus: Ar. Rhet. II. 13, 15 ὅθεν ὀδυρτικοί εἰσιν καὶ οὐκ εὐτράπελοι οὐδὲ φιλογέλοιοι.

laudator temporis acti: ib. § 12 διατελοῦσι γὰρ τὰ γενόμενα λέγοντες· ἀναμιμνησκόμενοι γὰρ ἥδονται. Like Nestor in Homer.

174. **minorum**: Ep. II. 1, 84.

175. **multa...adimunt**: 'anni *venire* dicuntur ad quadragesimum sextum usque annum, inde *abire* iam accedente senecta'. Comm. Cruq. This phrase, like that in Sophocles, from which it was possibly borrowed (Trach. 547 ὁρῶ γὰρ ἥβην τὴν μὲν ἕρπουσαν πρόσω, τὴν δὲ φθίνουσαν), 'supposes an ἀκμή, a definite point to which life ascends and from which it descends': cp. Wickham's note on Carm. II. 5, 14, a passage which, as he justly points out, is not really parallel. The French say *Un homme sur son retour*. Cp. Tennyson's *Miller's Daughter:*

There's somewhat flows to us in life,
But more is taken quite away.

Schütz prefers a second explanation given by Acron, according to which all years that lie before us are called *venientes*, and those which are past are *recedentes*. The old man has few years before him, and therefore cannot expect so many *commoda* as the young man. Conington renders

Years as they come, bring blessings in their train:
Years as they go, take blessings back again.

This is ambiguous, but points in the direction of Schütz's view.

176. **ne forte**, etc. You must remember this, lest you should assign the characters wrongly. Schütz connects this with *morabimur*, not with *adimunt:* and certainly the connexion of thought with v. 178 is closer than with v. 175. For the rhyme cp. v. 99 note.

178. **aevo** goes with **adiunctis** as well as with **aptis**. The *adiuncta* are according to Acron *quae bene haereant et congruant aetati:*=attributes, τὰ καθ' αὑτὰ συμβεβηκότα, or 'necessary accidents'. Cp. Mill's *Logic* I. 7, § 8, and Cic. Acad. I. 5, 21 *quae beatae vitae adiuncta sunt*, 'things inseparable from a

happy life'. [Orelli's τὰ παρακείμενα has no classical authority, though often used in text-books of logic.]

Apta indicates that the connexion denoted by *adiuncta* is a natural one. The transposition (*hyperbaton*) of *-que* is common enough in Horace, e.g. Sat. I. 6, 44 *cornua quod vincatque tubas*, II. 3, 130, etc.: *aevum* is used for 'time of life' in Ep. I. 20, 26 and in Verg. G. III. 100 *animos aevumque notabis*, as elsewhere: *morari* may well be used for 'to dwell with care upon'. Hence none of Ribbeck's reasons for rejecting this line has any cogent force. There is a good deal of authority here for *morabitur:* but it is so awkward to supply *scriptor*, that we must regard this reading as simply an oversight, perhaps due to *agitur*.

179—188. *Things seen on the stage impress the audience, more than things reported: but there are some scenes not fit to be represented in action.*

179. in scaenis: the plural, used also in Verg. Aen. I. 429, IV. 471 *scaenis agitatus Orestes*, seems to refer to the various occasions on which a play would be acted; 'in theatres': it is apparently never used of a single stage. The form *scenis* is quite indefensible: cp. Ribbeck *Prol. Verg.* p. 387. Corssen I.^{2} 325.

acta refertur, as in the Greek tragedies by an ἄγγελος from a distance or an ἐξάγγελος from the house before which the scene was laid.

180. segnius: cp. Cic. de Orat. III. 41, 163 *facilius ad ea, quae visa, quam ad illa quae audita sunt, mentis oculi feruntur:* and more fully in II. 87, 357. Peerlkamp would transpose *demissa* and *subiecta*, quoting several passages in which *demittere* is used for 'rem alte in animum mittere', or *subicere* for 'leviter suggerere'. But these meanings do not necessarily attach to the words, and there is no objection to saying 'things which pass into the mind through the ears', or 'which are brought before the eyes'. For *subiecta* = ὑποκείμενα cp. Reid on Acad. I. 8, 31. For the eyesight as compared with the other senses cp. ib. II. 7, 20.

181. fidelibus: cp. Herod. I. 8 ὦτα γὰρ τυγχάνει ἀνθρώποισιν ἐόντα ἀπιστότερα ὀφθαλμῶν.

182. ipse tradit: 'ipse mihi trado quod video; at alter mihi tradit quod narrat'. Acron.

183. digna geri: Sat. I. 3, 24 *dignusque notari* (with Palmer's note): I. 4, 3 *dignus describi.* **promes**: Ep. I. 1, 87 (note).

184. facundia praesens 'the eloquence of one who is now on the stage'; this is better than to take it of one who witnessed

the deed, as many editors do, for *praesens* is naturally contrasted with *ex oculis*.

185. ne restored by Bentley for **nec**, which seems to have no authority. It is ἵνα μή, not μή, as he rightly takes it. In the Medea of Euripides, the cries of the children, as they are being murdered behind the scenes, are heard by the audience (vv. 1271, 1277): the chorus tells Jason of their fate (v. 1309), and then Medea appears in a chariot drawn by dragons, with the bodies of the children (v. 1317). In Seneca's play, in spite of the rule of Horace, the murder took place on the stage.

186. Atreus: cp. v. 91.

187. Procne, according to the Greek form of the story, was changed into a nightingale, Philomela, her sister, into a swallow: the Romans generally made Philomela the nightingale, and Procne the swallow, perhaps wrongly connecting the name of the former with μέλος. Cp. Wagner and Conington on Verg. Ecl. VI. 78—9. The legend is most fully given by Ovid Met. VI. 412—676, and best discussed by Preller *Gr. Myth.* II. 140—144.

Cadmus in anguem: cp. M. Arnold *Empedocles on Etna:*

> And there, they say, two bright and aged snakes,
> Who once were Cadmus and Harmonia,
> Bask in the glens or on the warm sea-shore,
> In breathless quiet, after all their ills.

Cp. Eur. Bacch. 1330 ff. 'In another play Eur. actually represented on the stage the commencement of the change, as is shewn by the following somewhat ludicrous lines, fragm. 922, οἴμοι, δράκων μοι γίγνεται τό γ' ἥμισυ· τέκνον, περιπλάκηθι τῷ λοιπῷ πατρί. Cp. Ovid Met. IV. 584, and Milton *P. L.* IX. 505.' (Sandys ad loc.)

188. incredulus refers to v. 187, not so much to 185—6.

189—192. *A play must be of due length, and the intervention of a deity must not be needlessly employed.*

189. quinto actu: for *quam quintum actum*, the acc. being an acc. of extent after *productior=longior*. Greek tragedies were divided into ἐπεισόδια with a πρόλογος and an ἔξοδος, divided by choric songs (cp. Aristot. Poet. c. XII. [perhaps an interpolation]); but the number of the ἐπεισόδια was not always the same. In the *Oedipus Tyrannus* for instance there are six 'episodes', with five στάσιμα and a πάροδος (cp. Jebb's edition, p. 8); in the *Oedipus Coloneus* there are five. The establishment of the rule requiring three acts (*nam tragoedia in tria dividitur, expectationem, gesta, exitum:* Donat. on Ter. Adelph. III. 1), or including the prologue and the epilogue five, has been assigned to Varro (cp. Ribbeck *Röm. Trag.* p. 642). It was quite unknown to the comic dramatists; the division of each of the plays

of Plautus and Terence into five acts is due only to the grammarians, and is often very unskilfully made (cp. Lorenz *Einleitung zur Mostellaria*, p. 17); perhaps it is due only to this dictum in Horace. The modern division into acts dates from the edition of J. B. Pius, Milan, 1500 ff. (Teuffel, *Rom. Lit.* § 86). But Donatus *praef. Ter. Adelph.* says *haec etiam ut cetera huiuscemodi poemata quinque actus habeat necesse est choris divisos a Graecis poetis, quos etsi retinendi causa iam inconditos spectatores minime distinguunt Latini comici...tamen a doctis veteribus discreti atque disiuncti sunt.* Still there were no doubt pauses in the action of most, if not of all plays; and these were filled up by the music of the flute-player. Cp. Plaut. Pseud. 574 R. (at the end of Act I.) *Tibicen vos interea hic delectaverit.* So probably at the end of Acts I. III. and IV. of the Mostellaria the stage was left empty, but not at the end of Act II.—Cicero evidently knew only the division into three acts: cp. ad Quint. fr. I. 1, 16, 46 *illud te ad extremum et oro et hortor, ut tanquam poetae boni et actores industrii solent, sic tu in extrema parte et conclusione muneris ac negotii tui diligentissimus sis, ut hic tertius annus imperii tui* tanquam tertius actus *perfectissimus et ornatissimus fuisse videntur.* In de Sen. 19, 70 *modo in quocunque fuerit actu probetur* he seems to use *actus* loosely for 'scene'.—The justice of the rule has been often, and not without reason disputed: and some of the greatest modern playwrights, especially among the French, prefer the division into three acts.

190. spectata has certainly less authority than **spectanda** (especially as the old Berne MS. has *exspectanda*), but it seems to be required by the sense. In Sat. I. 10, 39 where *spectanda* is certainly right, many MSS. have *spectata*, but here the converse confusion seems to have taken place. There is a tautology in 'to be brought forward once more to be seen', which there is not in 'after it has once been seen, to be brought out again'. [Why not take *reponi* as 'to be laid aside'? *spectanda* will then come in; *ita reponi ut spectanda sit:* i.e. the play may still hope for some more performances. J. S. R.]

191. nec deus intersit, *ex machina*, as the proverbial expression has it. According to Pollux IV. 128 *ἡ μηχανὴ θεοὺς δείκνυσι καὶ ἥρως τοὺς ἐν ἀέρι...καὶ κεῖται κατὰ τὴν ἀριστερὰν πάροδον, ὑπὲρ τὴν σκηνὴν τὸ ὕψος.* Plat. Cratyl. p. 425 D says *ὥσπερ οἱ τραγῳδοποιοί, ἐπειδάν τι ἀπορῶσιν, ἐπὶ τὰς μηχανὰς καταφεύγουσι θεοὺς αἴροντες*, and similarly Cic. de Nat. D. I. 20, 53 *ut tragici poetae, cum explicare argumenti exitum non potestis, confugitis ad deum.* Aristotle (Poet. XV. 11) says *φανερὸν ὅτι καὶ τὰς λύσεις τῶν μύθων ἐξ αὐτοῦ δεῖ τοῦ μύθου συμβαίνειν, καὶ μὴ ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ Μηδείᾳ ἀπὸ μηχανῆς.* But no *deity* appears in the Medea. In the nine plays of Euripides where the *deus ex machina* appears, 'the distinct purpose is to bring the action to a

peaceful close, and calm the minds excited and disturbed with the calamities, and still more the apparent injustices, suffered by the actors' (Mahaffy *Euripides*, p. 122). In the Philoctetes of Sophocles the appearance of Heracles *ex machina* is needful in order that the struggle between two human wills, neither of which could yield without an inconsistency fatal to the dramatic picture, might be terminated by an expression of the divine will. In some at least of the plays of Euripides there is also 'dignus vindice nodus', an entanglement that calls for a deliverer.

192. quarta...persona. Tragedy began with a dialogue between a single actor and the leader of the chorus; Aeschylus introduced a second actor, Sophocles a third (Arist. Poet. IV. 16 *καὶ τό τε τῶν ὑποκριτῶν πλῆθος ἐξ ἑνὸς εἰς δύο πρῶτος Αἰσχύλος ἤγαγε...τρεῖς δὲ καὶ σκηνογραφίαν Σοφοκλῆς*), employed also by Aeschylus in his later plays, i.e. in the trilogy of the Orestea (probably not in the Prometheus). These three actors formed a troop, and one troop was assigned by the archon to an approved dramatist. If it was necessary for some words to be said by a fourth character, when the three actors were already on the stage, these were spoken by one of the chorus as a *παρασκήνιον* or *παραχορήγημα* (cp. *Theatre of the Greeks*, p. 268). It has been supposed that the *Oedipus Coloneus* required a fourth actor, but there is no difficulty in supposing that the part of Theseus was divided between the second and the third actors, the former taking all except vv. 886—1043, and that in the latter part of the play the few words spoken by Ismene were treated as a *παρασκήνιον* (cp. Campbell's Sophocles I.[2] p. 284, or Schneidewin's *Einleitung* ad fin.). In the Andromache of Euripides 545 ff. while Andromache, her young son Molossus and Menelaus are still upon the stage, Peleus enters: but the speeches assigned to Molossus are few and brief, and were probably spoken for him by one of the chorus concealed. In the *Choephori* of Aeschylus the three lines (900—902) which form the whole part of Pylades, were spoken by the actor who was also the *οἰκέτης*, as the Schol. says *ἵνα μὴ δ' λέγωσιν*. Hence there is no real exception to this law in the Greek tragedians. Of course *mute* characters were freely introduced.

loqui laboret 'push in his words' so as to distract the attention of the spectator, or better 'show anxiety to speak'.

193—201. *The part of the chorus in tragedy.*

193. actoris partis...defendat: the chorus should not stand outside the action of the piece, and simply fill up the intervals between the scenes with songs slightly, if at all, connected with the plot (*ἐμβόλιμα*) as often in Euripides and especially in Agathon, but should take as direct a part in it as an actor does. We must not limit this, as some have done, to the case mentioned in the preceding

line, where a fourth speaker is required. Cp. Soph. O. T. 276 ff. It is a mistake also to suppose that a chorus was not introduced in Roman tragedies: it not merely sang its songs between the scenes, but took part in the action (cp. Ribbeck *Röm. Trag.* pp. 637—9). But as the orchestra was fitted up with seats in the Roman theatre, the chorus must have taken a place upon the stage, and thus been more closely connected with the action than in Greek tragedy. Aristotle says (Poet. XVIII. 19) *καὶ τὸν χορὸν δὲ ἕνα δεῖ ὑπολαβεῖν τῶν ὑποκριτῶν καὶ μόριον εἶναι τοῦ ὅλου καὶ συναγωνίζεσθαι, μὴ ὥσπερ παρ' Εὐριπίδῃ ἀλλ' ὥσπερ παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ.* In Seneca's tragedies the choruses are quite unconnected with the plot. For Sophocles cp. Campbell's *Sophocles* c. XIII.

194. intercinat followed by the accusative without a preposition as in Carm. I. 14, 19 *interfusa nitentis aequora Cycladas.* This construction of a compound verb becomes very common in Tacitus: e.g. Ann. II. 9 *flumen Visurgis Romanos Cheruscosque interfluebat* (so Hist. III. 5), III. 23 *qui cognitionem intervenerant:* Dräger *Hist. Synt.* I. 350.

196. bonis faveat: the chorus almost invariably expresses the view of right-minded spectators.

197. peccare timentis is the reading of almost all MSS. Bentley objected to it, because (1) if equivalent to *boni*, it is otiose after *faveat bonis:* (2) Ep. I. 16, 52 seems to indicate that those who avoid sinning from fear are 'servilia ingenia', undeserving of any favour. (3) *amet* is not the word H. would have chosen. Hence, on very slight authority, he read *pacare tumentis*, and this reading has been adopted by some good editors, e.g. Meineke, Haupt, and L. Müller. It has been argued that *tumentis* is at least as tautologous after *iratos* as the MS. reading after *bonis*, and that *amet pacare* is by no means a natural expression for *pacet*. The former objection Bentley anticipated by pointing out that *tumidus* is used for the result not only of anger, but also of grief (Cic. Tusc. III. 12, 26; 31, 76), to which Orelli adds pride, comparing Sat. II. 3, 213 *purum est vitio tibi, cum tumidum est cor?* Doederlein warmly defends and Keller accepts *pacare timentis;* which Bentley suggests as an alternative, comparing Senec. Ep. LIX. *nil stultitia pacatum habet: tam superne illi metus est, quam infra.* On the whole there is (as Munro says) no sufficient reason for departing from the MSS., though Bentley's reading gives what Horace might well have written. The chorus should show their affection for heroes or heroines, who though tempted to commit a sin shrink from doing so. We may perhaps with Ritter take *bonis* as nearly equal to *fortibus*, those who feel no temptation to go wrong.

198. mensae brevis, i.e. of a table on which there is a *cena brevis* Ep. I. 14, 35.

salubrem iustitiam 'the blessings of justice': so taken the epithet is not out of place, as Peerlkamp thinks.

199. apertis portis: cp. Carm. III. 5, 23 *portasque non clausas*.

200. tegat commissa, as in Sophocles Electr. 469, Philoct. 391, Eur. Hippol. 712, Elect. 271, etc.

oret: Peerlkamp's suggestion to take *Fortunam* out of the dependent sentence as the object, is tempting, but leaves *deosque precetur* too indefinite.

202—219. *The music, which accompanied the chorus, underwent great changes as luxury increased, and the language of the chorus became more ornate.*

202. tibia: the old Phrygian pipe was made originally of a reed (αὐλὸς καλάμινος as Pollux X. 153 calls it), as we see from the familiar story of its invention by Athena. The goddess threw it away, finding that its use disfigured the features, and it was taken up by Marsyas, who appears in legend and in many works of art as the champion of flute-playing, as against the lyre-music of Apollo. Cp. Plin. H. N. XVI. 36, 166 *calamus vero alius totus concavus, quem vocant syringiam, utilissimus fistulis*. Afterwards the wood of the box, the lotus, and the cedar, bored (*terebrato buxo* Ov. Fast. VI. 697) and pierced with holes was used for the purpose. This was subsequently enlarged so as to gain a greater range and fulness of sound, almost equal to that of a trumpet, and strengthened with bands of metal. (Ivory or bone was used for the material of the pipe: cp. Verg. G. II. 193, Propert. IV. (V.) 6, 8, Plin. H. N. XVI. 35, 172 *nunc sacrificae Tuscorum e buxo, ludicrae vero e loto ossibusque asininis et argento fiunt*, but not for bands: hence correct *Dict. Ant.* p. 1130 *b*.) Orelli, after Fea, supposes that these large pipes were made in pieces, and that the metal bands were used in order to put the pieces together: this is possible, but not proved.

orichalco, a kind of yellow copper or natural brass *quod praecipuam bonitatem admirationemque diu obtinuit nec reperitur longo iam tempore effeta tellure* (Plin. H. N. XXXIV. 2, 2). The Greeks called it ὀρείχαλκος (Hes. Scut. 122, Hom. Hymn. Ven. 9): the word is common in Plautus in the form *aurichalcum* (e.g. Mil. 658 (Tyrrell), Pseud. 688, Curc. 202) and seems to be used vaguely for a precious metal, though in Curc. l. c. it is distinguished from *aurum*. Verg. Aen. XII. 87 has *alboque orichalco*, where the force of the epithet is doubtful: cp. Conington ad loc. Cic. de Off. III. 23, 92 speaks of it as only worth one-thousandth part of the value of gold: cp. Holden's note.

vincta has much more authority than Bentley's *iuncta:* and

Verg. Ecl. II. 32 *calamos cera coniungere plures*, and Ecl. III. 25 *fistula cera iuncta* refer to a very different musical instrument.

tubaeque aemula: the lengthening of the *tibia* by means of the brass *vincturae* would tend to make it as powerful as a trumpet.

203. tenuis of sound 'thin, weak'. **pauco**, very rare in the singular: but Gell. XX. 1, 31 has *Iniurias factas XXV assibus sanxerunt. Non omnino omnes iniurias aere isto pauco diluerunt:* Bell. Afric. LXVII. 2 *pauco tritici numero:* Vitruv. I. 1, 6 *paucam manum*. The word is similarly used by Appuleius, and therefore seems to have belonged in this usage to the *sermo plebeius. parvo*, found in some MSS. is clearly an attempt at correction.

foramine: 'Varro ait...quattuor foraminum fuisse tibias apud antiquos, et se ipsum ait in templo Marsyae vidisse tibias quattuor foraminum. Quare quaterna tantum foramina antiquae tibiae habuerunt: alii dicunt, non plus quam tria' Acron. The *tibiae pares* in the British Museum (found at Athens) are about 15 inches long, and have five holes at the top and one underneath. Those represented in pictures found at Pompeii (e.g. *Musée de Naples*, Vol. III. 35, and 154) are about twice that length, but have not the holes clearly marked.

204. adspirare=συναυλεῖν 'to give the note to'. **adesse** 'accompany'.

206. quo=*in quae*. **numerabilis** 'easily counted': Horace was the first to use the word, which is probably derived from the similar use of εὐαρίθμητος, as in Plat. Symp. 179 C. πολλῶν πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἐργασαμένων εὐαριθμήτοις δή τισιν ἔδοσαν τοῦτο γέρας οἱ θεοί. Cp. Theocr. XVI. 87 ἀριθματοὺς ἀπὸ πολλῶν. **sane** not with *numerabilis*, but 'of course'. Schütz takes away the comma after **parvus**, that **utpote** may go with the adjectives of v. 207, holding that the reason why the people came in small numbers to the theatre was not only because they were few, but also because they were virtuous and temperate. But these latter qualities would make them content with simple music, not keep them away from the theatre altogether: this abstinence was no virtue in the eyes of the ancient world. Or. rightly says that *castus verecundusque* have reference to the religious feelings of the audience.

208. urbes appears in all MSS. with one unimportant exception. Bentley adopted (in silence) the reading of some earlier editors *urbem*, and Schütz follows him, arguing that the reference can only be to Rome, as in the preceding lines. But there is no reason to doubt that Greece was in the mind of Horace quite as much as Rome, if not more so, for there was apparently no great change in the music or diction of the chorus at Rome. The ex-

pression is a loose one for 'as cities grew': strictly speaking the circuit of the Roman wall was never altered between the time of Servius Tullius, and that of Aurelian, a period of more than 800 years. It is not easy to recall any Greek town, of which the expression is quite accurate, although Syracuse had new quarters added to it by Gelo. The Long Walls of Athens were not built to include a growing population, but for military reasons.

209. latior Bentley held could only mean 'thicker', and hence he read *laxior*, quoting with his usual learning instances in which the latter word is used in the sense here required. But *latus* exactly equals our 'broad', which could be used here without any danger of misleading the reader.

diurno: to drink wine by day was regarded as excessive self-indulgence in the earlier times. Cp. Palmer on Sat. II. 8, 3 *de medio potare die.* Very little wine was drunk, as a rule, during the meal: the *comissatio* was quite distinct, and often at another place: cp. Liv. XL. 7, 5 *quin comissatum ad fratrem imus?*

210. placari Genius, a Latin idiom (cp. Ep. II. 1, 143, Carm. III. 17, 15 *curabis Genium*), but this does not show that Horace is necessarily thinking only of Rome.

impune: 'non contradicente aut lege aut moribus' Acron, 'with no fear of blame or punishment'.

211. numerisque modisque: Ep. II. 2, 144.

212. laborum: Verg. Aen. X. 154 *libera fati*, Lucan VI. 301 *libera legum Roma*, a construction imitating that of ἐλεύθερος. Horace has (Carm. III. 17, 16) *cum famulis operum solutis*, and (Sat. II. 2, 119) *operum vacuo.*

213. turpis honesto: special seats in the theatre (the *orchestra*) were not assigned even to senators before B.C. 194: cp. Liv. XXXIV. 54: for the *lex Roscia* cp. Ep. I. 1, 62. For the special seats assigned to bankrupts (*decoctores*) cp. Cic. Phil. II. 18, 44.

214. sic 'quia indoctus erat populus' Acron. **motum** Orelli takes of the quickening of the time, and also of dancing adapted to this: the former has been already indicated in v. 211, and the latter only seems to be here denoted.

luxuriem 'wanton gestures', indulged in by the piper as he moved backwards and forwards over the stage in his long robe (Ep. II. 1, 207).

216. voces 'notes'. **severis**: the music of the harp was always regarded as much graver and less passionate than that of the flute, and therefore was the only music allowed by Plato in his ideal State.

crevere: according to the current story the harp had but four strings at first, and this number was increased to seven by Terpander (flor. B.C. 670—640), and to ten (or eleven, cp. *Dict. Biog.* III. 1148 *b*) by Timotheus (fl. 420—380): cp. Müller's *Greek Lit.* II. 76. But the first part of this statement seems very doubtful: Bergk *Gr. Lit.* II. 122, 211, Mahaffy *Gr. Lit.* I. 168.

217. tulit 'produced', i.e. brought along with it, as in Verg. Aen. X. 792 *fidem latura vetustas.* **praeceps** 'bold', 'daring': cp. Quint. XII. 10, 73 *vitiosum et corruptum dicendi genus,... quod praecipitia pro sublimibus habet.* Plin. Ep. IX. 26, 2 *debet orator saepe accedere ad praeceps: nam plerumque altis et excelsis adiacent abrupta.* **eloquium**, a poetical form for *eloquentia*, used by Verg. Aen. XI. 383 *tona eloquio*, Iuv. X. 114, and in later prose.—The abruptness of the transition from the music to the diction of the chorus, led Ribbeck to consider this and the following line spurious: but it is not out of place to note the change in language as well.

218. sagax 'skilled in', with the genitive, as in Columell. I. praef. 22 *sagacissimus rerum naturae.* **divina**, cp. Carm. III. 27, 10 *imbrium divina avis.*

219. sortilegis: divination by *sortes*, strictly speaking, was not practised at Delphi, although it was at Dodona (cp. Cic. de Div. I. 34, 76), and especially in Italy at Praeneste and Antium: cp. Mommsen, *Hist.* I. 187 n.: but the term was commonly extended to any utterance of an oracle, as in Verg. Aen. IV. 346 *Lyciae sortes*, Ov. Met. III. 130 *Phoebeis sortibus*, Cic. de Div. II. 56, 115, where the word *sors* is used of the answer sent from Delphi to Croesus.

non discrepuit Delphis, with a compressed comparison, for *sententia Delphorum*: expressions like 'that of' are avoided in Latin, either by such compression or by the repetition of the substantive. Cp. Cic. de Orat. I. 4, 15 (note), Mayor on Iuv. III. 74, Holden on Cic. de Off. I. 22, 76.

220—224. *The satyric drama developed out of tragedy, and was intended to amuse the spectators towards the close of the day.*

220. vilem ob hircum. Although the derivation of τραγῳδία from τράγος 'a he-goat', because this was the prize offered for success in it, is now abandoned by the best authorities, who derive the word rather from the goat-like appearance of the chorus, who were dressed as satyrs (cp. Bergk *Gr. Lit.* III. 12—13, Donaldson *Theatre of the Greeks*[7] p. 68), it was that generally adopted by the ancients; and there is no doubt as to the fact that a goat was regularly offered in sacrifice to Bacchus (cp. Verg. Georg. II. 380), and that this goat was assigned as the prize to the leader of the victorious chorus.

221. mox etiam: Orelli (after Hand *Turs.* III. 656) renders 'forthwith too', in order to avoid the apparent discrepancy with Aristotle Poet. IV. 17 διὰ τὸ ἐκ σατυρικοῦ μεταβαλεῖν, which represent satyric drama as older than tragedy. If there is a contradiction, this is but a lame way of removing it. But the fact seems to be that while tragedy originated in the song of a band of satyrs,—as Aristotle implies—and hence for a time tragedy and the satyrical drama were identical, as it developed, it came to be far removed from them, and the chorus was differently constituted; until Pratinas of Phlius, a contemporary of Aeschylus, restored the chorus of satyrs, and wrote plays for them, which were the beginning of a new satyric drama (Donaldson l. c. p. 69, Bergk III. 261).

The length at which Horace discusses the satyric drama, which is commonly supposed to have been quite unknown to Roman literature, and took but a subordinate place even in Greek, seems to require some explanation. It has been suggested that one of the Pisos, or perhaps even Horace himself had had thoughts of naturalizing it at Rome, where the comic drama at this time stood in much need of something to revive it. But Prof. Nettleship has given some reasons from Diomedes (p. 490 K.) to think that the Romans had a satyric drama. Vv. 220—224 he regards as a translation from the Greek critic, whom Horace is using throughout, vv. 225—250 as his own expansion and correction.

nudavit. It is not unusual for a poet to be represented as doing himself an action, the doing of which he describes: so Sat. I. 10, 36 *Alpinus iugulat Memnona*, i.e. describes how Memnon was slain, Verg. Ecl. VI. 46 *Pasiphaen nivei solatur amore iuvenci*, i.e. tells how P. solaced herself, and often. But here we have a bold extension of this usage. Peerlkamp objects that the satyrs were always *nudi*, i.e. clad only lightly in skins, and that *nudavit* is therefore out of place: but Horace is doubtless thinking rather of the chorus, who were made to throw off their usual dress, and appear as satyrs. Cp. Munro's critical note on Lucr. V. 971 where *nuda dabant* is now read for the *nudabant* of the MSS.

asper 'roughly', 'coarsely'.

222. incolumi gravitate 'without any sacrifice of dignity', sc. of the tragic characters who were introduced at the same time;—there is nothing comic in the character of Odysseus in the Cyclops of Euripides: nor apparently in that of Herakles in the Syleus (cp. Bergk *Gr. Lit.* III. 242)—

'and tried
If grave and gay could flourish side by side' (Con.):

or perhaps rather 'without sacrificing his own dignity as a tragic poet'. Hurd's view that it means 'bidding farewell to serious-

ness' is ingenious: and he defends it by Carm. III. 5, 12 *incolumi Iove et urbe Roma*, and Mart. V. 10, 7 *Ennius est lectus salvo tibi, Roma, Marone;* but in the former passage this meaning is very improbable, while in the latter the point of the epigram absolutely requires that we should interpret 'during the life-time of Vergil'. It is not more possible for *incolumis* to bear this sense (although even Mr Yonge admits it) than it would be for us to say that a man was faring well, to indicate that some one had said 'farewell' to him.

temptavit, the form best supported orthographically seems to be due to an early popular confusion with *contemptus*, etc. Etymologically the form should be *tento*, as a frequentative from *tendo*. Cp. Roby § 964. Corssen I.² 122.

223. morandus: 'spectator grata erat novitate retinendus, qui veniebat post sacrificia iam pransus, iam potus'. Acron.

224. functusque sacris: Dramatic representations at the Dionysiac festivals began very early in the morning (cp. Arist. Av. 784 ff., Aesch. in Ctes. p. 467, Dem. in Mid. p. 538): it is commonly said that the satyric dramas were exhibited towards the evening: this is quite inconsistent with the prevalent doctrine as to the production of plays in tetralogies, unless, indeed, each poet had a whole day to himself, as Bergk (*Gr. Lit.* III. p. 24) thinks; but considering the slight support which that doctrine has (cp. *Journal of Philology* VII. 279—292) this is not a serious objection. Bergk holds (*Gr. Lit.* III. 19 ff.) that originally comedies only were produced at the Lenaea, and tragedies at the Great Dionysia, but that at a later time the comedies were preceded by tragedies, and the tragedies by comedies, so interpreting the law quoted by Demosthenes in Mid. p. 518. If this is correct, at least at the Great Dionysia, the satyric dramas may have been played towards the evening, when they no longer formed part of a tetralogy (if they ever did). That they frequently were played independently is clear from the statement of Suidas that Pratinas wrote fifty plays, of which thirty-two were satyric.—We do not know when the sacrifices, with which a banquet was always associated, were offered: perhaps during the interval for the second or later ἄριστον (Bergk III. p. 31), which may have come between the tragedies and the satyric dramas. At the Dionysia it was considered the duty of all loyal worshippers of the deity to drink freely, 'and reeling own the mighty wine-god's power' (Becker *Charicles*, p. 178). Cp. Plato Leg. VI. 775 *πίνειν δὲ εἰς μέθην οὔτε ἄλλοθί που πρέπει, πλὴν ἐν ταῖς τοῦ τὸν οἶνον δόντος θεοῦ ἑορταῖς.*

exlex, i.e. ready to defy all laws, with no reference to any special enactment.

225—233. *But in the satyric drama care must be taken that the language is not low, or on the other hand bombastic.*

225. ita...ne, less common than *ita...ut*: but cp. v. 151. **commendare,** i.e. to try to win the favour of the audience for the satyrs, by putting jests into their mouths.

226. seria Ritter seems to be right in taking of the grave language of the heroic characters in the satyric drama, **ludo** of the jests of the chorus of satyrs: 'to pass from grave to gay'.

228. nuper, not necessarily in a tragedy performed on the same day, though, as Ritter says, when this was the case, it would give additional point to the warning: *nuper* is used with great latitude of meaning.

229. migret in tabernas 'should descend to dingy hovels', i.e. use the language common in such places: *tabernae* usually denotes booths or workshops, as in Cic. in Cat. IV. 8, 17, Acad. II. 47, 144, and very rarely (without any qualifying adjective) taverns; so there is no need to take it so here, as Macleane does, or to suppose that *obscuras* indicates that they were underground. Cp. *pauperum tabernas* in Carm. I. 4, 13.

230. vitat would more regularly have been *vitet* (which is found in a few inferior MSS.) in a sentence subordinate to *captet*: but *dum* is so constantly used with the pres. indic. that the construction is retained here even against the rule.

nubes et inania, i.e. high-flown, empty verbiage, especially out of keeping with the general tone of the drama.

231. effutire indigna: for the infinitive cp. Ep. I. 3, 35; Sat. I. 4, 3 *dignus describi.* Roby § 1361, S. G. § 540 (2). For *futis* and cognate words cp. Curt. *Gr. Et.* I. p. 252.

232. moveri Ep. II. 2, 125: 'sunt enim quaedam sacra, in quibus saltant matronae, sicut in sacris Matris deum' Acron. This refers doubtless to the Hilaria on March 25th: cp. Marquardt *Röm. St.* III. 357. So too of Licymnia (probably intended for Terentia, the wife of Maecenas) in Carm. II. 12, 17 *quam nec ferre pedem dedecuit choris, nec certare ioco, nec dare bracchia ludentem nitidis virginibus sacro Dianae celebris die.* For the way in which dancing was generally regarded cp. Sall. Cat. XXV. *Sempronia...saltare elegantius quam necesse est probae,* where Cook quotes Servius on Verg. Georg. I. 350 *saltationem aptam religioni nec ex ulla arte venientem.*

234—243. *The language of the satyric drama is to be something between that of tragedy and that of comedy.*

234. dominantia, a translation, probably used first by Horace, of the Greek κύρια 'proper'. Cope *Introduction to*

Aristotle's Rhetoric p. 282 (note) writes 'κύριον (ὄνομα) is the "proper" word by which any object is designated, and [which is] commonly employed to denote it. It is therefore opposed to all the other kinds of words: to all figurative, foreign, archaic, or in any way "uncommon" words...any words which strike us as strange or unusual'. Cicero de Orat. III. 37, 149 contrasts *propria verba* with metaphorical (*quae transferuntur*) and newly introduced or coined (*quae novamus et facimus ipsi*) expressions. Cp. Orator 24, 80, Quint. VIII. 3, 24 (*propria, ficta, translata*) Arist. Rhet. III. 2, 2.

nomina...verba: ὀνόματα...ῥήματα, 'nouns and verbs' covered with Plato the whole of language (cp. Cratyl. 431 B λόγοι γάρ που, ὡς ἐγῷμαι, ἡ τούτων [ῥημάτων καὶ ὀνομάτων] ξύνθεσίς ἐστιν: cp. 425 A): and though Aristotle added the σύνδεσμος and the Stoics completed the 'parts of speech', the names of the two chief classes were often used in the same wide sense, as here. Cp. Sat. I. 3, 103 *donec verba quibus voces sensusque notarent, nominaque invenere.* But cp. Palmer there.

235. **satyrorum scriptor**, i.e. if I were to write satyric dramas: the Greek critics denote these sometimes by the word σάτυροι: e.g. Demetr. de Eloc. 169 (Rhet. Gr. IX. 76 Walz) οὐ γὰρ ἐπινοήσειεν ἄν τις τραγῳδίαν παίζουσαν, ἐπεὶ σάτυρον γράψει ἀντὶ τραγῳδίας. Horace means to say that he would not confine himself strictly to the plainest language, and avoid so completely the elevated tone of tragedy as to reduce his semi-divine characters to the level of slaves in comedy.

236. **differre** with dat. as in Sat. I. 4, 48 *nisi quod pede certo differt sermoni, sermo merus*: cp. v. 152; Ep. II. 2, 193: **colori** Ep. I. 17, 23.

237. **Davus**, a common slave's name, said to be from Δᾶος, a Dacian, the older name of this tribe having been Δᾶοι, according to Strabo VII. 304. The name occurs in the Andria of Terence;—Forcellini and the dictionaries based on Freund say also in Plautus, but this is an error: no character in Plautus bears the name; it occurs only in Amphitr. 361 as a jest. Cp. Sat. I. 10, 40, and II. 5, 91 where the name is typical, as here, and II. 7, 2 where it is ascribed to a slave belonging to Horace.

et audax: a striking instance of the value of the *vet. Bland.* and the oldest Berne MS. when in agreement. These (and the Munich MS. C, which comes from the same source as the Berne MS.) alone have *et*: all other MSS. have the evidently erroneous *an*.

238. **Pythias**, not the *ancilla* in the Eunuchus of Terence, but according to Acron a girl in a comedy of Lucilius, who cheated her master out of a talent. As Lucilius is not known

to have written any comedies, it is probable that, with Orelli, we should substitute the name of Caecilius. Cp. Ribbeck *Com. Lat. Frag.* p. 81.

emuncto, a coarse expression, chosen intentionally to illustrate the style too low for the satyric drama: 'chiselled'. Terence once (Phorm. 682 *emunxi argento senes*) puts it into the mouth of a slave, Plautus has the phrase more frequently: cp. Epid. 494 *qui me emunxisti mucidum minumi preti:* Most. 1108 Th. *dedisti verba.* Tr. *qui tandem?* Th. *probe med emunxti.* Cruquius took the metaphor to be one of 'milking', but the context in the last passage, and the use of the Greek ἀπομύττειν (cp. Menand. Fragm. 482 γέρων ἀπεμέμυκτ' ἄθλιος) make it clear that this is not the case. Bentley's emendation, according to which this word is read in Caecilius ap. Cic. Lael. 26, 99, is not to be accepted, as e.g. in Long's text.

Simone, a rich old man, probably the master of Pythias.

239. Silenus, the oldest of the satyrs, and their leader (cp. Eur. Cyclops), though riotous and fond of wine, was yet always represented as full of knowledge and wisdom, so that Vergil can not unsuitably put into his mouth a philosophical exposition of the origin of the universe and the early history of man (Ecl. VI. 31 ff.). Similarly when captured by Midas he is said to have taught him profound secrets as to the nature of things and the future. Cp. Cic. Tusc. I. 48, 114; and Diod. Sic. IV. 4 φασὶ δὲ καὶ παιδαγωγὸν καὶ τροφέα συνέπεσθαι κατὰ τὰς στρατείας αὐτῷ [Διονύσῳ] Σειληνόν, εἰσηγητὴν καὶ διδάσκαλον γινόμενον τῶν καλλίστων ἐπιτηδευμάτων, καὶ μεγάλα συμβάλλεσθαι τῷ Διονύσῳ πρὸς ἀρετήν τε καὶ δόξαν. Evidently it was not proper to put into his mouth the language of a low and knavish slave.

240. ex noto fictum carmen sequar. Horace has been speaking hitherto only of the *language* of the satyric drama, and to this he returns in v. 244: hence most editors explain *carmen* as *genus dicendi* 'a style of verse', defending this meaning by *carminibus* in v. 90. Then *fictum* is 'artistically composed', and *ex noto* 'out of familiar materials'. Schütz doubts whether *carmen* can fairly bear this meaning, and holds that the scholiasts are right in taking it to refer to the substance of the poem. In that case the verses must be out of place here: they must either be transposed to after v. 250, or else (as Schütz suggests) find a place somewhere in the passage vv. 125—135, or be rejected altogether with Ribbeck. They are too good in themselves for us readily to accept the last alternative, and *carmen* may, I think, fairly refer to the style.

sequar 'I will aim at': Ep. II. 2, 143.

241. sudet, v. 413, Sat. I. 10, 28 *exsudet causas*. Orelli well quotes Pascal *Pensées* I. 3 *Les meilleurs livres sont ceux que chaque lecteur croit qu'il aurait pu faire:* and Wieland says that these lines contain 'one of the greatest mysteries of art, which Horace could blab very confidently, without fearing that he was betraying anything to the ἀμυήτοις'. But the mystery has no special reference to the satyric drama.

242. series: cp. v. 46 *in verbis serendis*. **iunctura** v. 48. The parallelism gives strong support to those who take *carmen* to refer to the language, not to the substance.

243. de medio sumptis: cp. Cic. Or. 49, 163 *verba legenda sunt...non ut poetae exquisita ad sonum sed sumpta de medio:* cp. de Orat. I. 3, 12 *in medio posita*, III. 45, 177 *iacentia sustulimus e medio*. Quint. V. 7, 31 *verbis quam maxime ex medio sumptis, ut, qui rogatur, intellegat, aut ne intellegere se neget*. This phrase too *may* be used of the matter, but is more naturally taken of the language.

244—250. *If the Fauns use the language of the streets, the better class of the audience will be offended.*

244. deducti sc. *in scaenam:* so Acron rightly explains it. **Fauni**, virtually the same as the Satyrs, though corresponding more exactly to the Πανίσκοι, who along with the Satyrs attended upon Bacchus. Cp. Ep. I. 19, 4.

245. ne velut innati triviis: the Fauns are not to speak as if they were natives of the city, and so fall into one of the two opposite vices of language, affected sentimentality, and disgraceful coarseness. It has been supposed that *innati triviis* and *forenses* are opposed to each other, the former denoting the vulgar rabble, the latter the more educated men, who could take part in the business of the law-courts; in that case there would be a *chiasmus*, the former referring especially to v. 247, the latter to v. 246. But there is no sufficient authority for the force so assigned to *forensis*, and *ac* would require to be replaced by *aut*. 'Born in the streets and almost dwellers in the forum' is simply a phrase for townspeople. But there is probably also a reminiscence of the Greek feeling against spending too much time in the ἀγορά; cp. ἀγοραῖος, περίτριμμα ἀγορᾶς etc. (Act. Ap. XVII. 5: Plat. Protag. 347 E: Liv. *subrostrani*). Cp. *factio forensis* in Liv. IX. 46, 13.

246. iuvenentur, a word coined doubtless by Horace, on the analogy of *augurari, auspicari, interpretari, velitari* etc. (Roby § 961), to represent νεανιεύεσθαι or μειρακιεύεσθαι. The word might denote the spirit and vehemence of youth, as when Aristotle Rhet. III. 11, 16 says εἰσὶ δὲ ὑπερβολαὶ μειρακιώδεις· σφοδρότητα γὰρ δηλοῦσιν. But the context shows that it is used,

as in the passages quoted by Ernesti *Lex. Techn.* s.v. *μειρακιώδεις* to denote 'affectatio concinnitatis a gravitate virili aliena'. **teneris**, often used of amatory lasciviousness, as Cic. in Pis. 36, 89 *cum tuis teneris saltatoribus*, and perhaps in Pers. I. 35.

247. crepent: Ep. I. 7, 84. **dicta** 'jests', as so often in Cic. de Orat. II., e.g. 54, 221 (note).

248. quibus est equus, i.e. the whole class of *equites*, who had a census of more than 400,000 sesterces, not of course only the *equites equo publico*, the 18 centuries *iuniorum:* the expression is loose, but intelligible.

pater: only *ingenui* born in wedlock had a legal father, hence slaves and freedmen are excluded: cp. Liv. X. 8, 10 *patricios primo esse factos...qui patrem ciere possent, id est, nihil ultra quam ingenuos.* But there is no reference to patricians here, as Ritter thinks.

res, i.e. substantial citizens.

249. fricti ciceris, still a common article of food in Italy (*cecio fritto*): cp. Plaut. Bacch. 763; in Plaut. Poen. 323 we have *triticum et frictas nuces*, which shows that *fricti* goes also with *nucis*. *Nux* includes, and probably here specially denotes 'chestnuts', *castaneae nuces* of Verg. Ecl. II. 52. Martial speaks of *cicer* as the cheapest kind of food, I. 104, 10 *asse cicer tepidum constat.* The Δῆμος κυαμοτρώξ of Aristoph. Eq. 41 refers not only to his favourite diet of beans, but also to the use of them in the ballot.

250. aequis...animis 'with favour', as in Verg. Aen. IV. 372 *haec oculis Pater aspicit aequis*, VI. 129 *quos aequus amavit Iuppiter*, and often. Orelli wrongly ignores this use.

251—274. *The iambic metre used in tragedy must be handled with great care, and the Greek models, not the rough Latin tragedians are to be imitated.*

251. iambus v. 79 (note). The elementary character of the information here given is probably intended as a modest introduction to the advice which Horace thought it needful to give to the Pisones, who may have shown tendencies to negligence in the matter of metre.

252. unde...iambeis. Porphyrion explains the connexion thus: 'Omnes versus tragici trimetri appellantur. Quaeri autem solet cur trimetri appellentur, cum senos accipiant pedes. Quoniam scilicet tanto brevitas est pedum, ut iuncturae binos complectantur pedes'. This explanation seems to justify us in keeping to the MSS., which have no variation, except that a few have *accedere* for *accrescere*, which is doubtless only a gloss.

'Because of this rapid character it (the iambus) bade the name 'trimeter' attach itself to the iambic lines, although, etc.' For the very common attraction of *trimetris* into the case of *iambeis*, cp. Sat. II. 3, 47 *qui tibi nomen insano imposuere*. Roby § 1059, S. G. § 441 (*b*): **accrescere** denotes the gradual adhesion of the name to that which is not properly denoted thereby.—But a conjecture of Ribbeck's which substitutes *momen* for *nomen* has recently found much approval. He holds that Horace is here describing three stages in the history of the iambic line: (1) when, as with the iambographers, the line usually, though not always consisted of pure iambi v. 254: (2) when, as in the Greek dramatists, the pace was moderated, and spondees might be found in the first, third and fifth places, v. 255: (3) when, as in the Roman dramatists, spondees were sometimes found in every foot but the last. He interprets them 'Hence even to the iambic verses (ἰαμβεῖα) of the iambographers which are to be measured as trimeters, has the iambus so to say done violence, by forcing upon it a quickened pace in excess of its natural rapidity, by repeating six times the same foot'. *Momen*, contracted for *movimen* is either that which causes motion, or that which is moved, or simply motion. The word is fairly common in Lucretius, e.g. VI. 474 *e salso momine ponti*, and was elsewhere restored by Scaliger by a tolerably certain conjecture for *nomen*: e.g. Manil. I. 34 *mominaque et cursus signorum*, Aetna 213 *spiritus inflabit momen languentibus aere*, on which cp. Munro's note. This conjecture and the interpretation therewith connected were accepted by Keller in his *editio minor* of 1878, but in the Epilegomena (1880) he returns to the MS. text. Krüger[10] (*Anhang* p. 384) also approves. Schütz on the other hand rejects it: and I think rightly. The point to be explained is why a verse consisting of six feet should be called a *trimeter* verse: and Ribbeck's conjecture goes no way towards explaining this. Nor is it easy to see to what previous stage of the verse the iambus added a quickened pace, even if we assume, which is far from certain, that a line with six beats in it is more rapid than one with three. Finally the more frequent occurrence of pure iambic lines in writers like Archilochus, Simonides of Amorgos and Hipponax, is by no means established by their extant fragments: it rests solely on the testimony of grammarians, which perhaps means no more than this, that the iambographer sometimes wrote poems in pure iambics, as we know was done by Catullus (IV. XXIV.) and Horace.

254. primus ad extremum: cp. Ep. I. 1, 54 (note). **non ita pridem**. These words present a very grave difficulty, for in the earliest iambics known, written 600 years before this time, spondees are found frequently in the uneven places. Cp. Archil. fr. 22 Bergk[4]: καί μ' οὔτ' ἰάμβων οὔτε τερπωλέων μέλει. Various

attempts have been made to remove the historical inaccuracy. Some have suggested that *non ita pridem* might mean 'not long after', a notion quite without support. Others have assumed that the reference is only to Latin iambic verse, as written in the time of Horace, but then it is not less incorrect as a historical statement. Ribbeck suspects a lacuna, containing some such words as 'it was not long ago that [the iambus appeared in this form here and there with us: but with the Greeks etc.]: and Schütz fears a serious corruption. But the difficulty is best solved by supposing, with Orelli, that Horace is giving, not a historically exact, but rather an ideal sketch of the development of the verse, describing its various stages as they ought to have been in theory, rather than as he had reason to know that they had been. Iambic lines ought to have been originally pure, and afterwards to have admitted spondees. Mr Reid ingeniously suggests that we should read *non ita: pridem etc.*, 'Not so: long ago' as in Verg. Aen. II. 583. But there a question precedes.

256. paterna: Ribbeck cannot get quite clear about the ancestry of the iambus, and therefore prefers with C. F. Hermann the conjecture of a certain Dutchman, *alterna*. This is to miss the sportive tone of the whole passage, in which the iambus is made to give orders, to welcome, to be obliging and long-suffering, and to act in friendly fashion. A foot that can do all this, may surely be allowed 'hereditary rights'.—Horace omits to mention the last place, to which of course the iambus also held tenaciously. Peerlkamp has thought it necessary to remedy this omission, by reading *sextave, sed* for *socialiter*. This last word is another of the *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα* which are so common in this Epistle. It means 'admitting into partnership'. Perhaps a comma should be placed at **quarta**, so that **non...quarta** may be parenthetical.

258. hic sc. iambus, not, as some have taken it, as an adverb. **nobilibus** 'famous', here ironical. Horace means that the iambus appeared so rarely that they were hardly deserving to be called iambic trimeters; in some of the extant fragments there are lines which consist wholly of spondees, with the exception of the last foot. But L. Müller *Ennius* p. 243 denies that this censure is on the whole justified.

260. cum magno: this position of the words, for which Vergil would certainly have written *magno cum*, along with the spondaic character of the line produces a rhythm which imitates the sense.

262. premit, sc. iambus, or rather its rare appearance: cp. Liv. III. 13, 1 *premebat reum praeter volgatam invidiam crimen unum*.

263. non quivis. Cicero judges more favourably the perception of a popular audience: cp. de Orat. III. 50, 196 *at in his [numeris et modis], si paulum modo offensum est, theatra tota reclamant.*

264. et...poetis 'and indulgence is granted to Roman poets, which poets ought not to need'. Peerlkamp, thinking that this line and the preceding one contain an objection made to Horace's too great strictness, to which he replies in the following line, reads *nec data*, etc. and Schütz much approves. But the lines are just as well taken as a concession made by Horace: 'I admit that etc.' **poetis** is strictly the dative, but requires to be understood again as an ablative after *indigna.*

265. vager 'am I to move unchecked by law?' **an**: Bentley adopted the reading *ut*, which has very slight authority, carrying on the question, and interpreting: 'All the audience do not notice faults, and those who do, excuse them. Am I therefore deliberately to depart from the rules of art, and write carelessly, feeling sure that I shall be safe, in my caution within the limits of the indulgence granted, even though I should suppose that every one will see my faults'. This makes good sense: but it is not necessary to depart from the MSS. It is equally good to interpret: 'Or am I to assume that all will notice my faults, and therefore avoid them, cautiously keeping within the sphere in which I may hope for indulgence?' The latter is the alternative to be chosen: but Horace immediately goes on to say that this is not enough of itself. The Greek models show that more than a mere avoidance of faults is needed for excellence. Ribbeck puts the mark of interrogation at *mea*, and joins *tutus...cautus* with *vitavi*: this would be an improvement, if it were not for the awkwardness of *denique* coming so late in the sentence. Orelli's view 'Or falling into the opposite error, am I to suppose that all will see my faults, but none the less consider myself safe from censure provided I take care that no verses which are too rough or absolutely unmetrical drop from me constantly?' does not bring out sufficiently the contrast of the two alternatives: the latter in his interpretation is merely equivalent to *scribere licenter*. In this case he could hardly be said *vitavisse culpam*. For *tutus* 'cautious' cp. v. 28.

268. vos sc. Pisones.

269. nocturna...diurna. There is a curious resemblance in the form of the verse to Ep. I. 19, 11.

270. vestri, the reading of all MSS. of any importance, and as Bentley showed, much better in itself than *nostri*, which would be out of place in the mouth of a freedman like Horace.

Plautinos: for Horace's opinion of Plautus, cp. Ep. II. 1, 170 ff.

274. digitis: the fingers were used, not only to count the feet, but to mark the *ictus:* cf. Carm. IV. 6, 35 *pollicis ictum:* Quintil. IX. 4, 51 *tempora etiam animo metiuntur et pedum et digitorum ictu intervalla signant quibusdam notis.*

275—284. *Thespis is said to have been the inventor of tragedy, and Aeschylus to have improved it. Comedy followed, and was highly approved, until its license had to be checked by law.*

276. Thespis (flor. B.C. 536) was undoubtedly the inventor of tragedy: all our authorities agree upon this. But Horace has strangely mixed up the origin of tragedy with that of comedy. The bands of revellers (κῶμοι) who went about the country παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπὶ ἁμαξῶν καθήμενοι and ἔσκωπτον ἀλλήλους καὶ ἐλοιδοροῦντο πολλά (Schol. on Lucian Ζεὺς Τραγῳδός VI. p. 388), developed into the Old Comedy: and 'it is clear enough that the waggon of Thespis cannot well consist with the festal choir of the Dionysia: in fact this old coach, which has been fetched from Horace only, must be shoved back again into the lumber-room' (Gruppe *Ariadne*, p. 122). Horace's account is equally inconsistent 'with the poetical requirements of the Athenian public trained by the enlightened policies of Solon and Peisistratus' (Mahaffy *Gr. Lit.* I. 234). Thespis composed his dramas 'for city feasts and for an educated audience'. He acted himself; but whether he was the leader of the chorus, and only delivered a kind of epic recitations between the choric songs, as Mahaffy holds, or held a dramatic dialogue with the leader of the chorus, as is the more usual opinion, is a point which our authorities do not enable us to determine with certainty. Bergk (*Gr. Lit.* II. 257) distinguishes the 'choir-master' from the 'choir-leader', and thinks that at first the former delivered the speeches, and that afterwards there was sometimes a dialogue between the two.

277. canerent agerentque is rather a loose expression, seeing that there was only one actor, the rest being merely singers. Bentley's conjecture of *qui* for *quae* is very attractive, and has been accepted by Ribbeck, L. Müller and Schütz.

peruncti faecibus ora: this was limited to comedy, where the actors are said, according to a somewhat doubtful story, to have smeared their faces with the wine-lees of the new vintage (τρύξ), and hence to have got their name τρυγῳδοί. This word is rather contemptuous and is never used of tragedians, cp. Bentley on Phalaris I. p. 342 ff. (ed. Dyce).

278. personae: there is no reason (with Macleane and Ribbeck *Röm. Trag.* p. 661) to reject the derivation of this word from *personare*, quoted from Gavius Bassus by Gellius V. 7: cp. Corssen I.[2] 482—3, Vaniček, p. 1217. It is *possible* that the change of quantity may have been effected by a popular assimilation to πρόσωπον. The mask was not invented in order to

strengthen the sound of the voice, although it seems to have had this effect: but neither was it invented by the Romans, so the argument drawn from this falls to the ground. It was undoubtedly introduced by Thespis to enable the reciter to assume different parts. Horace here ascribes to Aeschylus inventions which must have been made long before his time, probably in consequence of his reputation as an improver of scenic properties generally. Cp. Suidas: *Αἰσχύλος εὗρε προσωπεῖα δεινὰ καὶ χρώμασι κεχρισμένα ἔχειν τοὺς τραγικούς, καὶ ταῖς ἀρβύλαις, ταῖς καλουμέναις ἐμβάταις, κεχρῆσθαι.* On the Roman stage the mask was first used (according to Donatus) by Minucius Prothymus about B.C. 120—100. Others say that Roscius first used it. Ribbeck (*Röm. Trag.* p. 661) suggests that Minucius may have been the director of the *troupe* in which Roscius acted. As the orchestra was seated for spectators at Rome, they were brought much nearer to the actors than in Greece, and the innovation was disliked (Cic. de Orat. III. 59, 221 *senes...personatum ne Roscium quidem magno opere laudabant*), although the fire in the actor's eyes was still visible (ib. II. 46, 193). Aesopus seems to have acted, at least sometimes, without a mask (Cic. de Div. I. 37, 80 *vidi...in Aesopo tantum ardorem vultuum atque motuum*, etc.). **honestae**, 'handsome' Verg. Georg. II. 392.

279. pulpita, in Greek *ὀκρίβας*: cp. Plat. Symp. 194 B *ἀναβαίνοντος ἐπὶ τὸν ὀκρίβαντα μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν.*

280. magnumque loqui is explained by Macleane 'to articulate loudly', on the ground that 'there is nothing about style here'. But in face of the frequent references in Aristophanes to the lofty elevated style of Aeschylus, it is hardly possible to suppose that there is no allusion to it. There is of course a natural connexion between a loud utterance and high-flown diction: cp. Arist. Ran. 823 *βρυχώμενος ἥσει ῥήματα γομφοπαγῆ*, and 1004 *ἀλλ' ὦ πρῶτος τῶν Ἑλλήνων πυργώσας ῥήματα σεμνὰ καὶ κοσμήσας τραγικὸν λῆρον κ.τ.λ.* For *niti* c. abl. cp. Reid on Acad. II. 14, 44, Roby § 1226.

281. his, sc. Thespis and Aeschylus: Susarion, the reputed founder of the Attic comedy, was at least as early as Thespis: but 'comedy did not attract attention at first because it was not a serious pursuit. Thus the archon did not assign a chorus to the comic poets till late...but it was not until it had attained to some degree of form that its poets were recorded' (Arist. Poet. c. V.). Chionides is called the first writer of the old comedy *πρωταγωνιστὴς τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας* Suid.): Magnes was nearly contemporary; next to whom came Cratinus (born B.C. 519), the real originator of political comedy (cp. Mahaffy *Gr. Lit.* I. 424). We do not know of any victory that he gained earlier than B.C. 452, which was shortly after the death of Aeschylus.

282. excidit, not as Schütz *ex laude*, but rather as Orelli puts it, '*παρρησία* impetu quodam suo delapsa est in petulantiam'. *ex-* denotes the change from a previous state, but it is not necessary that what this state was should be indicated in the context.

283. lege: Suidas s.v. Ἀντίμαχος says *ἐδόκει οὗτος ψήφισμα πεποιηκέναι μὴ δεῖν κωμῳδεῖν ἐξ ὀνόματος*: this was in B.C. 440; but the law was repealed three years afterwards. The law passed by Syracosius (B.C. 415) seems to have been solely to restrict comic writers from taking as their subject the profanation of the mysteries. Cp. Meineke *Com. Gr. Fr.* II. 949. The oligarchs of B.C. 411 seem to have silenced political comedy by terror not by law.

284. turpiter must go with **obticuit**; the disgrace lay in the fact that the outrageous violence of the chorus had brought upon it the restraint of the law.

285—294. *Versatility and talent are by no means wanting to the Roman poets: they have even shown originality in the dramas taken from their national history; they might rival the Greeks if they were not so deficient in patient finish.*

288. praetextas. On the analogy of *togata* and *palliata* this word, which is derived from the *toga praetexta* worn by magistrates at Rome, ought to be *praetextata*; and this form is that usual in the grammarians. But Asinius Pollio in writing to Cicero (Ep. X. 32, 3 and 5) twice uses *praetexta:* so does the writer of the ancient life of Persius, ascribed to Suetonius, *scripsit etiam Flaccus in pueritia praetextam:* and Paulus p. 223 M. has *praetextae appellantur quae res gestas Romanorum habent scriptas*, where Müller calls this form the more correct. The *fabula praetextata* was first written by Naevius, who composed two on the early history of Rome, *Lupus* and *Romulus*—the latter possibly the earliest source of the familiar legend—and one *Clastidium*, on contemporary history, all three of great merit, according to Ribbeck: cp. *Röm. Trag.* pp. 63—75. Two *praetextae* are ascribed to Ennius, one to Pacuvius, and two to Accius. For the *comoedia togata* of Afranius and others, cp. Ep. II. 1, 57 (note).

290. unum quemque: cp. Ep. II. 2, 188 (note). Orelli thinks that by 'a malicious irony' Horace is here illustrating the carelessness which he censures: but no such explanation suits the parallel instances.

292. Pompilius sanguis, the nominative for the vocative in solemn address as in Carm. I. 2, 43 *almae filius Maiae:* Livy has not only *audi tu, populus Albanus* (I. 24, 7), but even *agedum pontifex publicus populi Romani* (VIII. 9, 4): cp. too Verg. Aen. VIII. 77, Ov. Heroïd. XIV. 73: hence it is needless to resort to

any explanation such as Orelli's 'non vocantis, sed declarantis esse videtur'. Cases like v. 301 *o ego laevus*, Sat. II. 2, 107 *o magnus posthac inimicis risus*, II. 7, 69 *o toties servus* and the like are entirely different. Persius simply copies Horace in I. 61 *vos o patricius sanguis*. Cp. Kühner *Ausf. Gramm.* I. p. 282. According to Plutarch *Num.* XXI. Numa Pompilius had four sons, Pompus, Pinus, Calpus, and Mamercus, from whom the Pomponii, Pinarii, Calpurnii, and Mamercii were respectively descended. The real origin of the name *Calpurnius* is quite unknown: *Pompilius* is formed from a Sabellian *pompe* corresponding to the Latin *quinque:* cp. Corssen I.[2] 116.

293. dies 'time' and therefore feminine (Roby § 337, S. G. § 106), not singular for plural. **coercuit** 'pruned.'

294. praesectum: this is a case in which the combined evidence of the *Bland. vet.* and the oldest Berne MS. force us to adopt a reading which at first sight is less attractive than the vulgate *perfectum*. The latter would agree with *quod* and must be taken as proleptic after *castigavit* 'to perfection'. But if this reading is genuine it is hard to see how the much rarer word *praesectum* should have got into our oldest authorities. Besides it is somewhat tautologous with *ad unguem*. Workers in wood or stone were accustomed to test the finish of their work by passing the nail over it: cp. Columell. XI. 2, 13 *materies si roborea est, ab uno fabro dolari ad unguem debet:* Apul. *de Deo Socr.* Prol. p. 106 Hild. *non lapidem afferam—leviter ex omnibus oris ad unguem coaequatum.* [Similarly Verg. Georg. II. 277 uses *in unguem quadret* for 'exactly tally'.] Persius at once imitates and explains in I. 64 *ut per leve severos effundat iunctura unguis;* and Horace has Sat. I. 5, 32 *ad unguem factus homo.* Now it is a common experience that the nail is more sensitive to irregularities, when it has just been pared; and this is the meaning suggested by *praesectum:* it does not imply, as Keller, Schütz and others imagine, that the nails were cut away as hindrances; this meaning would, it is true, be inconsistent with the use of the idiom, but it is not required by the participle. Hence *praesectum* is really better in itself, as well as better supported than *perfectum*. It is commonly said that this Latin idiom is imitated from the Greek εἰς ὄνυχα, but it is doubtful whether the Greek phrase has always reference to the same usage: in the saying ascribed to Polycletus χαλεπώτατον εἶναι τὸ ἔργον, ὅταν ἐν ὄνυχι ὁ πηλὸς γίγνηται the meaning seems to be rather that the task is most difficult when the minutest details have to be reproduced in the clay model: cp. Overbeck *Gesch. d. Gr. Plastik* I.[2] 355. See however Wyttenbach's note on Plutarch *Moralia*, p. 86 A.

295—308. *This careful polishing is quite inconsistent with the notion that poetry is produced in a kind of inspired frenzy. I*

would rather keep my sanity as a critic, and teach others, without attempting verse myself.

296. excludit sanos: cp. Cic. de Div. I. 37, 80 *negat sine furore Democritus quemquam poetam magnum esse posse, quod idem dicit Plato* (sc. Phaedr. 245 A ὃς δ' ἂν ἄνευ μανίας Μουσῶν ἐπὶ ποιητικὰς θύρας ἀφίκηται, πεισθεὶς ὡς ἄρα ἐκ τέχνης ἱκανὸς ποιητὴς ἐσόμενος, ἀτελὴς αὐτός τε καὶ ἡ ποίησις ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν μαινομένων ἡ τοῦ σωφρονοῦντος ἠφανίσθη: cp. Thompson's note): and similarly in de Orat. II. 46, 194 (see note there). According to Diog. Laert. IX. 7, 48 Democritus wrote a book on poetry, in which something like Plato's words may have been found. Cp. Cic. pro Arch. 8, 18 *accepimus...poetam...quasi divino quodam spiritu inflari* (?) Sat. II. 7, 117.

297. bona pars, just like our 'a good part', 'a good many': so in Carm. IV. 2, 46 *meae vocis bona pars*, Sat. I. 1, 61 *bona pars hominum:* Lucret. V. 1025 has *bona magnaque pars;* so Ter. Eun. 123: Cicero has it in his dialogues (de Orat. II. 3, 14) not in his speeches. It strikes one as a somewhat colloquial usage: hence the phrase in the Odes may not be really parallel, though Wickham takes it so. **non unguis ponere**, i.e. neglects personal appearance, cp. Ep. I. 7, 50 (note). Schütz quotes Tatian's description of the Cynics (adv. Graecos, p. 87) κόμην ἐπειμένοι πωγωνοτροφοῦσιν ὄνυχας θηρίων περιφέροντες.

298. barbam, properly the mark of a philosopher (Sat. II. 3, 35 *sapientem pascere barbam*), but allowed to grow by all who were careless of their appearance. The public baths were great centres for social reunion.

299. nanciscetur: the indefinite subject 'a man' is supplied rather awkwardly after *bona pars:* hence Ribbeck suggests to read *qui* for *si*, a good conjecture, if any was needed.

300. Anticyris: hellebore grew abundantly at Anticyra in Phocis, a town on a small peninsula, to the east of the Crisaean Gulf. It was not far removed from Cirrha, but I doubt the connexion between the names which Prof. Palmer assumes (on Sat. II. 3, 82). Many persons came to reside there for medical treatment (ib. 166). There was another Anticyra on the Spercheius at the head of the Maliac Gulf, and it is asserted (but only on the late authority of Stephanus) that hellebore grew there too, and that the natives professed to have cured Heracles of his madness. An attempt has been made (sanctioned even in the Dict. Geogr. and in Kiepert's maps) to discover a third Anticyra to suit this passage by straining an expression in Livy XXVI. 26, in which Anticyra is said to be in Locris: but even the text there is doubtful, and the words *brevis navigatio a Naupacto est* are interpreted by the immediately subsequent addition that the town was attacked on the third day. Strabo's language too by

no means requires us to assume the existence of a third homonymous town. The words of Horace here are evidently used loosely. If a commentator came across the phrase 'Ten Karlsbads would not cure you', he would hardly think necessary to determine the geographical position of all the ten.

301. tonsori Licino. According to Acron and Schol. Cruq. Licinus was a barber, who was made a senator by Caesar because of his enmity to Pompeius. There was a Licinus who was a Gaul, taken prisoner by Caesar, and made his *dispensator:* he was afterwards emancipated and high in favour with Augustus, who made him procurator of Gaul in B.C. 16 and 15. There he acquired great wealth, which became proverbial: cp. Pers. II. 36, Juv. I. 109 *ego possideo plus Pallante et Licinis* (with Mayor's note); XIV. 305 *praedives Licinus:* Sen. Ep. CXX. 20 *quorum nomina cum Crasso Licinoque numerantur.* On him was written the excellent epigram (commonly but wrongly ascribed to Varro Atacinus), quoted here by the scholiasts: *Marmoreo tumulo Licinus iacet, at Cato nullo, Pompeius parvo: quis putet esse deos?* The good reply to this couplet is modern: cp. Madv. *Opusc.* II. pp. 202—4; and hence correct Simcox *Lat. Lit.* I. 247.—It is commonly assumed that Licinus, the wealthy freedman, was the barber of the text. The evidence in favour of this is simply that the scholiasts quote as written of the latter the epigram upon the former. It is extremely doubtful whether Horace would have allowed himself this contemptuous reference to the former profession of one high in favour with Augustus: and even if we accept the later date assigned to this work, there is no trace of a loss of this favour, such as Orelli is obliged to assume. Ritter needlessly assumes three of the name. The simplest way is to reject altogether the story of the scholiasts, that the barber became a senator, along with the absurd reason for it. So Dict. Biogr.

o ego laevus: 'how stupid I am.'

302. purgor will stand very well; *purger*, which Peerlkamp proposes, would have been more usual; but it is only found in two unimportant MSS. Cp. Seneca quoted by Roby § 1683 *nunquam, inquit Cornelia, non felicem me dicam, quae Gracchos peperi.* The verb is here used strictly in a middle sense, like καθαίρομαι, hence **bilem** is not exactly a Greek accusative, as Orelli calls it; cp. Roby § 1102, 1126—7, S. G. § 462, 471.

sub...horam 'in the season of spring': cp. Carm. I. 12, 16 *variis horis.* We might well translate here 'as the season of spring comes on': cp. Ep. I. 16, 22 (note), II. 2, 169, Zumpt § 319, and Capes on Liv. XXI. 2, 1 (oddly misinterpreted in L. and S.). Celsus II. 13 says that hellebore, which was a strong purgative, is best taken in spring; and Porph. here has *omnes*

verno tempore purgationem sumunt, quod vocatur καθαρτικόν, a custom by no means unknown to anxious mothers nowadays.

303. faceret, sc. if I did not take a purgative in spring.

304. nil tanti est: either (1) 'it is not at all worth while', where *nil*=*οὐδέν*, a strong negative, or (2) 'nothing is worth such a cost', i.e. even the reputation of a poet is not worth the loss of one's reason. The force of the phrase in Cic. ad Att. II. 13, 2 and V. 8, 3 supports the previous view. Cp. Madv. *Gramm.* § 294 obs. 3, *Opusc.* II. 188 ff. Roby § 1193, S. G. § 494.

cotis: so Isocrates, when asked why he taught others to speak but never spoke himself, replied καὶ αἱ ἀκόναι αὐταὶ μὲν τεμεῖν οὐ δύνανται, τὸν δὲ σίδηρον ὀξέα καὶ τμητικὸν ποιοῦσιν (Ps.-Plut. *Vit. X. Orat.* 4).

306. munus et officium, sc. *scribendi*, to be understood from **nil scribens**: of the two words **officium** is the stronger, as carrying with it the idea of moral obligation.

307. opes, 'stores' of material: **formet** 'moulds'; v. 108, 126, Ep. II. 1, 128. The derivation of the word *forma* from the root *dhar* 'to hold in', whence also *frenum* etc. (Curt. Princ. I. 319) shows that 'mould' is the primary meaning of the word: if we take it to be from *fer* 'strike' (with Fick *KZ.* XX. 173), it exactly = τύπος. Hence there is no ὕστερον πρότερον as Peerlkamp supposes.

308. virtus, i.e. a true knowledge of the canons of the poetic art: ἀρετή.

309. Here begins the third main division of the poem, and the rest of it is but an expansion of the ideas of vv. 307—8.

309—322 (*unde parentur opes*). *The first requisite for writing is sound judgment and wide knowledge of human character, which can best be gained by a study of philosophy: and this will win favour for a play.*

recte sapere, 'a sound judgment and correct knowledge' of the matter to be dealt with, as it is clear from the context. Orelli goes too far in giving the word a general meaning: 'recte cogitare atque iudicare de omnibus rebus'.

310. rem, i.e. especially the facts of human nature and character. **Socraticae**: besides Plato and Xenophon, Horace probably was thinking also of the writings of Aeschines (cp. Zeller, *Socrates*, p. 208, E. T.), and perhaps Antisthenes: whether he included the later Academics and Stoics, as Schütz thinks, is very doubtful. For other pupils of Socrates who wrote cp. Reid on Cic. Acad. II. 23, 74.

311. verbaque...sequentur: cp. Cic. de Orat. II. 34, 146

(note), III. 31, 125 *rerum enim copia verborum copiam gignit;* Cato's rule *rem tene, verba sequentur;* and the saying of Asinius Pollio, quoted here by Porphyrion *male hercle eveniat verbis nisi rem sequantur.* Acron reminds us how Menander used to say that he had finished a play as soon as he had settled the plot, even if he had not written a line.

312. quid debeat, 'his duties towards' etc. not, of course, with any special reference to himself, but generally what duties are owed by men. Hence it is needless with Peerlkamp to change the second *quid* into *quis.*

314. conscripti, 'a senator'. Paul. D. p. 41 M. *conscripti dicebantur, qui ex equestri ordine patribus adscribebantur, ut numerus senatorum expleretur.* Livy, II. 1, 10 says *deinde* [senatus]...*patrum numerum primoribus equestris gradus lectis ad ccc summam explevit, traditumque inde fertur, ut in senatum vocarentur, qui patres quique conscripti essent: conscriptos, videlicet novum in senatum, appellabant lectos.* Festus, p. 254 M. says that 164 plebeians were thus added to the senate. According to this story, which has been generally accepted, the familiar phrase *patres conscripti* is for *patres et conscripti.* It is quite clear that Livy and Festus are in error in supposing the newly added senators to have been plebeians: it is absurd to suppose that at a time when the plebeians were admitted to no magistracy, they should have constituted a majority of the governing council (cp. Madvig *Verf. u. Verw.* I. 125, Herzog *Gesch. d. R. Staatsv.* I. 130). But it is further probable that, in spite of the credence given to it by some of the best authorities, e.g. Becker, Mommsen, Lange, and Madvig, the story, and with it the current explanation of the phrase *patres conscripti,* is to be rejected altogether. *Conscripti* is a very doubtful equivalent for *adlecti,* and that *patres* meant the patrician senators alone cannot be regarded as established, in spite of Mommsen's arguments in *Röm. Forsch.* I. 218 ff. Hence Ihne *Röm. Gesch.* I. 116 [E. T. 137—8] and Willems, *Le Sénat* I. 38—63, *Droit Romain* pp. 187—9 maintain that *patres conscripti* means simply 'the fathers (patricians) who are on the roll'. Thus we can understand Cic. Phil. XIII. 13, 28 *mutavit calceos, pater conscriptus factus est. Conscriptus* alone occurs only here. The strongest argument for the current view is drawn from the quotation in Festus, p. 254 '*qui patres qui conscripti*' *vocati sunt in curiam,* which Mommsen, *Röm. Forsch.* I. 254 (note) regards as reproducing the formal summons of the herald in the forum.

iudicis: Sat. I. 4, 123 (note).

315. partes: Ep. II. 1, 171.

318. vivas voces, 'language faithful to life': cp. Plat.

Phaedr. 276 A λόγον ζῶντα καὶ ἔμψυχον, οὗ ὁ γεγραμμένος εἴδωλον ἄν τι λέγοιτο δικαίως. *veras*, preferred by Lambinus, has very slight authority and is only a gloss.

319. speciosa locis: *loci* has two chief meanings in rhetoric: (1) 'common-places', i.e. passages of abstract exposition or discussion, which can be introduced in any place where they may suit the context, but which are not limited to any particular occasion: (2) 'topics' or 'sources' from which arguments may be derived, or 'heads' under which they may be arranged. The word is very common in Cicero's rhetorical writings in both senses: cp. note on Cic. de Orat. I. 13, 56, where the *loci* deal with such subjects as the gods, piety, friendship, justice, and the like. In Quintilian's time the former meaning was the more usual, and he sometimes follows it, e.g. VII. 1, 41 *plerique... contenti sunt locis speciosis modo vel nihil ad probationem conferentibus:* but sometimes he returns to the other meaning, V. 10, 20 *locos appello non ut vulgo nunc intelleguntur, in luxuriam et adulterium et similia, sed sedes argumentorum in quibus latent, ex quibus sunt petenda.* It is generally assumed that the first meaning is that employed in this passage, 'a play striking from its brilliant passages'. Curiously enough Porph. gives exactly the opposite interpretation 'colligit saepe magis placuisse fabulam, quae nudis narraretur verbis, quoniam res spectatorem delectarent, quam quae locis communibus explicaretur'. If he had our text, he must have taken **versus inopes rerum** = *loci communes*, the latter phrase having acquired by his time something of that notion of triteness and feebleness which attaches to our own 'common-place remark', but not to a 'common-place book'. But Schütz argues strongly for the second meaning of *locus* here, in the sense of the psychological principles from which the poet's sketches of character are to be drawn. Then **morataque recte** does not add a quite distinct idea, but develops the first. 'Sometimes a play, if it is vivid in its way of dealing with characters, and paints them aright, even though it has no grace (Ep. I. 6, 38), from its lack of weighty and artistic language, gives more pleasure to the people, and keeps their attention better than lines which have no substance and melodious trifles'. Schütz takes as an example those characters in Shakspere which are always life-like, even when there is something repugnant to our taste in the language which they use. Certainly if a play has at once brilliant passages and true pictures of character, it is hard to see how it can be *nullius veneris sine pondere et arte.* Ritter oddly interprets of the scenery of the poem. It would be quite possible to understand merely 'in places'. Many inferior MSS. have *iocis.*

323. Grais: so all MSS. here: cp. Ep. II. 1, 90. **ore rotundo,** the στόμα στρογγύλον of the Greeks, denoted a

smooth, easy style of utterance, so that Dionys. Hal. de vi Demosth. 19 uses στρογγύλη λέξις as opposed to μακρά and πλατεῖα of 'well-rounded' periods, and ascribes to Lysias (Jud. Lys. 6) ἡ συστρέφουσα τὰ νοήματα καὶ στρογγύλως ἐκφέρουσα λέξις. The style of Lysias is nearly the exact opposite of what some people mean when they talk of speaking *ore rotundo*. Conington's 'ready wit and rounded phrase' will do.

326. in partes centum: the language is here not intended to be exact; the duodecimal, not the decimal method of subdivision was always used at Rome. The *as* was divided into 12 *unciae*, the *uncia* again into 4 *sicilici*, or 24 *scriptula* or *scripula*; sometimes even the *scripulum* was divided into 2 *simplia*, each $\frac{1}{576}$ of an as. From *scrupulus* (a small *scrupus*) comes *scruple*: the explanation of the by-form *scriptulum* is not clear. Probably it is a translation of γράμμα, which came to coalesce with *scrupulus*. Cp. Roby I. p. 447 f. S. G. § 189, Hultsch *Gr. u. Röm. Metrol.*[2] p. 145.

dicat: Bentley's conjecture *dicas* is quite unnecessary. Cp. Carm. I. 27, 10 *dicat Opuntiae frater Megillae*. Acron says that Albinus was a usurer. This is probably only a guess.

327. quincunce: cp. Roby l. c.

328. superat: so most MSS.: one or two have *superest*, one *superet* which Bentley accepted: but the indicative lends liveliness to the dialogue: Roby § 1761, S. G. § 751. *Supero* not *supersum* seems to be the technical word in such a case.

poteras is the reading of most MSS.; a few have *poterat*. Bentley adopts this, taking it as placed in the mouth, not of the supposed teacher but of Horace himself, as a part of the narrative: *poterat dixisse, Triens*. This is fairly good, but a needless departure from the MSS. The past impf. is best explained as an expression of some slight impatience: 'you might have told me by this time'; not as simply for the pres. (with Keller, &c.), comparing Sat. II. 1, 16, for there too we have 'an imperfect of neglected duty' as Prof. Palmer calls it. Nor is it 'you used to know' (as Macleane says), which ignores the force of the perf. inf. Cp. Roby § 1535, S. G. § 643.

eu=εὖ often used by the comic poets in approval. Cp. Brix on Plaut. Mil. 394.

329. redit 'is added' sc. to the quincunx: it denotes the opposite of the previous action, not merely its reversal. **fit** 'is the amount', a technical term: cp. the *tabula Veleias* in Bruns' *Fontes*[3], p. 201.

330. an: all Keller's MSS. read *ad*, which is indefensible in itself, but points to *at*: on the other hand the *Bland. vet.* and B

with a few others have *an*, and their authority is enough to make us accept it, as it is at least as good: Roby § 2255, S. G. § 888. Macleane seems to think it a conjecture of Bentley's.

aerugo used in Sat. I. 4, 101 of the canker of malice, here denotes the canker of avarice. Properly it is the rust upon copper coin. In Apul. Met. I. 21 *aerugini semper intentus* it seems to be used as a contemptuous expression for money, but that is not a sufficient reason why we should take it so here, as Hildebrand (*ad loc.*) contends.

331. speramus has more authority than *speremus*; as Bentley says 'utrumque probum est, ut nescias utrum utri praeferendum sit'. So Cicero often has *censemus* and *arbitramur*.

332—365 (*quid deceat, quid non*). *A poet must be brief, not extravagant, and neither empty nor too severe. Some slips may be pardoned; and a poem must be judged as a whole; and with regard to its general style.*

332. cedro, the resinous exudation of the *cedrus* or juniper-tree, was used to preserve books from decay: it was smeared on the unwritten side of the roll: cp. Vitruv. II. 9, 13 *ex cedro oleum, quod cedrium dicitur, nascitur, quo reliquae res unctae, uti etiam libri, a tineis et a carie non laeduntur.* Ov. Trist. III. 1, 13 *quod neque sum cedro flavus nec pumice levis.* Hence Pers. I. 42 has *cedro digna locutus.* **cupresso**: cp. Schol. Cruq. 'cupressus autem est cedri species, unde confici solent capsulae, in quibus reponebantur scripta poetarum contra tineas.' The lines 333—4 may be from the Greek: the comment then will be vv. 335—365.

335. brevis: Horace is himself one of the first masters of the terse speech that sticks.

336. dociles and **fideles** are predicates and may be translated best by adverbs.

337. omne...manat: Bentley suspected this to be a line foisted in by the monks, like many single hexameters in Juvenal. His suspicions are groundless here.

339. ne is the reading of most MSS. restored by Bentley for *nec*: it is here final, not imperative. **velit** has the support of the better MSS. and I do not see why we should not retain it: many of the best editors prefer *volet*.

340. Lamiae. According to a Libyan legend Lamia was a beautiful queen beloved by Zeus, but bereft of all her children by Hera, whereupon she retired into a lonely cavern in the midst of wild rocks, and there became a treacherous and greedy monster devouring the children of others from spite: cp. Aristoph. Pac. 758, Vesp. 1035, 1177, Verrall *Studies in*

Horace, p. 121, Preller *Gr. Myth.* I. 484. The name is doubtless derived from λάμος 'maw', with which is connected λάμια = χάσματα. In Apul. Met. I. 17, v. 11 the word is simply one of abuse = 'old witches'. The vampire Lamia, who appears in Keats's poem, is of later origin. **extrahat**, i.e. describe how it is drawn: cp. 221 (note).

341. centuriae seniorum, consisting, in each division of the Servian classification, of those who were over 45 years of age. These older men cared nothing for plays which had no useful lessons in them.

342. Ramnes, the first of the three original centuries of knights, the other two being *Tities* and *Luceres* (Liv. I. 13). Much difficulty has been found in understanding why *Ramnes* should be used here to denote the younger part of the audience. But the term seems only to have been used of the knights *equo publico*, who served as cavalry, not of those who belonged to the *ordo equester* by virtue of their census; and the period of service for cavalry was limited to ten campaigns, so that all these *equites* would be under 30. Hence Q. Cicero de pet. cons. 8, 33 describes them as *illa adulescentulorum aetas*, Liv. II. 13 as *proceres iuventutis*, while he makes Perseus speak of them as *equites seminarium senatus* (XLII. 61). There is no special reason why *Ramnes* should have been chosen, rather than one of the other centuries. Cp. Madvig *Verf. u. Verw.* I. 161—2. **celsi** = 'haughty', whether we take it as an epithet, or as an adverbial predicate with **praetereunt**, cp. Liv. VII. 16 *celsi et feroces in proelium vadunt*, and Cic. de Orat. I. 40, 184 (note).

343. punctum: Ep. II. 2, 99 (note).

345. Sosiis: Ep. I. 20, 2. The question has been raised whether an author received anything directly from his publisher; it seems clear that he did, at least in the time of Seneca (de Benev. VII. 6) and Martial (XI. 108): cp. Becker *Gallus*[3] II. 389 f. If the demand was good, the publisher would be able to make a good profit: Mart. XIV. 194 (on Lucan) *sunt quidam qui me dicunt non esse poetam; sed qui me vendit, bibliopola putat.*

mare transit: here just in the opposite sense to Ep. I. 20, 13 (cp. note). Martial was read in Gaul, Spain and Britain, and complains that he gets no profit from his British readers (XI. 3, 6). Pliny Ep. IX. 11 is delighted to find that his works have a good sale at Lugdunum.

346. longum prorogat 'extends to a distant day', proleptic: as Soph. Trach. 679 μείζον' ἐκτενῶ λόγον. Schütz connects *longum noto* 'known to distant parts', not so well.

347. ignovisse: v. 98 (note). Just as the string of a lyre may give the wrong note, or a bow miss its mark, so a man cannot always produce the result at which he aims.

350. quodcumque minabitur, sc. *ferire:* Madvig (*Adv. Crit.* I. p. 68) writes 'neque enim Horatium a. p. 350 scripsisse, quod omnes toties legimus...(in quo durissime ita auditur infinitivus, ut adiiciatur etiam se: quodcunque se percussurum esse minabitur; nam minari aliquid longe aliud est), hoc, inquam, eum non scripsisse ostendunt codices, in quibus est, fide quidem dignis omnibus, quocunque, hoc est, quoicunque.' The confusion between quod or quo (from quoi) and cui is a common one in MSS. (cp. Madvig *Emend. Liv.*², p. 350, Roby II. p. xxxiii.). But Madvig is in error in supposing that quocunque has good MS. authority here: it appears in none of the MSS. collated by Keller or by Ritter, and the only trace of it which I have been able to discover is in the inferior Berlin cod. 269 quoted by Schütz. Hence it is perhaps better to keep to the unusual construction which is not unintelligible, rather than to depart from the MSS. *minor* is a stronger expression for *peto.*

352. offendar, fut. ind. rather than pres. subj. **aut...aut:** it would seem at first that there is not sufficient distinction between the sources of error for the strongly disjunctive particles: but **incuria** appears to refer to faults arising simply from carelessness, **parum cavit** to those due to the difficulties of the task, against which sufficient care had not been taken.

353. quid ergo est? 'How stands the case then?' Bentley restored the *est,* which earlier editors had omitted, asserting that *quid ergo* alone is used only when it is a kind of rhetorical introduction to a following question; 'what then?'. It is doubtful whether this dictum would bear examination, except for Cicero. Cp. Reid on Cic. Acad. I. 4, 13.

354. scriptor librarius, 'a copying clerk', a slave set to this employment by his owner in order to produce books either for his own library or for sale. Cp. Marquardt *Röm. Privatalt.* I. p. 157.

355. quamvis 'however much': for the construction cp. Ep. I. 16, 6; 17, 1, 22.

[et] citharoedus: Bentley read *ut,* which is good in itself, but has very slight authority.

356. ridetur: Roby § 1421.

357. multum cessat, 'often neglects his duty': Ep. ii. 2, 14. **Choerilus,** Ep. II. 1, 232.

358. bis terve, 'twice, or even thrice', whereas *bis terque* (v. 440) is 'twice, ay and thrice:' the former = *raro,* the latter = *saepe:* cp. Bentley on Epod. v. 33, where he rightly restored *bis terque.* Here most MSS. have *bis terque,* which Keller and Schütz retain, attempting without much success to combat Bentley's distinction.

359. quandoque=*quandocunque:* cp. Roby § 2290, S. G. § 219. **dormitat**, the only frequentative from a verb of the fourth conjugation, and hence with *ī*, except *scītari*, Roby § 964. The Greek grammarians and philosophers delighted to discover inconsistencies and errors in Homer, most of all Zoilus, known as Ὁμηρομάστιξ. Lucilius (vv. 439—442 Lachm.) censured the extravagance of the story of Polyphemus. Ribbeck, holding that the current text gives just the wrong meaning, reads *indigner* with a mark of interrogation at *Homerus*, and *at idem* for *et idem*. This is attractive; for the ordinary reading seems to be quite inconsistent with vv. 351—2: if Horace is not offended by a few faults, why should he be indignant at occasional nodding? But in this somewhat loose writing Horace appears to have shifted his point of view. 'If a poet commits but few faults, these can be overlooked. If he is always blundering, we ridicule him, even when to our astonishment he occasionally goes right. But if he is to be judged by a higher standard, then he must expect us to be annoyed at his slips. But after all he ought to be pardoned even for them, if his task is a long one.' So the vulgate may be allowed to stand.

360. operi longo: so the large majority of good MSS. Some have *opere in longo*, which would have required *fuit:* besides the personification of the work is pleasing rather than otherwise, though Ribbeck holds that Bentley has by no means proved that a work can sleep.

361. ut pictura poesis. The comparison of a painting to a picture was made by Simonides: ὁ Σιμωνίδης τὴν μὲν ζωγραφίαν ποίησιν σιωπῶσαν προσαγορεύει, τὴν δὲ ποίησιν ζωγραφίαν λαλοῦσαν (Plut. de glor. Ath. 3), repeated in ad Herenn. IV. 28, 39 *poema loquens pictura, pictura tacitum poema debet esse.* The misleading character of this utterance of 'the Greek Voltaire' Lessing has brought out well in the *Vorrede* to his *Laocoon.* But here, as Orelli well points out, the reference is only to the external aspects of the two kinds of art, not to their points of internal resemblance.

362. abstes: a ἀπ. λεγ. Keller thinks that the reading *aptes* of the good MS. B points to the spelling *apstes.*

364. argutum acumen: Reid on Cic. Acad. I. 2, 7 points out how often *argute* is joined with *acute* in Cic.

366—384 (*quo virtus, quo ferat error*). *Mediocrity is permitted in things necessary, not in things which are produced only to give pleasure. Hence no one should write poetry without the requisite skill.*

368. tolle: Ep. I. 18, 12. **certis**, not the same as *quibusdam*, but defining more precisely. Cicero de Orat. I. 26, 118

explains why we are such severe critics of those arts which exist only to give us pleasure, and which miss their end altogether if they fail to do so.

370. mediocris, the only adjective with stem in *-cri* which regularly retains *-is* in the nom. sing. masc. Neue *Formenl.* II. 10. **diserti**, strictly speaking not so strong as 'eloquent' (cp. Cic. Brut. 5, 18 *M. Antonius...disertos ait se vidisse multos, eloquentem omnino neminem*), but here practically equivalent to it.

371. Messallae. M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus, the patron of Tibullus (circ. B.C. 65—A.D. 2), and perhaps known to Horace at Athens, won high distinction as lieutenant to Cassius at Philippi. Afterwards he attached himself to Antonius, but in B.C. 36 he joined Octavian, and in B.C. 31 he was consul and commanded the centre of the fleet at Actium. Of his eloquence Tacitus Dial. 18 says *Cicerone mitior Corvinus et dulcior et in verbis magis elaboratus* (cp. c. 21 ad fin.): Quintil. X. 1, 113 *At Messalla nitidus et candidus et quodam modo praeferens in dicendo nobilitatem suam, viribus minor* [quam Asinius]. He and Asinius Pollio are commonly coupled as the last of the older group of orators (Quint. X. 1, 23). There is a very good notice of him in Smith's *Dict. Biog.* no. 8. Cp. Carm. III. 21, Sat. I. 10, 29.

Cascellius, an eminent lawyer, distinguished however not so much for his learning (Dig. I. tit. II. 2, 45 *Trebatius peritior Cascellio, Cascellius Trebatio eloquentior fuisse dicitur, Ofilius utroque doctior*) as for his wit and boldness (Macrob. II. 6, 1 *iuris consultus urbanitatis mirae libertatisque:* cp. Val. Max. VI. 2, 12 *vir iuris civilis scientia clarus, quam periculose contumax!*). It was not this Cascellius to whom Scaevola the augur used to refer clients who consulted him on praediatorian law (Cic. p. Balb. 20, 45, Val. Max. VIII. 12, 1), for Scaevola died shortly after B.C. 88, by which time Cascellius cannot have gained any reputation: besides Mr Reid (on Cic. l. c.) has shown that Valerius was mistaken in supposing that the Cascellius of Cicero's story was a lawyer at all. He may have been the father of the lawyer. Cp. Introd. The evidence which connects Cascellius with B.C. 56 is the story told by Macrobius (l. c.), that he was consulted by a client at the time when Vatinius was giving a gladiatorial show, probably in the year when he was candidate for the praetorship.

372. in pretio est: 'has his value.' [This is a regular phrase of persons or things which not holding the highest place, are yet of some value. Cf. Plaut. Asin. I. 1, 46 *tu primus sentis: nos tamen in pretio sumus:* Poen. I. 2, 117 *primum prima salva sis et secunda tu secundo salve in pretio: tertia salve extra*

pretium: Volcat. Sed. ap. A. Gell. XV. 24 *Naevius pretio in tertiost.* A. P.] **mediocribus**: Roby, § 1357, S. G. § 537 (*c*).

373. non homines, non di: some MSS. invert these clauses, but *columnae* comes in much better as an anti-climax with the order in the text: the word is itself a burlesque exaggeration of the usual term *pilae* (Sat. I. 4, 71) for the posts in front of the booksellers' shops. Cp. Palmer's note there. We may translate 'counters'.

374. symphonia is any kind of orchestral or choral music: so *pueri symphoniaci* (Cic. p. Mil. 21, 55) are singing-boys: but the oxymoron is doubtless intentional. Cicero often speaks of the *symphonia* as an accompaniment of banquets. Cp. Senec. Ep. 54 *in comissationibus nostris plus cantorum est, quam in theatris olim spectatorum fuit.* Becker, *Gallus*^{3} III. 261.

375. crassum: thickness was generally considered a fault in the perfumed unguents, supplied by the hosts at a dinner (Carm. II. 3, 13, 7, 23 *funde capacibus unguenta de conchis*, III. 14, 7. Catullus XIII. 11 says he can furnish nothing but the perfume: there Ellis quotes Xen. Symp. II. 3 τί οὖν; εἰ καὶ μύρον τις ἡμῖν ἐνέγκαι, ἵνα καὶ εὐωδίᾳ ἑστιώμεθα;). Cp. Plin. N. H. XIII. 1, 2 *omnia unguenta acutiora fiunt costo, amomo... crassiora myrrho:* ib. 3, 4 *quosdam crassitudo maxime delectat, spissum appellantes, linique iam, non solum perfundi unguentis gaudent.*

Sardo melle: Porph. says 'Corsicum et Sardum mel pessimi saporis est': this was in consequence of the bitter plants (Verg. Ecl. VII. 41 *ego Sardoniis videar tibi amarior herbis*) and the yews (ib. IX. 30 *sic tua Cyrnaeas fugiant examina taxos*) which grew there in abundance, and made it *asperrimum* (Plin. N. H. XXX. 4, 10). Cp. Ov. Am. I. 13, 9 *quam* (*ceram*) *puto de longae collectum flore cicutae melle sub infami Corsica misit apis.*

papaver: cp. Plin. N. H. XIX. 53, 168 *papaver candidum, cuius semen tostum in secunda mensa cum melle apud antiquos dabatur.* The Spartans in Sphacteria were supplied with μήκων μεμελιτωμένη, to allay hunger. Cp. Krüger on Thuc. IV. 26.

376. duci cena, like *aetatem ducimus* (Ep. II. 2, 202), *vita ducenda est* (Epod. 17, 63) etc.

377. natum, v. 82. **inventum**, v. 405.

378. decessit has 'fallen short of': *discessit*, adopted by Lambinus, has very slight authority. **paulum**: so all MSS. here, the *cod. Veron.* of Livy (Mommsen p. 169), and the best MSS. of Cicero: even in Plautus (e.g. Epid. 238, Curc. 123) and in Lucretius the older form *paullus* nowhere appears in

our MSS.; hence *paulum* is rightly retained by Munro, e.g. I. 410, in spite of Lachmann on III. 1014. Augustus wrote *paulo* in the *Mon. Ancyr.* III. 21, and so the MSS. have in Verg. Ecl. IV. 1. On the other hand *Paullus* is the form of the proper name on coins and inscriptions, though MSS. are divided. Cp. Sat. I. 6, 41. The word is not directly connected with *paucus* (as Roby, § 868, says) but is more probably for *paurulus*. Cp. Corssen II^2 531—2.

vergit ad imum, 'approaches the lowest': i.e. is little better than the worst.

379. **armis**, not, as Orelli, such as are mentioned in the next line, but 'weapons' for sham fights: cp. Ep. I. 18, 54.

380. **pilae**: *indoctus* nowhere else is followed by the gen. but cp. *sollers lyrae* in v. 407, Roby § 1320, S. G. § 526. Cp. Sat. II. 2, 11 *seu pila velox...seu te discus agit*. For the various kinds of ball-play cp. Marquardt *Röm. Privatalt.* II. 420—425, or *Primer of Rom. Ant.* p. 37. The ball and quoit were held in high esteem, but the hoop (*trochus*) was rather despised: cp. Carm. III. 24, 57, Ov. Trist. II. 486, III. 12, 22, Art. Am. III. 383 *sunt illis* (sc. *viris*) *celeresque pilae iaculumque trochique armaque et in gyros ire coactus equus*. The hoop was set with rattling rings: *cedat ut argutis obvia turba trochis* (Mart. XIV. 169).

381. **spissae**: Ep. I. 19, 41, and v. 205. **impune**=*merito*. **coronae**: Ep. I. 18, 53.

382. **versus**. It is better not to place a comma after *versus*, as Bentley does: *nescio* does not govern *versus*, but rather *fingere* repeated.

383. **liber**, opposed to *servus*, **ingenuus** opposed to *libertinus*. Understand *est*, not, as Orelli, *sum*; for to *quidni* we supply *audeat* not *audeam*.

census...summam, cp. Cic. p. Flacc. 32, 80 *voluisti magnum agri modum censeri...cum te audisset servos suos esse censum*. Roby § 1127 says this is the only other instance of this construction of *censeor*. Gell. VII. 13, 1 has *classici dicebantur, qui cxxv. milia aeris ampliusve censi erant*, but this is later than Roby's limits. The construction with abl. is more common, and from this use comes the very frequent meaning in later writers 'to be valued or distinguished for': e.g. Mart. I. 61, 3 *censetur Apona Livio suo tellus:* the accusative construction seems to have given rise to the curious use in Ovid, Ep. Pont. I. 2, 137 *hanc...dilectam est inter comites Marcia censa suas*. For the equestrian census cp. Ep. I. 1, 57.

384. **vitio**, interpreted by Acron as *v. corporis*, hence *qui sanus est*. But that is not to the point here: it means only 'there

is nothing against him': cp. Ep. I. 7, 56. The inappropriateness of the plea makes any reply on the part of Horace superfluous.

385—390. *Even if you are well qualified to write do not be in haste to publish.*

385. tu, sc. maior Pisonum: **dices** 'will, I am sure, say'. **invita Minerva,** explained by Cic. de Off. I. 31, 110 *neque enim attinet naturae repugnare nec quicquam sequi, quod assequi non queas, ex quo magis emergit, quale sit decorum illud, ideo quia nihil decet invita Miverva, ut aiunt, id est adversante et repugnante natura.* Minerva, the goddess of the mental powers,—the name being akin to *mens*—came to stand for them by metonymy, as Ceres for corn, Bacchus for wine, and Juppiter for the sky (if this be the true explanation of the usage). Cp. Sat. II. 2, 3 *crassa Minerva*, Cic. de Am. 5, 19 *pingui Minerva.*

386. id—iudicium 'such is your judgment', a construction more common with the relative.

olim 'at any time'.

387. Maeci: cp. Introd. Bentley restored the true form of the name.

388. nonumque...in annum. It can hardly be doubted that (as Philargyrius on Verg. Ecl. IX. 35 says) there is a direct reference to the Smyrna of C. Helvius Cinna: cp. Catull. XCV. 1–2 *Smyrna mei Cinnae nonam post denique messem quam coepta est nonamque edita post hiemem:* Quint. X. 4, 4 *Cinnae Smyrnam novem annis accepimus factam.* In his case the long elaboration seems to have led to obscurity; but Vergil greatly admired him (Ecl. IX. 35). Cp. Teuffel *Rom. Lit.* § 210, 2–3. But Horace seems to refer not so much to the time spent upon the composition, as to the interval to be allowed to lapse between its completion and publication, and so Quintilian takes it in his dedicatory letter to Tryphon: *quibus componendis...paulo plus quam biennium...impendi:...usus deinde Horati consilio, qui in arte poetica suadet, ne praecipitetur editio...dabam iis otium, ut refrigerato inventionis amore diligenter repetitos tamquam lector perpenderem.*

389. membranis 'the parchments'. Usually *membrana* denotes the parchment case or wrapping of the papyrus roll, which formed the *liber:* cp. Ellis on Catull. XXII. 7, with Munro *on Catullus* p. 53 (quoted on Ep. I. 13, 6); but that meaning is out of the question here. Schütz thinks that this passage proves that parchment was sometimes used for the rough draft of a poem: but this is unlikely in itself, as parchment was very expensive, and besides it spoils the point, which comes out better if we suppose that, even after the fair copy had been made, the poem

was to be put aside for nine years. Cp. Palmer on Sat. II. 3, 2 *si raro scribes, ut toto non quater anno membranam poscas.* Probably at this time the author's own copy was made on durable parchment, and copies for sale on the cheaper papyrus. Cp. Becker *Gallus*[3] II. 372. Birt, in his careful discussion of the use of parchment in *Das antike Buchwesen*, thinks that parchment was used for the first sketch, because writing could be cleaned off it, better than off *charta* of papyrus. Cp. pp. 56 ff.

390. nescit...reverti: Ep. I. 18, 71.

391—407. *The power of poetry is shewn by the stories of Orpheus and Amphion: it laid the foundations of civilization: and men were roused to war and taught wisdom by its strains.*

391. silvestres, i.e. when 'wild in woods the noble savage ran'. Sat. I. 3, 99 ff.

sacer = *sacerdos Threicius* of Verg. Aen. VI. 645. **interpres**: Eur. Rhes. 936 μυστηρίων τε τῶν ἀπορρήτων φανὰς ἔδειξεν Ὀρφεύς. 'Orpheus, the son of the Muses, was a singer inspired equally by Apollo and by Dionysus' E. Curtius *Hist.* II. 78. Plato Protag. 316 D mentions him with Musaeus as having introduced τελετὰς καὶ χρησμῳδίας, but in Rep. II. 364 E he attacks the mendicant prophets who 'produce a host of books written by Musaeus and Orpheus, who were children of the Moon and of the Muses—that is what they say—according to which they perform their ritual'. Aristotle doubted the genuineness of the poems current under the name of Orpheus (de An. I. 5, 15), and, if Cicero de Nat. Deor. I. 38, 107 reports him correctly, even his existence. The *Orphica* now extant are mainly later than the Christian era. Cp. K. O. Müller *Gr. Lit.* I. 25, and Bergk *Gr. Lit.* I. 392—401.

392. caedibus: Aristoph. Ran. 1032 Ὀρφεὺς μὲν γὰρ τελετάς θ' ἡμῖν κατέδειξε φόνων τ' ἀπέχεσθαι.

393. tigris: the beasts appear following Orpheus first in Eur. Bacch. 564 ἐν ταῖς Ὀλύμπου θαλάμαις, ἔνθα ποτ' Ὀρφεὺς κιθαρίζων ξύναγεν δένδρεα Μούσαις, ξύναγεν θῆρας ἀγρώτας. In Eur. Iph. Aul. 1211 (cp. Med. 543), we have only the stones, as in Carm. I. 6, 7; 24, 13 we have the trees: but in Aesch. Ag. 1630 ἦγε πάντ' ἀπὸ φθογγῆς χαρᾷ. In the accounts of the mythologers the beasts became prominent.

rabidosque: this reading is supported by many of the best MSS. including *Bland. vet.* and *Bern.*, and is therefore to be accepted. Keller from his point of view thinks that the scale turns decidedly in favour of *rapidos*. That *rapidus* may mean 'fierce' is sufficiently proved by Vergil's use of the word of heat (Ecl. II. 10: cp. Conington's note), of the sun (Georg. I. 92), of fire (Georg. IV. 263) and of the dog-star (ib. 425). But here there

is no need to introduce it: and *lenire* strongly confirms *rabidos*. In Lucret. IV. 712 *rabidi leones*, V. 892 *rabidis canibus*, the MSS. have *rapidi* and *rapidis*, altered the former by Wakefield, the latter by Bentley, with the approval of Lachmann ('debebat scire *leones rapidos* Latine dici non posse') and Munro. I doubt, with Conington, whether Lachmann does not go too far, though of course he only means 'in the sense of *ravening*'. Keller quotes *rapidique leonis* from Lucan VI. 337, but Weber and Weise both have *rabidique*, though (as usual) MSS. are divided.

394. urbis has much more authority (including *Bland. vet.* and *Bern.*) than *arcis*, and it is hard to see why Bentley ignored it; still more why Orelli and Haupt should have preferred the latter: the *arx Thebana* was founded by Cadmus, hence called Cadmea, while according to Pausanias (IX. 5, 1—3) Amphion and Zethus built the lower city. But the chronological relation between Cadmus and the two brothers is given differently in different authorities: cp. Grote *History of Greece*, Part I. c. xiv. It is curious that Homer knows nothing of Cadmus: in the Odyssey (XI. 262) Amphion and Zethus build the walls of Thebes. 'The story about the lyre of Amphion is not noticed in Homer, but it was narrated in the ancient ἔπη ἐς Εὐρώπην, which Pausanias had read: the wild beasts as well as the stones were obedient to his strains (Paus. IX. 5, 4). Pherecydes also related it (frag. 102 Didot)' Grote l. c. Cp. Carm. III. 11, 2 *movit Amphion lapides canendo:* Ep. I. 18, 41.

395. blanda: Ep. II. 1, 135.

396. sapientia, predicate, with the infinitives in apposition.

397. publica, etc. Horace follows the division of the Roman law: cp. Gaius II. 2 *summa itaque rerum divisio in duos articulos diducitur: nam aliae sunt divini iuris, aliae humani. Divini iuris sunt veluti res sacrae et religiosae.* 10. *Hae autem quae humani iuris sunt aut publicae sunt aut privatae.*

398. concubitu vago=the *venerem incertam* of Sat. I. 3, 109. The Epicurean conception of the early history of man upon the earth, which Horace has in view here, is given fully in Lucret. V. 925—1457. On much of it Darwin's *Descent of Man* furnishes an interesting commentary. **maritis** 'the wedded'. Dig. XXIV. 1, 52 *inter maritos nihil agitur.* Apul. Met. VIII. 2 *soboli novorum maritorum.* The use here shows that it is not solely 'post-classical' as L. and S. say. But *coniuges* is more common in this sense: cp. Catull. LXI. 237 *boni coniuges*, LXVI. 80 *unanimis coniugibus.*

399. ligno: 'aereis enim tabulis antiqui non sunt usi, sed roboreis. In has incidebant leges, unde adhuc Athenis legum tabulae ἄξονες vocantur' Porph. They were also called κύρβεις:

for the difference between the two cp. Lidd. and Sc. s. v., Plut. Solon c. XXV. (Vol. I. p. 193 Clough). Dionysius says that the Twelve Tables were first engraved on bronze (στήλαις χαλκαῖς: so Mommsen I. p. 290), but other authorities say ivory (Pomponius in Dig. I. 2, 2, cp. Niebuhr *Hist.* II. 316 note): and Arnold (*Hist.* I. 256 note) thinks that Livy's simple *tabulae* (III. 34) points to wood.

400. sic: i.e. as civilization grew. **vatibus**: Horace is thinking of mythical poets like Linus, Orpheus, Musaeus.

honŏr: in v. 69 Horace uses *honōs: honos* is far more common in Cicero and Livy than *honor* and is the only form used by Vergil. Horace, Ovid, Tacitus and the later poets use the two forms indiscriminately. Even Plautus varies, if we may trust the MSS.: cp. Trin. 663 and 697 with Ritschl's note. Note that the *s* is never retained, except in iambic words: *arbos* is on a different footing. Cp. Neue *Formenl.* I. 169, Lachmann on Lucret. VI. 1260.

401. insignis, not an epithet of **Homerus**, but 'gaining fame after these'.

402. Tyrtaeus, an Athenian sent to the aid of the Spartans, when hard pressed by the war with the revolted Messenians. The legends about him vary greatly: Bergk (*Gr. Lit.* II. 247) fixes his date at B.C. 640: others less correctly assign it to B.C. 683. Cp. Grote *Hist.* Pt. II. c. 7. We have about 120 lines of his elegiac poetry, containing exhortations to valour, and smaller fragments of his ἐμβατήρια, anapaestic marching songs. His poetry was highly prized at Sparta, and sung in time of war: on the strength of it Leonidas pronounced him ἀγαθὸς νέων ψυχὰς αἰκάλλειν. Cp. Bergk *Gr. Lit.* II. 244—258, *Poet. Lyr. Gr.*³ 393—405. Quintilian, X. 1, 56 says *quid? Horatius frustra Tyrtaeum Homero subiungit?* where Mayor quotes passages from Dio Chrys. in which the two names are coupled. But Crates the philosopher maintained that passages like Hom. Il. XV. 496 ff. were more rousing than anything in Tyrtaeus. **mares**, Ep. I. 1, 64.

403. exacuit: Bentley on Carm. I. 24, 8 shows by many instances how regularly Horace uses a singular verb with several subjects if all, or at least the nearest one, are singular. Cp. Wickham on Carm. I. 3, 10; Bentley on Sat. I. 6, 131.

sortes: v. 219 (note), Mommsen *Hist.* I. 187 (note). The oracles of Delphi, of Bakis and of the Sibyl are probably especially intended. 'A strange coincidence! that from that Delphian valley whence, as the legend ran, had sounded the first of all hexameters (ξυμφέρετε πτερά τ' οἰωνοὶ κηρόν τε μέλισσαι)...should issue in unknown fashion the last fragment of

Greek poetry which has moved the hearts of men, the last Greek hexameters which retain the ancient cadence, the majestic melancholy flow'. *Hellenica* p. 489.

404. vitae monstrata via est, by the gnomic poets, Solon, Theognis, Phocylides: Mahaffy *Gr. Lit.* I. 175, 187 ff. Bergk *Gr. Lit.* II. 296, 332.

gratia regum; Pindar, Simonides and Bacchylides were patronised by Hiero and Thero, Anacreon by Polycrates of Samos. 'The rise and prevalence of tyrants in Greece, and their desire of spreading culture about them, created a demand, and a comfortable prospect for professional court poets'. Mahaffy I. p. 206.

405. Pieriis: by the time of Horace this had become a merely conventional literary epithet of the Muses: but its earlier usage (Hesiod Op. 1 Μοῦσαι Πιερίηθεν, ἀοιδῇσι κλείουσαι, Sappho frag. 4 βρόδων τῶν ἐκ Πιερίας) is of much importance as pointing to an early school of Greek poetry in that part of Thessaly about Mt. Olympus. Cp. Geddes *Homeric Question* pp. 25, 241.

ludus 'festivals': cp. Ep. II. 1, 140 ff. Acron refers this to the lyre, Orelli to the dramatic representations at the Dionysia τὰ κατ' ἀγρούς in December, which marked the close of the year's toil: both unduly limit the meaning. But Acron is right in taking **et...finis** as a quasi-adjectival addition, 'to finish their long toils'.

406. ne...sit, not imperative, but final: '(this I say) lest' etc. So take Carm. II. 4, 1 *ne sit ancillae tibi amor pudori... prius...movit,* and IV. 9, 1 *ne forte credas etc.* Cp. Ep. I. 1, 13.

407. sollers: so all good MSS. here, and usually: *solers* is nowhere admissible.

408—418. *Not only natural ability, but also trained skill is needful for success in poetry.*

408. natura...an arte: a theme often discussed. Pindar was perhaps the first to lay stress on the great importance of φυή, as compared with μελέτη: cp. Olymp. II. 86 (155) σοφὸς ὁ πολλὰ εἰδὼς φυᾷ· μαθόντες δὲ λάβροι παγγλωσσίᾳ, κόρακες ὣς, ἄκραντα γαρύετον Διὸς πρὸς ὄρνιχα θεῖον, where Dr Fennell finds a reference to Simonides and Bacchylides: Prof. Jebb doubts whether Simonides can be included (*Journal of Hellenic Studies,* III. p. 162). So Olymp. IX. 100 (152) τὸ δὲ φυᾷ κράτιστον ἅπαν· πολλοὶ δὲ διδακταῖς ἀνθρώπων ἀρεταῖς κλέος ὤρουσαν ἄρεσθαι, ἄνευ δὲ θεοῦ σεσιγαμένον οὐ σκαιότερον χρῆμ' ἕκαστον. But in Ol. XI. 20 he admits θήξαις δέ κε φύντ' ἀρετᾷ. Naturally Horace's solution of the question—that both natural gifts and training are needed—is the one generally accepted: cp. Plat. Phaedr. 269 D εἰ μέν σοι ὑπάρχει φύσει ῥητορικῷ εἶναι,

ἔσει ῥήτωρ ἐλλόγιμος, προσλαβὼν ἐπιστήμην καὶ μελέτην. Cicero in his *de Oratore* often expresses his opinion that the first requisite for the orator is natural capacity (e.g. I. 25, 113 *sic sentio, naturam primum atque ingenium ad dicendum vim adferre maximam*) but that he must also be *omnibus eis artibus, quae sunt libero dignae, perpolitus* (§ 72): and p. Arch. 7, 15 he says: *ego multos homines excellenti animo ac virtute fuisse et sine doctrina, naturae ipsius habitu prope divino, per se ipsos et moderatos et graves fuisse fateor. Etiam illud adiungo, saepius ad laudem atque virtutem naturam sine doctrina quam sine natura valuisse doctrinam. Atque idem ego hoc contendo, cum ad naturam eximiam et illustrem accesserit ratio quaedam conformatioque doctrinae, tum illud nescio quid praeclarum ac singulare solere existere.* Cp. Ovid Trist. II. 424 *Ennius ingenio maximus, arte rudis:* and Am. I. 15, 14 *quamvis ingenio non valet, arte valet,* of Callimachus. Quintil. I. Prooem. 26 *illud tamen in primis testandum est, nihil praecepta atque artes valere, nisi adiuvante natura.*

409. vena: in Carm. II. 18, 10 Horace claims for himself *ingeni benigna vena;* the metaphor is from mining: cp. Cic. de Nat. Deor. II. 39, 98 *adde etiam reconditas auri argentique venas*, and ib. 60, 151. φλέψ is used in the same way.

410. prosit is supported by all MSS. of any value, and may I think, be defended: Quint. v. 10, 121 has *non magis hoc sat est quam palaestram didicisse, nisi corpus exercitatione, continentia, cibis, ante omnia natura iuvetur, sicut contra ne illa quidem satis sine arte profuerint.* Bentley read *possit*, and this reading has been very generally adopted: '*quid possit*, τί δύναιτ' ἄν, quid laudabile, quid egregium pariat. At *quid prosit*, τί ἂν ὠφελοῖ, minus est humiliusque, quam quod poscit sententia'. Of course, the two words are often confused in MSS.; but this only makes the fact that *possit* appears in one or two inferior copies (and in John of Salisbury's quotation) tell more against it, than if it were found in none. Bentley similarly prefers *possunt* to *prosunt* in Carm. I. 26, 10 *nil sine te mei prosunt honores.* Many editors (e.g. Munro, L. Müller, Hirschfelder, Schütz, etc.) follow him here, but not there. The cases seem to me closely parallel.

rude 'untrained', not as Acron 'stultum'. **sic** 'to such a degree'.

411. coniurat: cp. Carm. I. 15, 7 *Graecia coniurata tuas rumpere nuptias.* Cicero never uses the word except in the bad sense 'to conspire'; but Vergil and Livy have it simply for 'band together': cp. Ter. Hec. 198 *quae haec est coniuratio? utin omnes mulieres eadem aeque studeant nolintque omnia!*

412. metam, properly denoting the two turning-posts in the Circus: hence the word acquires two distinct meanings (1)

turning-post, (2) goal. The former is far the more common; e.g. in Verg. Aen. V. 159 *metamque tenebat* (cp. 129 *viridem frondenti ex ilice metam*) means 'he was just at the point where he had to turn round': Conington apprehends the meaning, but repeatedly uses the term 'goal' to denote this point: surely this is not legitimate; the 'goal' was the *portus altus* of v. 243, by reaching which the race was won. L. and S. are clearly wrong in taking the *meta* here as the winning-post. Cp. Carm. I. 1, 4 *metaque fervidis evitata rotis.* Cic. pro Cael. 31, 75 *in hoc flexu quasi aetatis fama adulescentis paulum haesit ad metas.* But the word is frequently used metaphorically in the sense of a limit: Verg. Aen. I. 278 *his ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono:* III. 714 *longarum haec meta viarum.* In Ovid Art. Am. II. 727 *ad metam properate simul* the word is used metaphorically in its literal meaning, as in Trist. I. 9, 1 *detur inoffenso vitae tibi tangere metam:* in IV. 8, 35 the plural is used, apparently in the sense of 'goal': *nec procul a metis, quas paene tenere videbar, curriculo gravis est facta ruina meo.* I can find no passage in prose in which *meta* is used for 'goal' except Varro L. L. VIII. 16, 31 *si quis duplicem putat esse summam, ad quas metas naturae sit perveniendum in usu;* the regular word is *calx;* Ep. I. 14, 9. Gr. ὕσπληξ = starting-point, not goal, as Rutherford says on Phrynichus p. 146. Cp. Plat. Phaedr. 254 E There is a striking parallel in the use of καμπτήρ for 'goal': cp. Cope on Ar. Rhet. III. 9, 2 ἐπὶ τοῖς καμπτῆρσιν ἐκλύονται.

413. puer 'when a boy': **sudavit et alsit** 'has borne heat and cold': the tense is the true perfect, not the gnomic or aoristic perfect.

414. Pythia cantat 'plays at the Pythian games'; the construction is like that of Ep. I. 1, 50 *coronari Olympia;* cp. *saepe... Olympia vicit* Enn. in Cic. de Sen. 5, 14. At the Pythian games one of the chief contests was in the νόμος Πύθικος, a description in music of the fight of Apollo with the Python, including a song of victory and a dirge over the monster. This was introduced by Olympus (Müller *Greek Lit.* I. 209), but was not limited to the pipe; the lyre was also used (Curtius *Hist.* II. 82, Bergk *Gr. Lit.* II. 127). The victor at the first three Pythian contests, after they passed into the hands of the Amphictyons (B.C. 590), was Pacadas (Müller, p. 215).

416. nunc is the reading of all our older authorities, and is quite defensible: 'nowadays men think it enough to say'. Bentley contended that the contrast was not between the present time and the past, but between athletes and poets; and therefore read on very slight authority *nec*, which has been very generally accepted. But surely this is to force too strictly logical an expression upon Horace. There is no lack of clearness in saying 'athletes and musicians have to prepare themselves with much

self-denial for their public appearances, but nowadays men are satisfied with saying that they would account it a disgrace not to be able to write poetry, even though they have never studied the art'. Ritter, Schütz, Keller, Krüger, Dillenbürger and others retain *nunc*, the Scholiasts knew no other reading, and Conington evidently adopts it for his translation. If any correction were needed, I should prefer Jeep's *huic* to Bentley's *nec*.

417. occupet extremum scabies 'deuce take the hindmost': according to Porphyrion 'hoc ex lusu puerorum sustulit, qui ludentes solent dicere: quisquis ad me novissimus venerit, habeat scabiem'. L. Müller has rearranged the line, so as to make a trochaic tetrameter catalectic, like that quoted in Ep. I. 1, 59; *hábeat scabiem quísquis ad me vénerit novíssimus.* Acron describes the game somewhat differently.

418. sane, not 'modestly' (more sani hominis), nor yet 'certainly' (=utique Or.), but 'altogether', like *sane sapis* often in Plautus.

419—452. *The judgment of flatterers must not be accepted, but a rich poet can hardly tell true friends from false ones. Quintilius was an honest critic; and a good man will never conceal his friend's errors from him.*

420. ad lucrum 'to make their profit out of him'. A crier endeavours to attract purchasers by promising them good bargains; a rich man, who writes verse, attracts an audience of flatterers by the hope that they will gain something. Hence v. 421 is not superfluous, as Schütz thinks, but necessary to the meaning. It is repeated from Sat. I. 2, 13 in a different connexion, just as Ep. I. 1, 56 is repeated from Sat. I. 6, 74, and Sat. I. 4, 92 from Sat. I. 2, 27, though the last instance is not quite parallel. The satirists are full of instances in which a dinner was the reward for listening to the host's poetry: e.g. Mart. III. 1 *haec tibi, non alia, est ad cenam causa vocandi, versiculos recites ut, Ligurine, tuos;* etc.: cp. II. 27, III. 45, VII. 42, IX. 14.

422. si vero est: *vero* does not here introduce a climax, as Schütz thinks, but is simply adversative: a rich poet can get plenty of admirers, but I shall be surprised, if he can tell a true friend from a deceiver.

unctum: Ep. I. 15, 44. **ponere** 'serve up': Sat. II. 2, 23; 4, 14; 6, 64; 8, 91; Pers. I. 53 *calidum scis ponere sumen.*

423. levi 'of little credit'=*levi fide:* the word has no reference here to moral character. But as this use is rare of persons, and as *pauper* is very seldom accompanied by an epithet, Geel has ingeniously conjectured *velit.* Words like *modo* and *domo* are frequently confused. Cp. Plaut. Most. 432 (Sonn.=417

Lor.), Cic. de Orat. II. 13, 54 (note). **atris** 'gloomy', like *atrae curae* Carm. IV. 11, 35. Bentley's suggestion *artis* suits **implicitum**, but is quite needless.

424. mirabor: Ep. I. 17, 26. **inter noscere**: cp. Ep. II. 2, 93 (note): Sat. I. 2, 63 *quid inter | est...?*

425. beatus 'for all his fancied happiness'.

427. tibi factos: Ep. I. 6, 25. The ethic dative *tibi ducere*, which Schütz prefers, would leave *factos* too isolated.

428. pulchre, etc.: cp. Mart. II. 27 *Laudantem Selium cenae cum retia tendit accipe, sive legas, sive patronus agas: 'effecte! graviter! cito! nequiter! euge! beate!' Hoc volui. Facta est iam tibi cena; tace.*

429. super his: Ep. II. 1, 152 (note): *his* seems to denote 'one set of lines', i.e. those intended to inspire terror. But Sat. II. 6, 3 would warrant us in taking it here as 'moreover', though this would not be lawful in prose.

430. saliet: admiration was expressed by rising; Mart. X. 10, 9 *saepius assurgam recitanti carmina?* Cp. Reid on Cic. de Am. 7, 24 *stantes plaudebant.* The parasite over-does his delight: Quint. II. 2, 9 *at nunc proni atque succincti ad omnem clausulam non exsurgunt modo, verum etiam excurrunt, et cum indecora exsultatione conclamant.* Cp. Pers. I. 82 *Trossulus exultat tibi per subsellia levis.*

431. conducti: in the earlier times of the republic women (*praeficae*) were hired to sing a dirge over the departed one, in accordance with a custom which seems to have been almost universal in the ancient world; cp. the commentators on Eccles. xii. 5, St Matth. ix. 23. Becker *Gallus*[3] III. 360 thinks that these women are here intended, and that the masc. is to be defended, as denoting a class. Cp. Nonius p. 145 M. *nenia, ineptum et inconditum carmen, quod conducta mulier, quae praefica diceretur, his quibus propinqui non essent* (this is an erroneous limitation) *mortuis exhiberet.* Paulus, p. 223, gives a similar definition, and quotes from Naevius *haec quidem hercle, opinor, praefica est, sic mortuum collaudat.* Varro (ap. Non. p. 66 M.) says *haec mulier vocitata olim praefica usque ad Poenicum bellum:* but the name is used by Plautus Truc. II. 6, 14, and even by Lucilius (XXII. frag. 1 M. vv. 808–9 Lachm.) *mercede quae conductae flent alieno in funere praeficae multo et capillos scindunt et clamant magis*; and even if the name fell out of use, that is not sufficient reason to suppose that the custom died out, with Marquardt *Röm. Privatalt.* I. p. 358: at any rate the *nenia* was regularly sung by boys and men, as at the funeral of Pertinax (Dio LXXIV. 4). Porphyrion has 'Alexandriae obolis conducuntur, qui mortuos fleant, et hoc tam valide faciunt, ut ab igno-

rantibus [a cognatis?] illorum fuisse credantur, qui efferuntur. Hi ergo vocantur *θρηνῳδοί*.' If *Alexandriae* is not corrupt, this looks as if he knew nothing of the custom at Rome. Keller says that there were 'Spitälerinnen' in Ulm till far into the present century who 'howled' for pay at funerals.

433. derisor: Ep. I. 18, 11. **plus**, more usual than *magis* with verbs of emotion.

434. reges 'princes', i.e. wealthy men, as in Sat. I. 2, 86 *regibus hic mos est*, Sat. II. 2, 45 *epulis regum*. Still it may have its usual force here.

culillis: Keller on Carm. I. 31, 11—the only other place where this word is found—shows that the evidence is strongly in favour of this form as against *culullis*: the derivation is uncertain, but the word is probably akin to *culigna* = *κυλίχνη* (Fest. p. 51), and it certainly has nothing to do with *culleus*, as Acron says.

435. torquere: Ep. I. 13, 38. The story of Tiberius, quoted by Orelli, is of very doubtful applicability. **perspexisse**: v. 98.

laborent seems to be on the whole better supported than *laborant*; Bentley says 'sane quid modus subiunctivus hic faciat, non video', and most recent editors (even Keller) follow him. But surely the relative clause is suboblique. If the construction had been 'dicunt reges etc.', the subjunctive would have been almost necessary; as it is, it is at least legitimate.

436. an 'to see whether': in such cases an affirmative answer is suggested: cp. Zumpt § 354, v. 462. **condes**: Ep. I. 3, 24.

437. sub volpe. In Aesop's fable of the fox and the crow, the fox plays the part of a crafty flatterer bent upon securing something for himself, and so here is used for the *adsentator* of v. 420 ff. It is quite needless to say, with many editors, that 'fox' is here used for 'fox's skin', or to try to bring in the skin by bold emendations: e. g. Peerlkamp suggests *fallent sub amica pelle latentes*, Ribbeck *volpes sub pelle latentes*, as if there were several foxes in one skin! Pers. V. 116 forces the note as usual, *fronte politus astutam vapido servas in pectore volpem*.

438. Quintilio: Quintilius Varus of Cremona, whose death in B.C. 24 Horace laments in Carm. I. 24, where he ascribes to him *incorrupta fides nudaque veritas*: he is probably the Varus of Epod. V. and Carm. I. 18, and was also a friend of Vergil, who *insigni concordia et familiaritate usus est Quintili Tuccae et Vari*, but he must not be confused with Varius or with Vergil's Alfenus Varus: **aiebat** shows that he was dead at this time. **sodes**: Ep. I. 1, 62 (note). **recitares**, frequentative: Roby § 1716, S. G. § 720 (though he omits *si*: but cp. Kühner II. § 214, 5:

Madvig § 359, Liv. III. 36, 8 *si quis collegam appellasset, ita discedebat*, &c.). Sat. I. 3, 4 is not parallel, because the verb in the apodosis is also in the subjunctive, which makes the sentence a pure hypothesis.

439. negares: Roby § 1552, S. G. § 650.

440. bis terque: v. 358.

441. tornatos: Bentley argues at great length that though the anvil and the lathe can each be metaphorically applied to verses, they cannot be applied at the same time, and also that *tornatus* like *limatus* could only be used of something properly finished, so that it admits of no adverb. He suggests *ter natos* (a most unlucky conjecture), 'if they have thrice come out bad verses', comparing Ep. II. 1, 233. A thrice-repeated birth is at least as odd as the combined metaphors. That the *tornus* was used of metal has been shown by several passages quoted by Fea. If the finishing tool has been thrice applied without success, the misshapen thing must be placed upon the anvil and hammered up, so that a new start may be made; but not (as Orelli thinks) with a new lump of metal, which is against **reddere**. Some editors have adopted the conjecture *formatos*, which is weak. Cp. Ovid Trist. I. 7, 29 *ablatum mediis opus est incudibus illud* (sc. Metamorphoses), *defuit et scriptis ultima lima meis*: Propert. III. 32, 43 *incipe iam angusto versus includere torno*. ἀποτορνεύειν is common in the same sense.

442. vertere 'to change' (Ep. I. 25, 39) with a slight zeugma, **delictum** being the faulty line. This is better than to say with Orelli that there is a reference to the phrase *stilum vertere*, or with Schütz, that it is for *avertere* 'to remove it'.

444. quin = 'to hinder you from': cp. Sat. II. 3, 42 *nil verbi pereas quin fortiter addam*. Roby § 1646, S. G. § 682. **sine rivali**: cp. Cic. ad Quint. Fr. III. 8, 4 *o di, quam ineptus, quam se ipse amans sine rivali*.

445. vir bonus et prudens: Ep. I. 7, 22; 16, 32. **inertes** 'weak', the *virtute carentia* of Ep. II. 2, 123.

446. incomptis = *incultis* of Ep. II. 1, 233. **atrum**, both 'black' in colour and also 'gloomy' as being a sign of condemnation; so Pers. IV. 13 *nigrum vitio praefigere theta* 'to obelize wrong with a staring black mark' (Con.).

447. signum, the *obelus* —, which was made with a cross stroke of the pen, to signify condemnation: cp. Lucian XL. 24 ὁ τὰ νόθα ἐπισημηνάμενος τῶν ἐπῶν ἐν τῇ παραγραφῇ τῶν ὀβελῶν. A χ was similarly used, and that may perhaps be rather intended here; but one MS. has *obelum* as a gloss.

transverso cannot be the same as *verso*, as some take it.

ambitiosa = *superflua*, according to the scholiasts like *luxurіantia* of Ep. II. 2, 122: perhaps rather 'pretentious'; cp. Quint. I. 2, 27 *si ambitiosis utilia praeferet:* XII. 10, 40 *affectatio et ambitiosa in loquendo iactantia.*

448. parum claris. Horace like Vergil is singularly free from the affected obscurity of the imitators of the Alexandrian literature. Cp. Nettleship's Life of Vergil pp. xxii., xxiii. Sueton. vit. Hor. p. 298 Roth.

449. arguet 'will point out': the meaning of 'censure' as applied to things seems to be somewhat later.

450. Aristarchus, the great Alexandrian critic, who did so much to establish the text of Homer in the middle of the second century B.C. His merits were first shown by the publication of the Venetian Scholia on Homer by Villoison in 1788. They have been discussed best by F. A. Wolf in his famous Prolegomena, by Lehrs *de Aristarchi Studiis Homericis* (ed. 3, 1882), and by Pierron in his edition of the Iliad. There is no reason to suppose that he was unduly severe, though he was strict in his critical principles. Pope (*Dunciad* IV. 203) calls Bentley 'that awful Aristarch', in a passage which does infinite injustice to one who was among the freshest and most vigorous of writers, as well as in the foremost rank of our scholars. Cicero ad Att. I. 14, 3 *meis orationibus, quarum tu Aristarchus es.*

451. nugae 'trifling faults'.

452. derisum exceptumque sinistre 'flattered and treated uncandidly', as Mr Yonge rightly takes it.

453—476. *A poet is as dangerous as a man with an infectious disease: if he gets hold of you, he will bore you to death with his recitations.*

453. morbus regius: Celsus III. 24 derives this name for the jaundice from the costly remedies which had to be applied, which were only within the reach of the wealthy (*reges*): *per omne tempus utendum est exercitatione, frictione...lecto etiam et conclavi cultiore, lusu, ioco, ludis, lascivia, per quae mens exhilaretur, ob quae regius morbus dictus videtur.* Pliny says (XXII. 24, 114) *Varro regium cognominatum arquatorum morbum tradit, quoniam mulso curetur*, which, I suppose, comes to much the same thing. The other name for it *morbus arquatus* is still more obscure: the explanation of Celsus that it is so called because the yellowish tinge caused by it reminds one of the colour of the rainbow (*arcus caelestis*) is not very satisfactory. Jaundice is not at all contagious: perhaps the notion that it was arose from the depression of spirits caused by it.

454. fanaticus error, properly a frenzy inspired by (the

oriental) Bellona: cp. Juv. IV. 123 *ut fanaticus oestro percussus, Bellona, tuo divinat*, with Mayor's note: here it is evidently 'lunacy': for **iracunda Diana** is an explanatory addition, not, as Schütz thinks, a different kind of disorder. Acron here has '*fanaticum* errorem pati dicuntur, qui a fanis percutiuntur, id est qui lymphatico agitantur. Sicut lunaticum aut morbosum, ita insanum poetam fugiunt sapientes'. This use of the word *lunaticus* is not common before the Vulgate. Diana, though not strictly the same as Luna, was often identified with her, as by Catull. XXXIV. 15, 16 *tu potens trivia et notho es dicta lumine Luna:* cp. Carm. IV. 6, 38.

455. vesanum: Ribbeck prints *vaesanus* in Vergil: but there is not much authority for that form here.

456. agitant 'tease': cp. Sat. I. 3, 133 *vellunt tibi barbam lascivi pueri.*

457. sublimis 'with head in air', nom. sing. A misunderstanding has led to the reading *sublimes* in some MSS.

ructatur, a rather coarse expression: but the word may have undergone a change like that of ἐρεύγομαι in Hellenistic Greek: cp. S. Matt. xiii. 35 ἐρεύξομαι κεκρυμμένα ἀπὸ καταβολῆς with Carr's note, and Lobeck on Phrynichus p. 63.

459. in puteum: cp. Ep. II. 2, 133. The story of Thales who fell into a well as he was looking up at the stars, is referred to by Plato Theaet. 174 A.

longum 'aloud', so that the sound goes far; imitated from Homer's μακρὸν ἄυσεν, Il. III. 81.

460. non sit, not imperative, as Krüger and others (cp. Sat. II. 5, 91 *non etiam sileas*), which is inconsistent with the context; nor yet 'coniunctivus pro futuro positus' as Hand says, but the hypothetical subjunctive, rather loosely used after *decidit*. **tollere**: cp. Ep. I. 17, 61.

461. si curet: most MSS. have *sic*, a good instance of the carelessness which is often found towards the end of a work. The editions before Bentley had for the most part *si quis curet* against the MSS. Bentley corrected, calling attention to the practice of Horace, when a word is repeated, not to allow the accent to fall in the same place; *tollere cúret, si curét quis.* Keightley has collected a number of instances from Greek and Latin, and from various modern languages, in a note on Milton's *Lycidas* v. 165 *weep nó more, woful shepherds, weep no móre;* e.g. Soph. Phil. 1041 τίσασθε, τίσασθ'· ἀλλὰ τῷ χρόνῳ ποτέ. Cp. also Lachmann on Propert. p. 111, and Hermann *Opusc.* II. 283 ff.

demittere is of course the right form, but most MSS. have *dimittere.*

462. qui scis an: cp. v. 436. Plaut. Most. 58 *qui scis an tibi istuc prius eveniat quam mihi?* Roby § 1764. **prudens** 'deliberately'.

proiecerit seems to have quite as much authority as *deiecerit* which Keller and Schütz prefer: 'ideo hic praeferendum *proiecerit*, quia proicere animam, proicere se, quae in bonis scriptoribus saepe occurrunt, ubique habent significationem voluntarii discriminis deque eo dicuntur, qui servari aut nolit aut desperet', Bentl. Keller's argument that *deiecerit* is better after *decidit* and *demittere* seems to me to point the other way.

463. Siculique poetae. The accounts of the death of Empedocles varied: the best authenticated is that after an active political life in Agrigentum he was compelled to leave it and retire to the Peloponnesus, where he died (probably about B.C. 432): his followers seem afterwards to have invented in his honour a myth that he had disappeared mysteriously at a sacrificial banquet; while his enemies accounted for his disappearance by saying that he had thrown himself down the crater of Etna, in the hope that he might be considered to have been carried to heaven, but that the trick was discovered when one of his bronze sandals was cast up by the volcano. Others said that he had been killed by a fall from a chariot, that he had hanged himself, or that he had been drowned by accident: cp. Diog. Laert. VIII. 63 ff. Zeller, *Gr. Phil.* I.[2] 500 (note). Mr Matthew Arnold in his splendid poem 'Empedocles on Etna' accounts for the suicide as that of one who was 'dead to life and joy' from brooding over the problems of human life and destiny.

464. deus: cp. Emped. frag. *χαίρετ', ἐγὼ δ' ὔμμιν θεὸς ἄμβροτος, οὐκέτι θνητός.* Empedocles was a strong believer in metempsychosis, and this may have been distorted into the basis of such a charge.

465. frigidus, explained by Acron as *stultus*: 'Empedocles enim dicebat tarda ingenia frigido circa praecordia sanguine impediri'. His own line is *αἷμα γὰρ ἀνθρώποις περικάρδιόν ἐστι νόημα*, from which, as Conington remarks on Verg. Georg. II. 484, the statement of Acron is at any rate a natural inference. But the reference is too obscure to have been intended by Horace here. **frigidus** is rather 'in cold blood': Schütz objects that it ought rather to have the opposite meaning 'chilled with terror', and that a man cannot do such a deed in cold blood, a criticism supported by Mr Arnold's '*Leap and roar, thou sea of fire! My soul glows to meet you! Ere it flag, ere the mists of despondency and gloom Rush over it again, Receive me! save me!*' Still, helped out by the antithesis—itself very frigid, if it were not in jest—with *ardentem*, it may bear this meaning. It is better at any rate than Schütz's, 'because he was cold'.

467. idem occidenti: cp. Lucret. III. 1038 *eadem aliis sopitu' quietest* (Homerus), IV. 1174 *eadem facit...omnia turpi* 'she does, in all things, the same as the ugly woman', Roby § 1142. Seneca Phoen. 100 *occidere est vetare cupientem mori*, an exaggerated imitation, for Horace only means that in each case violence is done to the wishes of the person concerned. This is the only spondaic hexameter in Horace.

468. iam 'at once' with **flet.**

469. famosae 'notorious'; Ep. I. 19, 32.

470. cur, i.e. what sin he has committed, in consequence of which the gods have sent upon him this frenzy.

471. bidental: when a place was struck with lightning, it was the custom *condere fulmen*, with a sacrifice of sheep (*bidentes*), and to enclose the spot with a wall. Another derivation *quod bis fulmine percussum est* is evidently wrong, though Acron prefers it. Cp. Pers. II. 27 *evitandumque bidental* with the scholiast's note, and Juv. VI. 587.

473. valuit, common in poetry for *potuit* 'has succeeded in bursting'. Roby § 1454, S. G. § 591, 2.

clatros, the only form justified by MSS. and inscriptions. The word is an early derivative from *κλῇθρα* (used by Cato R. R. 4), and hence follows the rule for Latin words. Cp. Cic. Or. 48, 160, with Sandys' note, and Roby § 132.

476. non missura...hirudo 'like a leech, which will not let go': the simile passes into a metaphor, as often in Horace: cp. Ep. I. 2, 42.

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